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ESSAYS

ON

INDIAN ANTIQUITIES,

ETC.

ESSAYS

ON

INDIAN ANTIQUITIES,

HISTORIC, NUMISMATIC, AND PALÆOGRAPHIC,

OF THE LATE

JAMES PRINSEP, F.R.S.,

SECRETARY TO THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL;

45526

TO WHICH ARE ADDED HIS

USEFUL TABLES,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF INDIAN HISTORY, CHRONOLOGY, MODERN COINAGES, WEIGHTS, MEASURES, ETC.

2145

EDITED, WITH NOTES, AND ADDITIONAL MATTER,

BY

EDWARD THOMAS,

LATE OF THE BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE; MEMBER OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES OF CALCUTTA, LONDON, AND PARIS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS.

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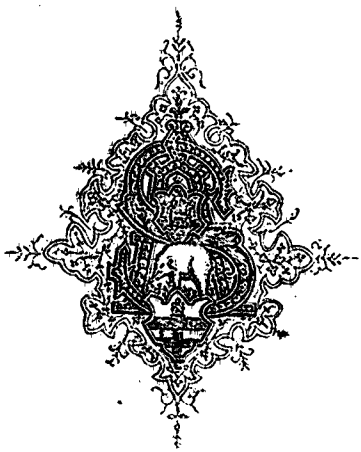

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TO

HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, M.A., F.R.S.,

BODEN PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,
PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
ETC., ETC.,

THE EARLY COADJUTOR OF JAMES PRINSEP

IN

ORIENTAL RESEARCH,

THIS COLLECTION OF THE ESSAYS OF HIS DECEASED FRIEND,

IS DEDICATED,

WITH PROFOUND RESPECT AND ESTEEM,

BY THE EDITOR.

ERRATA IN VOL. I.

Page 11, line 9, *for* "Arcaces," *read* "Arsaces."

„ 14, „ 6 and 7, *for* [ایران]انا, *read* انا[ایران].

„ 14, „ 16, *for* "Art. IX." *read* "Art. XXI."

„ 51, „ 3 from bottom, *for* "Indian bull wit hits hump," *read* "Indian bull with its hump."

„ 57, „ 10, *for* "Arab denomination," *read* "Arab domination."

„ 68, „ 11, and page 69, line 2, *for* نیشانک *read* نشانک.

„ 71, „ 11, *for* בבא, *read* בבא.

„ 93, „ 22, *for* "square mass of masonry," *read* "square chamber of masonry."

„ 114, last line of note, *for* "Vaga," *read* "Yaga."

„ 176, last line, *for* "towards the end of this volume," *read* "at page 166, vol. ii."

„ 205, note, *for* "Kumáon," *read* "Kuháon."

„ 230, line 7 from bottom, *for* "higest interest," *read* "highest interest."

„ 238, last line of note, *for* षहाषहि, *read* षहानषहि.

„ 248, line 11 from the bottom, *for* "few insolated names," *read* "few insulated names."

„ 262, three lines from bottom, *for* "Plate xxxi," *read* "Plate xxxviii."

„ 355, last line but two, *for* "[ΣΠΑΥΡΙΟΣ]," *read* "[ΣΠΑΛΥΡΙΟΣ]."

„ 435, line 4, *for* "Plate xxiv.," *read* "Plate xxxvi."

PREFACE.

As Editor of this series of Articles, it is incumbent on me to explain the circumstances under which the republication was originally conceived, not so much with a view to recommend its worth, as to justify the reserve I have exercised in curtailing or modifying my author's text, as well as to account for my own apparent shortcomings.

The expediency of a re-issue of these Numismatic and Antiquarian Essays in a collected form, was first suggested by the known and increasing demand for the already rare copies of the volumes of the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' in which they were embodied; and the impression that the papers themselves, albeit of old date, were still sufficiently perfect in their details to merit the continued attention of the learned; an undertaking that was still further recommended by the supposition that the illustrative copper-plates, of the author's own execution, were available for immediate use, under the liberal concession of his executors.

This design, in its confined outline, met with ready encouragement from Mr. Austin, the enterprising printer of Hertford; and hence printing was commenced, and proceeded with to some extent, under the intention, on my part, of little more than mere mechanical reproduction, with occasional references to, or quotations from,

more recent works. While progressing in the examination of each Essay, as it chanced to be required for the compositor, I felt that it was desirable to extend my supplementary notes and additions far beyond what I had at first contemplated; and gradually the question suggested itself, whether it would not be preferable to myself, and more advantageous to the work, to re-cast and re-write the several articles illustrative of the already-prepared plates, so as to bring the former up to the present state of our knowledge, without condemning the reader to follow the progressive lessons that Prinsep taught himself and others, as he advanced in his novel discoveries, which may be said to have been limited more by the incoming of materials, than by any defect of his own talent, or power of combination. As this impression forced itself upon my notice coincidently with the disclosure of the loss of a considerable number of the original copper-plates, I proposed the alternative to Mr. Austin; but as a large portion of the first volume had already been completed, and for other reasons which it is needless to recapitulate, this course was not adopted.

For my own share in the work, as it now stands, I have to claim much indulgence. I in no wise pretend to the qualifications necessary to have done it full justice, and the transition from the position of an editor seeking merely to preserve the works of a writer whom he admires, and undertaking to correct the press of a reprint of the original matter, to the responsibilities of a commentator and critic on that author's text, is necessarily wide and marked: for the latter office it will be seen that I was but in-

differently prepared; and in further explanation I may add, that not only were many of the subjects embraced in these Essays entirely new to me, but, owing to the irregular demand for 'copy,' I have at times had but scant opportunity of rectification or revision of the standard text.

Under these somewhat conflicting aspects, it will be seen that the plan of the work has been considerably modified during its progress through the press, — the first design being confined to a reprint of James Prinsep's Numismatic Essays alone, while the subsequent arrangement tended rather to the suppression of much of the comparatively obsolete matter,—which, however, has generally been met by a mere reduction in the size of the type; while, in desiring to make the book a more complete record of the general circle of Indian Antiquities, I have eventually been led to incorporate in these pages the substance of many of my author's memoirs on Archæological and Palæographical subjects, which do not properly come under the heading of Numismatic studies.

In reference to the vexed question of the transcription of Oriental words, I have adopted the compromise of preserving, in their English form, all such terms as have been received into our language and become fixed and sanctioned by custom, whatever the correctness of the orthographical expression thus obtained. Having admitted this amount of latitude, consistency became at once impossible; but, in addition to the inherent difficulties of the application of any one uniform system to the transliteration of languages of

diverse articulations, we have, in the following pages, contributions from many lands, of various epochs, and undefined local and linguistic ramifications, the orthographical discrepancies of which it would be difficult indeed to reconcile. So that, however easy it might appear to be to follow the literal exactitude of pure Sanskrit, it becomes a different task when Semitisms intervene, or when provincial or unlettered scribes have had to deal with the composition of documents more or less shaped after the classic tongue. For the rest, in the present instance, I have been desirous chiefly of avoiding the pedantry of needlessly correcting, not alone my own author's varying orthography, in which he followed progressively his own improving knowledge of Oriental languages, but I have intentionally retained many of the independently devised Anglicisms of the miscellaneous contributors, with whose personal and individual identities so much of the history of 'Prinsep's Journal' is associated.

In conclusion, I have to thank the many friends and coadjutors who have assisted me with information or new materials, whose aid, in either case will, I trust, be found duly acknowledged each in its fitting place.

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[Since the sheets of this work have been put to press, I have been favoured by Mr. Gibbs, of the Bombay Civil Service, with the following notice of a highly important and hitherto unpublished coin, bearing the joint names of Euthydemus and Agathocles. Other medals, having similar combinations of names of early Bactrian potentates, have been described and commented upon at p. 27, vol. i., and pp. 178, 183, vol. ii. In these cases, the obverse bears the head and titular designation ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ in conjunction with the usual reverse type of that monarch's proper coinage, but impressed severally with the epigraphs, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ.

The second of these pieces, as has been remarked, is a cast, and therefore liable to suspicion in the possible combination of an obverse of one medal with the reverse of another; and, knowing the facility and success with which Bactrian coins are manufactured for English collectors, I should be diffident of endorsing the genuineness of the present piece, did not the discrimination Mr. Gibbs has previously exercised in his selection of coins lead me to declare my general confidence in his acumen as a Numismatist.

"I.—A Tetradrachm. *Obv.* Head of King to the right, beardless, with fillet. Inscription: ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ. Head rather resembles No. 11, pl. i., Wilson's 'Ariana Antiqua,' but seems older. *Rev.* Hercules, naked, sitting on a rock, on which his left hand rests; the right hand holds a club in a perpendicular direction, with the head downwards. Inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. Monog. No. 5 *c*, pl. xi. *c*.

Another interesting coin, cited by Mr. Gibbs, is—

"II.—A Drachm. *Obv.* Head of King, with helmet and fillet, to the right. Inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ. *Rev.* Two heads to right, male and female. Inscription: ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ. Monog. No. 13 *a*, pl. xi. *c*."

[N.B.—The coin marked as Mr. Brereton's in note 2, p. 180, vol. ii., has lately passed into the possession of Lieut.-General Fox, who has, however, most liberally permitted me to engrave the profile on the obverse, even to the detriment of the complete novelty of the piece, which he had designed to reserve for a future series of a publication on rare and inedited coins from his own collection.]

MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR.[1]

JAMES PRINSEP was the seventh son of Mr. John Prinsep, alderman of London, and member of Parliament for the borough of Queenborough, during the administration of Lord Sidmouth, and after the return of William Pitt to power in 1804. Mr. John Prinsep had amassed a considerable fortune in India, where he married a sister of Mr. James Peter Auriol, Secretary to Government in the time of Warren Hastings, and descended from an ancient Protestant family originally settled at Chartres, in Languedoc. In the year 1787 he returned to England, and soon after engaged in business as an East India agent and Italian silk merchant. As a proprietor of East India Stock, he was distinguished by his advocacy of the policy which had for its object the opening of the commerce of India to the free competition of British merchants, a policy which he lived to see adopted, but in the beneficial results of which he did not participate, having become involved in the general commercial crisis which occurred at the close of the Revolutionary War. In con-

[1] Mr. Henry T. Prinsep has favored me with this notice of the life of his brother.—ED.

sequence, however, of his connection with India no fewer than seven of his sons, including the subject of this memoir, obtained employment or sought a career in that country.

James Prinsep was born on the 20th August, 1799. He was distinguished almost from infancy for habits of exactness and minute attention to whatever fairly attracted his mind. Many of the productions of his ingenuity and skill were long retained by members of the family as memorials of unusual talent displayed at a very early age. One of these is remarkable. It is the model of a carriage, with springs and lamps complete, with doors and windows opening and shutting, and steps letting down, at will: its size in the whole does not exceed six inches.

Mr. John Prinsep, having removed his family to Clifton in the year 1809, James was sent to school at Mr. Bullock's with his two younger brothers, Thomas and Augustus, and for two years had the benefit of the instruction and discipline of that seminary. The remainder of his education was irregular, the result of lessons at home, and occasional aid from his elder brothers and sisters, from the latter of whom, especially, he acquired a taste for music, which he prosecuted with success in after life. At the age of fifteen, when it had become necessary to decide upon a career for him, his ingenuity and skill in design pointed to the profession of an architect as especially appropriate, and he was sent to study under Pugin, with a view to his being afterwards received by Mr. W. Wilkins, who had kindly offered to take him as his pupil and assistant. This project was, however, defeated, his eyes having sustained injury from too close application to mechanical and other drawing; though, under skilful medical treatment, his sight was completely restored, and he never in after life felt the slightest inconvenience in this respect.

Being thus shut out from one profession, he was for some time without any certain prospect in life. At this period it was suggested to his father that an opening might be found in the Assay department of the mints of India. James was accordingly sent to attend the chemical lectures of Dr. Marcet, at Guy's Hospital, and was afterwards entered as fee apprentice to Mr. Bingley, the assay-master of the Royal Mint, London, from whom he received a certificate of proficiency, and obtained, in 1819, from Mr. Patterson, the East India director, the appointment of Assistant to the Assay Master of the Calcutta Mint. At the age of twenty he sailed for India in the ship *Hoogly* with his younger brother Thomas, who, as first of his year at Addiscombe, had secured an appointment in the Bengal Engineers. They arrived at Calcutta on the 15th September, 1819, and were received by their brother, Henry Thoby, a civil servant of ten years' standing, then in office at Calcutta. James Prinsep was appointed to serve under Dr., now Professor, H. H. Wilson, then Assay Master at Calcutta, and so formed an acquaintance which had great influence upon the pursuits of his after life. Before many months had elapsed, Dr. Wilson was sent to Benares on a special mission, to remodel the Mint in that city. He remained there for more than a year, during which time James Prinsep continued as assistant in Calcutta, executing all assays required in the metropolitan Mint, while the general management of the office and department in connection with bullion merchants and the treasury was conducted by Dr. Atkinson, who, though not at that time a certified assayer, had the advantage of considerable experience in the general duties of this department.

The organization of the Mint of Benares being completed, Dr. Wilson was recalled to Calcutta, and James Prinsep was

nominated Assay Master in the Benares mint. He proceeded to his new appointment by water in the beginning of October, 1820, and his journey up the Ganges afforded opportunities for the exercise of his pencil, of which he freely availed himself. His sketches of the scenery and incidents of this voyage are still retained and highly prized by members of his family. Arrived at Benares, he relieved Dr. Wilson there, and took his place as Assay Master and Secretary of the Mint Committee; Dr. Yeld, of the Company's Medical Service, being the Mint Master.

Before James Prinsep reached Benares, the foundations of a new Mint, with official residences for both Mint and Assay Masters, were already laid, and some progress had been made in the building by the executive officer of the Barrack department. Its style of bare walls, without the slightest decorative ornament, offended the taste of the young Assay Master, and his first efforts in architectural design were directed towards the improvement of the edifice which was to be his official and domestic residence for many years. He submitted amended plans to the Military Board at Calcutta, and, undertaking to complete them at the estimated cost of the original design, was employed in their execution.

James Prinsep's success in the construction of this edifice having demonstrated his architectural talent, he was afterwards employed upon several new works at the station, and, amongst others, built the church erected there at the joint cost of Government and the European residents. But his active mind was not content with this one pursuit as an adjunct to his official duties; his devotion to science was earnest during the whole period of his residence at Benares. He prosecuted especially his chemical studies, so as to keep pace with the progress of this science in Europe; and, directing his atten-

tion to the measurement of heat, prepared an article on the subject, which he sent home to Dr. Roget, by whom it was communicated to the Royal Society, and published in the 'Transactions' of that body, where it attracted much attention. Whilst at Benares also, in conjunction with Mons. Duvancel (a French naturalist connected with Baron Cuvier), and with some others devoted to different branches of research, he established a Literary Institution, and set up a press of his own preparation, for the purpose of printing the proceedings of this society.

In 1823, the finance of India being considered to be in such a condition as to afford the prospect of a permanent surplus of income over expenditure, the Government liberally appropriated the local duties levied at the principal cities of the Bengal Presidency to the improvement of the respective towns, and appointed Committees of the public officers to apply the funds. James Prinsep was nominated a member and Secretary of the Benares Committee. At his suggestion, the streets of Benares were widened and improved as much as the nature of the buildings would permit, and the whole town was provided with sewerage. The city is built on the north bank of the Ganges, and, facing the river, stands high above the water at its greatest elevation, but the ground sinks as it recedes, from which cause stagnant pools and marshes were formed in dangerous proximity to the most densely-peopled wards. In the rainy season they were the cause of great unhealthiness, and in the dry season became mere receptacles of filth. For the cleansing and draining of these, James Prinsep excavated an arched tunnel passing upwards from the lowest water line of the Ganges under the seven-storied houses of the most populous parts of the town. This work, which was executed in less than two years from its commencement, and without accident, is to this day pointed out

as a remarkable effort of successful engineering; beneficial to the town, as well from improved salubrity, as from the space reclaimed by drainage for much desiderated grain-markets and bazaars.

From the same fund, under James Prinsep's direction, the lofty minarets of the Musjid of Aurangzíb, the foundations of which, from proximity to the encroaching river, were giving way, so as to threaten danger to bathers and destruction to the neighbouring houses, were taken down and restored. About the same period, also, he undertook the construction of a stone bridge over the Karamnása, a river that divides the province of Benares from Bahár. The cost, upwards of a lákh of rupees, was provided by a wealthy native, Patní Mal, whose Hindú creed taught him to esteem it a pious work, and one calculated to secure for himself future beatitude, no less than present fame and worldly honor. The bridge—five arches of large span—is still a marked feature of the high military road to Benares. It has stood the test of entire submergence by the river in more than one year of extraordinary inundation, without material injury.

While connected with these public works, James Prinsep took occasion to make accurate drawings of the principal streets and buildings of the Holy City of the Brahmins, and to number and classify its population. The results of the census were published by the Asiatic Society. It is the most careful and accurate that had up to that time been made of any city of Asia; and the original volume containing its details, in the Hindí language and character, is still carefully preserved. A selection of the drawings, accompanied by a careful and minute map of the city prepared by himself, was transmitted to England in 1824 and 1825 for publication, and appeared under the title of "Views and Illustrations of Benares."

In mechanics, James Prinsep's skill was remarkable. He prepared with his own hands, for purposes of assay, a balance of such delicacy as to indicate the three-thousandth part of a grain. This balance, when he left India in his last illness, was purchased by the Government, in order that it might be retained for assay purposes in the mint of Calcutta.

At the end of 1830, the mint of Benares was abolished, and the whole coinage of the Bengal Presidency concentrated in the new building prepared for the purpose at the seat of government by Captain (since Major-General) W. Nairne Forbes, of the Bengal Engineers. James Prinsep was in consequence recalled thither to take his place as deputy Assay Master in that establishment, under his old superior, Dr. Wilson. This re-association gave a new turn to his literary pursuits, bringing him into connection with the Asiatic Society, and with establishments for the education of the natives, then recently endowed under Dr. Wilson's superintendence, and since so much enlarged and improved. He also at this time formed a closer intimacy with Major Herbert, a scientific officer of the Company's army, with whom he had become acquainted at Benares, and who, being now in office at Calcutta, projected the publication of a periodical under the name of 'Gleanings in Science,' the proposed object of which was to make known in India all useful discoveries or advances in art and science immediately on their appearance in Europe, and likewise to afford to scientific men in India a ready means of communicating their own discoveries and ideas. To this periodical James Prinsep was a large contributor from the commencement, and his papers are amongst the most prized of its original essays and articles.

But the engineering skill which had so improved Benares likewise found employment at Calcutta. The brother who

had come with James to India as an engineer, died suddenly by a fall from his horse while engaged in making the canal, for connecting the river Huglí with the navigation of the Sunderbunds, and thus forming an additional passage for the increasing water traffic between the capital and the eastern districts of Bengal. The completion of this work James Prinsep was led to undertake on his brother's account, and he executed it to the satisfaction of the Government and of their Board of Works. The locks, built by him in the midst of a soil of quicksands, upon a principle of his own devising, were regarded as a highly skilful piece of engineering, and have lasted, in good preservation, to the present day.

In the year 1831, Major Herbert, the projector and editor of the 'Gleanings,' accepted the appointment of Astronomer to the King of Oudh, and transferred the conduct of his periodical to James Prinsep. In his hands it assumed immediately a new character. The illustrations, heretofore few and very imperfect, took the form of well-executed lithographs and engravings, almost all of which were the product of the editor's own artistic skill. He opened communications with all the scientific men of India, with the view of inducing them to use the pages of the 'Gleanings' for the dissemination of their researches and discoveries; and the credit of the work and its circulation increased rapidly with the increasing value of the original communications it contained. This periodical was not undertaken with any hope or desire of pecuniary gain; the aim of its conductors was, simply, the promotion of science. At first they asked from the limited number of subscribers merely sufficient to cover the expenses of publication; and, as the circulation increased, applied the additional income so obtained in improving the form and materials, until it was brought at last to such a condition as to rival publications of the same character in Europe.

In the year 1832, Dr. Wilson was appointed to the Boden Professorship of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford. He accordingly retired from the service of the East India Company, leaving vacant all the employments he so ably filled in India. James Prinsep succeeded him as Assay Master in the Mint of Calcutta, and Secretary to the Mint Committee. He also took his place in the Committee of Education and in the Government establishments for the instruction of native youth. He was likewise nominated to succeed him as Secretary to the Bengal Asiatic Society, for which office, though wanting his predecessor's great proficiency in Sanscrit literature, he was especially qualified by his scientific attainments and habits of intercourse with the literary men of India.

In his capacity of Assay Master, James Prinsep prepared and submitted to the Government, in the year 1833, a project for reforming weights and measures, which received its approval and was at once adopted by Lord Wm. Bentinck, the then Governor-General of India. As connected with the same subject, he strenuously advocated the introduction of an uniform coinage, the rupee to be styled the Company's rupee, and to be of the weight of 180 grains, including 15 of alloy, so as to form the unit of his scheme of weights. This project also was carried out, but not until the year 1835, after the Charter Act of 1833 had given a new constitution to the Government. The measure was eminently successful; and by a coinage of fifty millions of pieces in one year, the old sicca currency of Bengal proper was entirely changed and displaced. In the measures to carry out this important change, and especially in those for adapting the existing copper currency to the new rupee, James Prinsep's judgment and official labours were severely tested.

But it is in his literary capacity that we have henceforth

principally to consider him. Through his connection with the Bengal Asiatic Society, new life and vigour were instilled into its proceedings. He made it his aim to open the whole circle of useful knowledge embraced in the design of its founder, Sir W. Jones, to the industry and talents of all who cultivated scientific or literary pursuits connected with the East. The meetings of the Society became, through his management, more full and frequent, under the conviction that the spirit of inquiry and desire for information on the progress making in all departments of science would there always find something of interest to gratify curiosity, if not to afford full satisfaction.

Before James Prinsep had been many months installed as Secretary of the Asiatic Society, he proposed to its managing committee to connect his scientific periodical, the 'Gleanings,' more closely with the Institution; to alter its name to that of 'Journal of the Asiatic Society,' and to furnish its numbers gratuitously to members of the Society. The project was most favourably received, and the periodical, from March 7th, 1832, was published monthly, with an augmented quantity of matter, under the new title.

Through this close connection with the Asiatic Society, James Prinsep now felt the necessity of devoting himself largely to the study of the antiquities of India, and especially applied himself to the deciphering of ancient inscriptions. Copies of these from monoliths, rocks, and buildings in various parts of India, were constantly forwarded, and in like manner copper plates, containing ancient grants of land, as discovered from time to time, were either transmitted to be deciphered, or if that work had been performed, the translation had to be verified and compared, and the original transcribed accurately for exhibition in fac-simile in the pages of the Journal. With

the aid of pundits, and assisted in the first instance by the Rev. Dr. Mill and other Sanscrit scholars of the Presidency, James Prinsep undertook this task, and accomplished it with a success that surprised all who knew that his proficiency in Sanskrit literature was limited, and only kept pace with what the work itself necessarily required and taught.

Being so drawn into the prosecution of such studies, James Prinsep cultivated this branch of archæology with an ardour that carried his discoveries beyond those of his learned predecessors. The inscriptions on the pillars at Delhi and Alláhábád, which had been copied in fac-simile, and published in the volumes of the Asiatic Society's proceedings, in the time of Sir W. Jones, and the deciphering of which had baffled that accomplished scholar, and his successors, Colebrooke and Wilson, yielded at last to our author's ingenuity and perseverance. He discovered that the two inscriptions were identical, and had their counterparts on rocks at Girnár, in Gujarát, on the western side of India, and at Dhauli, in Katak, on the eastern side; the character of all being similar to that of inscriptions occurring among the old Buddhist temples, monasteries, and topes of Sanchí and at Bhilsa, in South Bundelcund, which afforded the key for deciphering most of the letters. This oft-repeated inscription was found, when completely read and translated, to contain edicts of the great King Piadasi, another name for Aśoka, who lived in the third century before our era, and was the contemporary of the early Seleucidæ kings of Syria. The name of Antiochus, with those of Ptolemy, Magas, and Antigonus was found recorded or referred to in the body of the inscription at Girnár; and the reading of these was confirmed ten years after, by the detection of the same names, with the addition of that of a fifth monarch, in another copy of these edicts, expressed in a different character,

on a rock at Kápurdigiri, in Afghánistán, when that inscription was deciphered by Mr. Norris. These inscriptions afforded the first verified connection of the history and archæology of India with contemporary events and sovereigns of the Western world. The importance of the discovery was universally felt, and it justly excited a keen interest and curiosity, not only throughout India but in every country which boasted of civilization and progress in letters. Owing mainly to this discovery, and to the credit gained by the periodical he conducted, James Prinsep's name came very soon to be known and respected in Europe and America, as well as in Asia. Many literary societies of the West paid him the compliment of electing him a corresponding member, and he was named for this distinction by the Institût de France. He was thus brought into communication with all the most distinguished literary and scientific men of the day, and maintained with them a correspondence which produced many evidences of reciprocal esteem.

Another subject of interest which James Prinsep through his Journal contributed to develop and bring to the knowledge of the world, was the vast variety of new species of fossil animals, some of the highest interest, which were discovered in Upper India by Dr. Falconer and Captain, now Colonel, Sir Proby T. Cautley.

We should weary the reader and trespass beyond the design of the present brief notice, if we were to attempt to describe and characterise all that was done through this 'Journal' for the advancement of science in all its departments in India. The curious inquirer, who would pursue the subject in detail, must refer to the seven volumes of the 'Journal,' from 1832 to 1838 inclusive, each containing from five hundred to one thousand pages, in which the entire of these results

will be found in the original form in which they were given to the public.

While James Prinsep was prosecuting these inquiries, and conducting the correspondence which embodied the discoveries we have noticed, Captain Burnes and other political *employés* of Government in Central Asia were making extensive collections of coins with Greek and bilingual inscriptions, and of other relics of antiquity. Coins were also exhumed or found in other parts of India, especially by French officers in the service of Ranjít Sing, bearing legends in various types of character. These were all forwarded to Calcutta, to be deciphered and explained; and this labour led James Prinsep into the study of numismatics as connected especially with Indian archæology. His discoveries and critical investigations in this field became in a short time the most interesting of all the subjects treated and discussed in the pages of the Journal. The articles containing them, it is the object of the present publication to collect into a form susceptible of easy reference.

The incessant exertion and labour which attended these literary and scientific pursuits, combined, as they were, with the artistic application required to delineate and engrave the various objects of interest submitted to his research, superadded, as all this wear of mental and visual power was, to the ordinary work of a not unlaborious office, produced the effects which might, indeed, have been foretold, on a constitution naturally robust; and under them James Prinsep ultimately sank. In the course of the year 1838 he began to suffer severely from headaches and sickness. These were at first attributed by his medical adviser to a bilious affection, and were treated as such. The symptoms, however, rapidly increased, to the alarm of his friends and family, and were traced to an affection of the brain.

In October of that year James Prinsep was compelled to tear himself away from all his numerous pursuits, and to make the voyage to Europe as the only hope left of recovery. He sailed for England in the *Herefordshire;* but the sea air and change of scene afforded no relief, and the affection of the brain, which proved to be a softening of its substance, destroying its sound working, and impairing all the faculties of the mind, gained strength. He arrived in England in a hopeless condition, lingering nearly a year, until relieved from his sufferings by death on the 22nd of April, 1840.

The intelligence of his decease was received with sorrow by the European and Native communities of India; and all united in the desire that some lasting testimonial of his worth, and of their esteem and admiration, should be placed in a prominent position, to manifest to future generations the feelings so universally entertained towards him. After some discussion, it was determined to give to this testimonial the form of a Ghát or landing-place, with a handsome building for the protection from sun and weather of passengers landing or waiting to embark; and this building, bearing his name, stands now below the fort of Calcutta, as a distinguished ornament of the city.

The character of James Prinsep as a public and as a literary man will be best appreciated by a reference to the public works and literary and scientific productions which we have recapitulated. These remain as memorials of his activity in mind and body, and of the untiring energy and exactitude with which he pursued each object of research. The unsparing pains with which he devoted himself to assist a fellow-labourer, and, without envy or self-seeking, to promote his wishes and his success, were universally felt and acknowledged. It was this quality especially which won for him every day new colleagues

in his literary and scientific labours, and left all with whom he became so associated, permanent and admiring friends.

To his family, who were proud of him from boyhood, and who watched with intense satisfaction and sympathy his entire career, glorying in the general recognition of his high qualities, and in the public esteem he won,—their early bereavement was a source of deep and abiding sorrow. They have still a mournful pleasure in recurring to many acts of his life, which displayed his extreme affection for all of them; and it is with unfeigned satisfaction that they bear this testimony to his many virtues, and seek to add a wreath to the many which have already been laid upon his honoured grave—tributes of private friendship and of public regard.

James Prinsep was married on the 25th April, 1835, to Harriet, eldest daughter of Colonel Aubert, of the Bengal Army, by whom he had a son, who died in infancy, and a daughter, who, with the widow, still survives.

[As a brother is seldom the best or most accredited eulogist, I append an able estimate of James Prinsep's merits, extracted from a notice of his life by Dr. Falconer, and published in the 'Colonial Magazine,' in December, 1840:—E. T.]

"Thus died James Prinsep, in the fortieth year of his age. That he was a great man, it would not perhaps be strictly correct to assert; but he possessed qualities of a very high order, such as are scarcely less admirable than greatness; and he has left abundant proofs behind him to establish that he was one of the most talented and useful men that England has yet given to India. Of his intellectual character, the most prominent feature was enthusiasm—one of the prime elements of genius; a burning, irrepressible enthusiasm, to which nothing could set bounds, and which communicated itself to whatever came before him. The very strength of his mental constitution, in this respect, was perhaps opposed to his attaining the excellence of a profound thinker; it led him to be carried away frequently by first impressions, and to apply his powers to a greater range of subjects than any human mind can master or excel in. To this enthusiasm was fortunately united a habitude of order, and power of generalization, which enabled him to grasp and comprehend the greatest variety of details. His powers of perception were impressed with genius—they were clear, vigorous, and instantaneous. The extent of his capacity was wonderful, and the number and variety of his acquirements no less remarkable. . . .

"Himself the soul of enthusiasm, he transfused a portion of his spirit into every inquirer in India; he seduced men to observe and to write; they felt as if he observed and watched over them; and the mere pleasure of participating in his sympathies and communicating with him, was in itself a sufficient reward for the task of a laborious and painful investigation. Had he done nothing else, he would have deserved an immortal remembrance in India; but his own labours were the grand stay, the glory, and honour of the 'Journal.' . . . .

"It was in the conduct of this 'Journal' that the amiable and good qualities of the man were most apparent, and of most benefit to the public. His time, services, books, and apparatus were always at the command of whoever requested them; and the humblest correspondent in the remotest corner of India, could make certain of his aid, with a readiness and a good will which he would vainly have looked for in a paid agent. His purse, too, was freely opened where occasion required. No kind of inquiry, however foreign to his favourite pursuits, was carried on in India, with which he did not at once become identified; and the keen interest he appeared to take in the labours of others encouraged the inquirer to go on, or apply himself to something new. Never was there a mind more free from the paltry and mean jealousies which sometimes beset scientific men. The triumph of others seemed to give him as much pleasure as if achieved by himself; nor would he allow any burnings or jealousies to assail the harmony of the supporters of his journal: when he saw any prospect of such a contingency, he threw himself into the breach, took the blame on himself, and never allowed matters to come to a rupture. There was a charm, too, about his writings, which it is rare to meet with; he hunted after truth, and cared not how often or how notoriously he stumbled upon error in the pursuit. His ardour often led him astray, but he was the first frankly and fearlessly to confess it. He was utterly devoid of that intolerance of being found in error, and loathness to recant, which often beset meaner minds. The entire range of scientific literature does not perhaps contain a more striking illustration of this than one of the last papers which he wrote on Bactrian coins, where he shows in a fly-note, how the altered reading of a single Greek letter exposes the incorrectness of as fine-spun and erroneous a string of inferences of his own, as ever emanated from the pen of Wilford." . .

NUMISMATIC ESSAYS.

I.—ON THE ANCIENT ROMAN COINS IN THE CABINET OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY.

[SEPTEMBER, 1832.]

HAVING been lately engaged in decyphering the inscription of an antique copper coin found at Kanouj, by Mr. E. V. Irwin, C.S., and presented to us by Capt. Sanders, Executive Engineer at Cawnpore, I was led into an examination of the contents of the Asiatic Society's small cabinet itself, which, although it boasts but a very insignificant collection of Roman coins, and those mostly without any record of the exact localities in which they were found, or of the parties who presented them, is entitled to some interest from the circumstance of the Indian origin of all that it contains. It was not until the year 1814, that the Society opened a museum, and publicly invited contributions to it of the natural productions, antiquities, coins, and other curious monuments of the country: it is the less surprising, therefore, that its collection

should not hitherto have attained any magnitude or consideration. Most private individuals, who have interested themselves in collecting medals and coins, have carried their spoil to England, where, indeed, they may be mortified in finding them swallowed up and lost among the immense profusion of similar objects in the public and private cabinets of European antiquarians; and they may, perhaps, regret that they did not leave them where, from their rarity, they would have been prized, and, from their presence, have promoted the acquisition of further stores for antiquarian research from the wide continent of India. The greater part of the late Colonel Mackenzie's collection was thus consigned to the museum of the Honorable Company in Leadenhall-street. Doctor Robert Tytler also presented to the same museum a valuable cabinet, chiefly of Roman coins, procured by him with great industry while Civil Surgeon at Allahabad. Colonel T. Wilson, C.B., lately carried hence some curious coins; and many other private collections might be mentioned, without alluding to the extensive cabinet of Major Tod, which cannot be said to be lost to India, but rather to be returned to us more valuable than before, through the plates and notes in elucidation of them published in the Royal Asiatic Society's Transactions.

The publication of a catalogue raisonné of the contents of our drawers, although it may expose our present poverty, will, I doubt not, by a wholesome re-action, tend to our future enrichment, both by establishing a nucleus to which the antiquities henceforth discovered will be naturally attracted, and by affording to inquirers,

who may not have the opportunity of consulting books on the subject, some clue, however insufficient, to the decyphering of worn and imperfect medalic remains, which appear to a novice to defy scrutiny.

We here possess the advantage of reference, in the Society's library, to the splendid numismatic works that were printed in Europe during the last century, when numismatology was a favourite study. The copious volumes of Vaillant, Patin, Mezzabarba, Hunter, and Banduri, leave hardly a possibility of doubting the exact epoch of a Roman coin, when the device on either side, or a few letters only of the inscription, are still visible. It is by means of these works that I have been able to decypher and classify the greater part of the coins in the following catalogue. I have added to the list several that were the private property of Mr. H. H. Wilson, Col. T. Wilson, or myself, found in different parts of India. I have also availed myself of a manuscript catalogue of the Society's coins, drawn up by Dr. R. Tytler, in the year 1826, which includes the mention of twelve Roman coins.

The number in the cabinet at present amounts to between fifty and sixty: they extend in antiquity through a period of more than one thousand years, from the Augustan age down to the decline of the Lower Empire. . . . . There are few among them which would be objects of primary interest among professed medallists at home, who, in the profusion of Roman coins everywhere discovered in Europe, are content with none but those of superior fabrication and high preservation, worthy of the titles of 'medals' and 'medallions of large and smaller modulus,' fancifully conferred upon them in their

class-books. We possess none of what are usually called 'medallions of large brass:'—those beautiful specimens of the die-sculptor's art are supposed to have been struck less with a view to circulation as coin than as memorials of state events and families of note. The pieces found in India are chiefly of the lower denominations, the common currency of the eastern part of the empire; and if it were allowable to argue from such insufficient data, the predominance among our specimens of the copper coin of Egyptian fabrication confirms what is known from history, of that country having been the principal channel of commerce between India and the Roman Empire. Robertson says that specie was one of the principal returns in trade for the spices, precious stones, silk etc., of India: it is not improbable, therefore, that the coin of the empire circulated to a considerable extent in India; and that there existed no native currency at an early period among the Hindús, we have the authority of Pausanias, and the silence of other authors on the subject. This supposition is supported by the almost, nay, total absence of the remains of any ancient Indian coinage. The Indian coins of Kanouj and the Dakhan, described by Mr. Wilson in the 'Asiatic Researches,' and the Indo-Grecian coins of Major Tod, are evidently *descendants* from the Bactrian coinage, from the types of which they gradually progress into purely Hindú models; but these are comparatively scarce, and must soon have given place to the coins of the Muhammadan conquerors. Coinage is certainly one of the improvements which has travelled and is still travelling eastward. Thus we see, at the present day, countries im-

mediately to the east of us, Ava and China, nearly destitute of fabricated money of their own; into the former of which our silver and copper currency is but now by degrees beginning to penetrate, while the latter along the coast is supplied with dollars from America; and, within perhaps a century or so,[1] in its north-western provinces with coin struck by the neighbouring frontier states of Nepál, Láhor, etc., for their use. But this is a digression involving questions of deep research, foreign to my present object, and which I am by no means prepared to discuss. . . . .

[The body of this article, together with the four illustrative engravings, has been omitted in the present reprint, as it offers, confessedly, but little of novelty or value. I have introduced the above extract chiefly as a record of the commencement of James Prinsep's labours as a numismatic author.

I desire to take this early opportunity of claiming a lenient criticism for any imperfection that may be detected in the style or arrangement of James Prinsep's original Essays.

Sir Wm. Jones, on the first inauguration of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in 1784, in shadowing forth the characteristics that were likely to mark the contributions of Anglo-Indian authors, expressed himself as follows :—

"If this first publication of the Asiatic Society should not answer those expectations which may have been hastily formed by the learned in Europe, they will be candid enough to consider the disadvantages which must naturally have attended its institution and retarded its progress. A mere man of letters, retired from the world, and allotting his whole time to philosophical or literary pursuits, is a character unknown among Europeans in India, where every individual is a man of business in the civil or military state, and constantly occupied either in the affairs of government, in the administration of justice, in some department of revenue or commerce, or in one of the liberal professions,—very few hours, therefore, in the

[1] The Chinese provinces north of the Himálaya, Tibet, etc., were supplied with coin struck in the valley of Nepál.—*Dr. Bramley's Notes on Nepál Coinage.*

day or night can be reserved for any study that has no immediate connection with business, even by those who are most habituated to mental application."

So much in extenuation of possible defects or shortcomings; but it is satisfactory to be able to quote, seventy years after the date of Sir Wm. Jones's address, the opinion entertained by our continental neighbours of the value of such writings, as embodied in the last report to the Société Asiatique of Paris. The words made use of are:—

"La Société Asiatique de Calcutta a publié le volume xxiii. (1854) de son 'Journal,' qui est, comme toujours, rempli des matériaux les plus intéressants, recueillis dans toutes les parties de l'Inde et communiqués en général avec une absence de prétensions littéraires, qui est naturelle à des hommes occupés de graves devoirs d'un autre genre et trouvant à peine le temps de consigner par écrit leurs découvertes, de sorte qu'ils ne disent que ce qui est neuf et réellement curieux et le disent avec une simplicité qui en augmente le prix pour nous, en Europe, qui vivons au milieu des vanités littéraires les plus fatigantes." — *Rapport annuel fait à la Société Asiatique, par M. Jules Mohl, 20th June*, 1855.—E. T.]

II.—ON THE GREEK COINS IN THE CABINET OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY.

[JANUARY, 1833.]

HAVING described the Roman Coins in the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society, I propose to follow up the subject, by extending my examination of the Society's Cabinet, through their series of Greek and Persian coins (leaving the Indian Coins for a future occasion); and I believe that although the specimens of the first two are far from being numerous in our collection, still the drawings of them will be found sufficient to furnish tolerable guides for the assistance of the student in discriminating the coins of these countries at different periods of their history.

I cannot say how many, out of the whole, have been found in India itself; many, certainly, appear to have been brought from Persia. Both Grecian and Persian coins, however, are met with frequently in India, and it is very easy to know them when once their forms have been presented to the eye. Several were brought from Persia by Col. Wilson, who kindly permitted me to take drawings of them; Lieut. Conolly obtained a few in his overland journey to India; and Lieut. Burnes has favored me with one or two specimens of a number of

coins collected by him in Ancient Bactria, a country but recently opened to the investigation of the antiquarian.

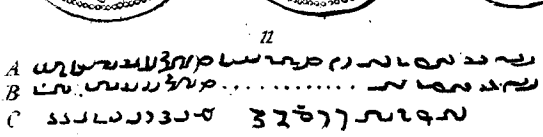
It is from this unexplored part of Asia that we may confidently expect a multitude of Grecian antiquities gradually to be developed. Travellers of all nations are already flocking thither to trace the steps and discover the monuments of Alexander's Indian conquests. The most successful in this interesting line of research, partly from the advantage of his rank in the Mahá-rájá Ranjít Sing's service, has been General Ventura, who, imitating Belzoni at the Pyramids of Egypt, instead of conjecturing and speculating upon the origin of the celebrated Tope or mound of Manikyála in the Panjáb, set boldly to work in 1830 to pierce into its solid mass by digging. He was rewarded by the discovery of numerous coins and other relics, which had lain untouched for perhaps twenty centuries.[1] A Russian antiquary, I understand, had previously amassed a vast collection of Greek coins in the same country. But it is by no means in the Panjáb alone that we are to look for antiquarian riches: the North Western provinces of India offer as large a field of enquiry; and if the coins of Kanouj and Oudh are less interesting from the nature of the characters in which their legends are graven being wholly unknown, they should nevertheless be regarded as more curious because they speak this unknown language, and remain the only records of kingdoms and revolutions whose existence is but faintly discernible on the page of history.

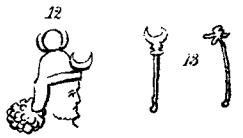
[1] An account of General Ventura's operations was communicated to Colonel James Young, and by him printed in the newspapers of the day: it is reprinted in the seventeenth volume of the 'Asiatic Researches,' page 600.

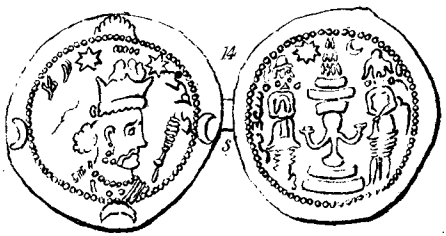
PERSIAN COINS.

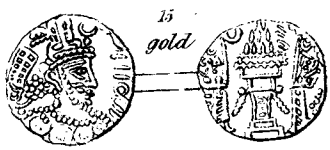
Arsakian.

Sassanian

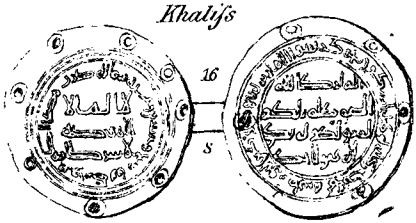


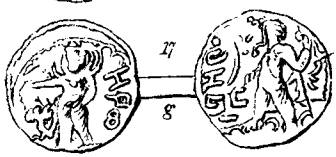


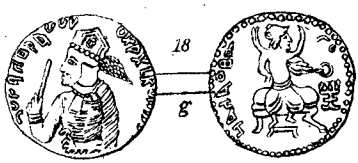




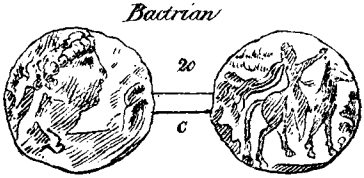
Khalifs

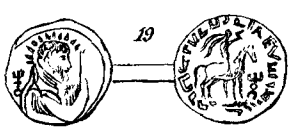






Bactrian





J. Prinsep del.

Published by Stygwyn Austin, Hertford.

It is principally to instigate those who have opportunities of forming collections in the Upper Provinces, that I have drawn up these notes, and I cannot adduce a more powerful motive for studying and searching, than the example and success of that indefatigable investigator of history and antiquity, Major Tod, who describes his method of forming a collection in the first volume of the 'Transactions' of the Royal Asiatic Society:—

"For the last twelve years of my residence in India (amongst Mahrattas and Rajputs), the collecting of coins as an auxiliary to history was one of my pursuits: and, in the rainy season, I had a person employed at Mathurá and other old cities to collect all that were brought to light by the action of the water while tearing up old foundations and levelling mouldering walls.

"In this manner I accumulated about 20,000 coins of all denominations; among which there may be not above a hundred calculated to excite interest, and perhaps not above one-third of that number to be considered of value: but among them there is an APOLLODOTUS and a MENANDER, besides some rare medals of a Parthian dynasty, probably yet unknown to history."

[I have omitted the introductory Plate of this article, together with the letter-press thereunto referring, for the same reason that led to the rejection of the details of the previous paper on Roman Coins. I resume my extracts with the text explanatory of Plate I. of the present series.—E. T.]

PARTHIAN OR ARSAKIAN COINS.

The Parthian monarchy was erected by Arsaces, who filled the office of satrap in Bactria, in the year 256 B.C. He had opposed the designs of Theodotus, who had first revolted from the third Syro-Macedonian monarch, and had raised the Bactrian provinces into an independent state. Being unsuccessful, he fled to Parthia, where he expelled the governor, and declared himself independent.

Vaillant, the numismatologist, has written a copious history of this powerful dynasty; and has endeavoured to classify the coins of the twenty-nine Arsacidæ kings: but it is generally acknowledged that there is too much of the fanciful in his appropriations, and most antiquarians have given up the attempt. The greater number of the Parthian coins have the same name, ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ, with different epithets,—'King of Kings,' 'The Great Beneficent,' 'Lover of the Greeks,' etc.: the heads, however, are very different and numerous.

The most rational mode of arrangement is to place those which are best executed first (for Greek workmen were doubtless then employed). And, as the execution falls off, and the Greek characters become obscure, we may suppose the dynasty to progress towards its absorption into the Persian empire, in the reign of Alexander Severus, A.D. 226. There is a remarkable distinction in the head-dress of these princes; beginning with the simple band or diadem of the Greek monarchy, it gradually changes into a deep turban, and at length becomes a high-mitred cap, like that of the Persian monarchs. . . . . .

Fig. 1.—Obverse.—Head with wart on the forehead: hair dressed in rows of curls: plain band, with fillets hanging behind: an eagle apparently with a wreath in its mouth.

Reverse.—Figure seated, holding out a bow over the characters. [↠] Around ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ.

Colonel Wilson had four coins with the same symbol, which Vaillant attributes to Arsaces Vonones XVIII. The eagle may also denote Chosroes (Vail. ii. 195).

[Mr. Lindsay,[1] our latest authority on Parthian Medals,

[1] 'A View of the History and Coinage of the Parthians,' by John Lindsay, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. 4to. Cork, 1852.

assigns these coins to Arsaces XV., Phrahates IV., 37 B.C.—4 A.D. The monogram ⊞ is stated to represent Heraclea.]

FIG. 5.—OBVERSE.—Head of peculiar features, with pointed beard and hooked nose.

REVERSE.—Sitting figure in trowsers, with bow, very rudely executed and the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗ.

Colonel Wilson has one similar, and both correspond with one in Vaillant, marked Arsaces Mithridates II. (Vail. i. 69.)

[Probably Arcaces VI., Mithridates I. Lindsay, p. 166.]

FIG. 6.—Head with plain turban and bow behind: same inscription on the reverse, very rudely cut.

FIG. 2.—Head with mitred cap, and arched nose, well executed: type, same as fig. 1, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ, of better execution than either of the foregoing.

Vaillant ascribes the mitred cap to Arsacedes Orodes. Colonel Wilson had another coin of similar character.

[Mr. Lindsay gives this coin to Arsaces IX., Mithridates II. B.C. 123—87.]

ANOTHER.—Mitred head similar to fig: 2, but without the hook ornaments: same type, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΥ.

[The legend would seem to indicate that this piece belongs to Arsaces VI., Mithridates I. B.C. 173—136.]

FIG. 8.—Head with mitred cap, as in fig. 2, with a peculiar symbol behind it [an anchor!]: same reverse.

Colonel Wilson has another similar to this in head-dress, it is ascribed to Arsaces Orodes (Vail. i. 145.)

[See Lindsay, No. 36, Plate II. Arsaces X., Mnaskires. B.C. 87—77.]

FIG. 7.—Head with deep turban and mitred cap about it, and bow behind, with fillets of rudest fabrication: character quite perverted.

ANOTHER.—Plain head-dress and device very rude, ΒΑΙΙΛΓΓΣ ΟΑΙΙΑΓΑΝ ΑΙΙΥΝΟ ΓΥΙΙΓΝ ΑΙΧΛΙΟΥ .. ΧΑΝΟΥC.

In this the knowledge of the Greek letters seems very fast declining, and it is almost impossible to recognize the inscription to be identical with that of fig. 2.

[Mr. Lindsay attributes a coin with a similarly outlined *obverse* device (No. 90, Plate IV.) to Arsaces XXVIII., Vologeses III., A.D. 148—192. Dr. Scott ('Numismatic Chronicle,' vol. xvii., p. 163. October, 1854), on examining the debased legends on the coins of this period, succeeded in

discovering distinct Parthian names and titles, associated with the imperfect Greek inscriptions. I quote Dr. Scott's original note on the subject:—

"Owing to the evident barbarity of the pseudo-Greek legends on the later Parthian drachms, no one had paid any attention to them, so far as I know, or had noticed the occurrence upon them of characters evidently not belonging to the Greek alphabet. Mr. Lindsay, however (Plate iv., No. 87), engraved a drachm of Vologeses III., on which, from the comparative legibility of the Greek legend, the unknown characters were brought prominently forward and rendered unmistakeable.

"Shortly after receiving, by the kindness of Mr. Lindsay, a copy of his valuable work, I was led to compare the unknown legend with the Chaldæo-Pehlví alphabet deciphered by Mr. Thomas, in his paper already referred to ('Numismatic Chronicle,' vol. xii., 1849); and after a little investigation, I ascertained that the legend, the characters of which were by no means so distinctly formed as on the inscription and coins of Mr. Thomas, read *Vologasi malka*, King Vologeses."

Dr. Scott adds in a foot note—"Since beginning this article, I have heard from Paris that M. de Longpérier had, in 1853, printed the decipherments of this and analogous legends on Parthian coins." M. de Longpérier's readings I have not as yet been able to refer to; but we may hope shortly to have the advantage of that practiced archæologist's mature views upon this and all matters connected with Parthian coinage in his forthcoming work on the subject.—E. T.]

ANOTHER.—The same, but more legible; under the bow of all these there is a kind of altar formed like the letter A

[Mr. Lindsay, in accord with M. Bartholomæi, proposes to consider this as the initial monogram for *Tambrace*. Dr. Scott, supported by Dr. Mordtmann's Sassanian-Pehlví reading, אתוריא *Aturia*, prefers Assyria.]

The average weight of the above Arsacidæ drachmæ is 60 grs.

Besides the devices given above, Colonel Wilson had one head similar to fig. 1, with the symbols of the sun and the moon, and a star (fig. 4), referred by Vaillant to Arsaces Artabanus (I. 221), and another with two small Victorys, holding wreaths over the head (fig. 3), which is not found in Vaillant.

SASSANIAN COINS.

The Sassanian monarchy in Persia commenced with the year 223, A.D., when Artaxerxes overthrew the Parthian dynasty. It continued until itself overturned

by the Muhammadan Khalifs in the year A.D. 636. No mode of adjusting the numismatology of this period can be attempted until we are able to read the ancient Pehlví characters in which their legends are expressed. Perhaps if a considerable collection of these coins was made (and they seem to be very common in Persia), some key might be discovered to the value of the alphabet.

[As the researches of De Sacy[1] first enlightened us on the enigmas of the early Sassanian writing, so the acuteness of Prof. Olshausen[2] has since enabled him to teach us the decipherment of the more modern style of Pehlví that closely preceded the invention of the Kufic alphabet; and we are now in a position to trace the Pehlví character in its various mutations and ramifications, from the simple elements of Ardeshír Bábek's inscriptions—comprising in all seventeen forms[3]—down to the elaborate pointed alphabet of the Pársís, which numbers, in obedience to Arabian and Indian requirements, no less than thirty-two letters.[4] And, thanks to the Société Asiatique of Paris,[5] we are further here able to set up, in appropriate type, the counterpart transcript of the original legends, which I insert after James Prinsep's descriptive notice of the types of each medal.]

Fig. 9.—A silver coin in the cabinet of the Asiatic Society.

Obverse.—The head of the king facing the left, with curly beard, and a large tuft of curly hair: a peculiar crown or cap with two feathers behind: around it a legend in Pehlví characters, very distinct, but the purport unknown: it is given more clearly in A.

[1] 'Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse.' Paris, 1793.

[2] 'Die Pehlewi-Legenden.' Von D. Justus Olshausen. Kopenhagen, 1843. Also 'Numismatic Chronicle,' vol. ix. 1848.

[3] De Sacy, p. 62. Ker Porter, pl. xxii., p. 548.

[4] Anquetil du Perron, 'Zend Avesta.' Paris, 1721. Alphabet lithographed at Bombay.

[5] The dies for this fount were executed under the direction of M. Mohl, by Marcellin Legrand. *See* 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. xii. p. 271.

Reverse.—A fire altar *(mithras)*, with two priests or defenders, bearing swords or sceptres.

(B.)—Another coin, similar, and inscription partly identical.

[Coins of Shápur I., A.D. 240—271.

Restored Legends in Pehlví.

[𐭱𐭧𐭪𐭲𐭧𐭮𐭩 𐭩𐭥𐭲 𐭥𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭩 𐭱𐭧𐭪𐭲𐭧𐭮𐭩 𐭱𐭧𐭪𐭲𐭧𐭮𐭩 𐭱𐭧𐭪𐭲𐭧𐭮𐭩]

[مزديسن] بگي شهپوهري ملكان ملكا ايران واذ[ايران]

As I have given a modern Persian counterpart of the Pehlví type, I have not thought it necessary to complicate the first transcript with the Pársí distinguishing marks. Though I must confess that the modern unpointed type—in its similarity of forms—is less easy to read than the original Sassanian of the coins, certainly less so than the well-outlined Rock inscriptions. I reserve any further development of these alphabets for a more appropriate occasion, in connexion with a plate that I have to illustrate under Article ix.]

Fig. 10.—Another similar coin. In lieu of the sacred fire on the altar is substituted the head of a king: little of the legend is visible.

In Colonel Wilson's collection are one or two more of a similar character, but the fire is the most common symbol: the legend on one of his (C) differs from the two above given in part, but one word is evidently the same, so that probably that word and the one which precedes it in A and B are all common titles of the ruling monarch, as 'King of Kings,' etc.

Fig. 12.—A crescent head-dress of this form occurs in one of Colonel Wilson's coins, in other respects similar to the rest; also upon another coin the emblems represented in fig. 13, as variations of the priest's wand or sceptre.

[Yezdegird 1st, A.D. 399—420.]

Fig. 14—(of Colonel Wilson's series)—has characters which might be mistaken for Arabic, also emblems of the moon, stars, and the sacred fire.

[Khosru, II., A.D., 591—628.

Obverse.— 𐭩𐭥𐭲 𐭠𐭯𐭦𐭲𐭥𐭲

𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭠𐭫 𐭧𐭥𐭮𐭱𐭥𐭱𐭥𐭩

Reverse.—Date, 'eleven' 𐭠𐭩𐭲𐭩𐭮𐭩 𐭮𐭩𐭲𐭩𐭠𐭫

Mint mark, 𐭱𐭦 𐭩𐭦]

FIG. 15.—A small gold coin, of very rude fabrication, brought by Lieutenant Conolly, from Khurásán: the head has a crescented cap, and the commencement of the second part of the inscription agrees with that of figs. A. and B.

REVERSE.—The fire altar and priests, rudely executed.

This coin was noticed in the 'Gleanings in Science,'[1] vol. iii. 295.

BACTRIAN COINS.

In the reign of Antiochus II.—the third of the Seleucidæ—Theodotus, the governor of Bactria, revolted and established an independent monarchy. His capital was the modern Balkh, and his extensive kingdom included parts of modern Kábul, Khurásán, and Bukhárá. It is remarked by Major Tod as singular, that, although the Arsacidan money is so plentiful, antiquarians have seldom met with those of the Bactrian princes, and indeed the names of only nine of them have been rescued

[1] ["The Asiatic Society of Bengal, on the 7th March, 1832, passed a resolution, that the monthly journal hitherto published under the name of 'Gleanings in Science,' should be permitted to assume that of 'Journal of the Asiatic Society,' and to continue it as long as the publication remained under the charge of one or both of the Secretaries of the Society." James Prinsep's dedication of the first volume of the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society,' well explains the history of the earlier publication. It is as follows:—"To Captain James D. Herbert, Bengal Infantry, * * * whose judgment originated; whose perseverance and exertions successfully established; and whose superior abilities supported for three years the first journal in India devoted to the exclusive publication of Gleanings in Science; this volume, in all respects but title, a continuation of his own work, is inscribed, by his attached friend, the Editor.—*Calcutta, January* 1, 1833."—While adverting to these periodicals, it may be useful to record the progress of the earlier quarto publication, entitled 'The Asiatic Researches,' which took its origin as the effective Journal of the Asiatic Society, instituted in Calcutta in 1784, and continued to embody the papers and proceedings of that Society until 1836, when, having reached its twenty-first volume, it was incorporated with the octavo 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' which had already existed as a concurrent publication from 1832, under the conduct of James Prinsep. It is a matter of just pride to Anglo-Indian authors, that the early volumes of the 'Asiatic Researches' should have gone through no less than four reprints in England, besides translations and republications in France.—E. T.]

from obscurity. So little was before known, that Major Tod himself may be said to have commenced the development of this new branch of numismatology, and in a worthy manner,—by adding two new medals discovered in India to the only two hitherto known;—one of Apollodotus, found in the site of an old town, Súrapura, between Agra and Etawah; the other of Menander from Mathurá.[1] This example has instigated others to the search, and a number of Bactrian or Indo-Scythian coins are now coming to light in the Upper Provinces. I have before alluded to General Ventura's discoveries; and to those of Messrs. Burnes and Gerard, in their route through ancient Bactriana; Colonel Swiney of Kurnál has also been successful in collecting and examining, and we may therefore soon hope to have the subject thoroughly elucidated. Such coins as were in the Society's cabinet, I have already depicted in the seventeenth volume of the 'Researches,' to illustrate the learned remarks of Mr. H. H. Wilson,[2] which should be perused by those who are now eager to prosecute the inquiry. I have introduced into the present plate a few of the same figures, with a view to shew the general appearance of these curious coins.

Fig. 17.—Is taken from a cast made from the sealing wax impression of a gold coin found at Manikyála by General Ventura.

Obverse.—A standing figure with right-arm outstretched, and a kind of glory round the head: letters not decypherable.

Reverse.—Figure of a warrior holding a spear in the right hand, and apparently (from comparison with more perfect specimens of a similar coin) presenting an offering on an altar: the name illegible.

[1] Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, i. 314.

[2] 'Asiatic Researches.' vol. xvii., p. 559.

Fig. 18.—Is a drawing made in a similar manner from another of the Manikyála gold coins.

[This coin is re-engraved in Pl. XXI. fig. 2, and Pl. XXIX. fig. 8, and also in 'Ariana Antiqua,' Pl. XIV. fig. 9.]

Obverse.—The Persian head-dress and flowing hair are here apparent, but on the Reverse the seated prince has rather the Indian costume. The characters on both sides are quite distinct, and have some similarity to Greek, but they have not yet been interpreted. There is a curious symbol upon all this class of coins, resembling a gridiron, or key, with sometimes three, sometimes four, prongs.

MM. Reinaud and Saint Martin (*Journal Asiatique* 1831) read part of the inscription on the obverse NANOBAΘOT....PKIKOT, and on the reverse MANAOBA..ΓO, but nothing is gained therefrom. They ascribe the coin to Greek or Asiatic princes who inherited the authority of Alexander's successors in the countries watered by the Indus.

[The obverse legend runs PAO NANO PAO OOHPKI KOPANO ; the reverse as given above.]

Fig. 19.—A small copper coin, sent to me in a letter by Dr. Gerard, from the neighbourhood of Manikyála.

Obverse.—The head of a king, with a kind of glory.

Reverse.—An equestrian figure, with the flowing ribbons of the Persian diadem : the characters are here decidedly Greek, and appear to form the usual title of *βασιλεως βασιλεων*.

Fig. 20.—Is a copper coin resembling the last, procured by myself at Benáres.

[These belong to the class of coins that bear the titles of ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ without any indication of the name of the king.]

The greater portion of the coins found at Manikyála are stated by Lieutenant Burnes, to whom a copy of the plates of Mr. Wilson's Essay was sent by post, to have figures of a Rája, dressed in a tunic, sacrificing on an altar, on the obverse ; and a figure standing by a bull, on the reverse ('Asiatic Researches,' xvii. pl. ii. figs. 26 to 30): others are found with the impress of an elephant, and a kind of dagger (a female figure ?) But as the inscriptions on these are rather Indian than Greek, I have not

included them in the present collection, and beg to refer the reader to the 'Asiatic Researches' and to Colonel Tod's Essay.

MUHAMMADAN COINAGE OF PERSIA.

To complete the sketch of Persian coins, it seems necessary to offer a few brief remarks on the coinage of the Muhammadan powers which succeeded the Sassanian dynasty.

At the period of the promulgation of the religion of Muhammad, the money of the Lower Roman Empire was current in all the neighbouring countries, and it was not until the Khalifat of Abd-ul-malik, in the year of the Hijra 76 (A.D. 695,) according to Marsden, that a distinct coinage was instituted with a view of superseding the currency of Greek or Byzantine, and Persian, gold and silver.

The circumstances that led to this event are thus detailed by the Arabian writers:—"The Khalif having adhered to the practice of commencing his epistles, addressed to the Greek Emperor, with the Musalmán formulary sentence, declaring the unity of the Godhead, and the ministry of the prophet; the Christian monarch took offence at what appeared to him an insult, and threatened that if it were persisted in, he should retaliate, by introducing into the inscriptions on his coinage, with a view to circulation throughout the dominions of the former, words not likely to be accept-

able to the professors of Islamism[1]." This impolitic contention produced the effect that might have been expected, and Abd-ul-malik determined to be beforehand with him in blazoning the creed of the Faithful upon a new coin of his own fabrication, and he procured the ablest artisans from Damascus to cut the dies. Many of the first Muhammadans were however scandalized at allowing the sacred name of God to be profaned by the contact of impure hands.

The names of the Arabic pieces of money are uniformly inserted in their marginal legend, and are all taken from the coins of the Lower Roman Empire. Thus the copper piece was called فلس *fals* from *follis;* the silver درهم *dirham*, from *drachma*, and the gold coin, دينار *dínár*, from *denarius*, which though properly a silver coin, was used generally to denote coins of other metals, as the *denarius æris*, and the *denarius auri*, or *aureus*.

The Society's cabinet does not possess any of the early Muhammadan coins; but one brought by Lieut. Conolly from Persia (fig. 16, Pl. I.) will serve as a general specimen of all those of the Omíah and 'Abbás Khalifs. They contain the date and place of fabrication, but not the name of the prince. The coins of the Sámánian dynasty in Persia differ but little in appearance; but they bear the name of the sovereign under that of the prophet. The Sultáns of the Saljúk dynasty,

[1] Marsden's 'Numismata Orientalia' xvi. [In addition to the information on this subject afforded by Al Makrizi (Historia Monetæ Arabicæ, ed. O. G. Tychsen, Rostok, 1797) and other intermediate authors, the reader will find an admirable résumé of these incidents by M. de Saulcy, in the 'Journal Asiatique' of Paris, vol. viii. 1839.—E. T.]

who wrested the whole of Asia Minor from the Empire in the 11th century, struck the emblem of the sun in the constellation of the lion upon the obverse of their coin, and these devices have since become well known as the chivalric order of distinction in Persia; its origin is referred by Marshman to the horoscope of Ghíát-ud-dín Kai Khusrú, who began to reign in 1236. The earliest mention of it is in Tavernier's Travels, 1676. The kings of the Turkmán or Ortokite dynasty, in the 13th century, introduced heads on their coin in imitation of the Syro-Macedonian kings, notwithstanding the supposed prejudice of the faithful against such devices. The Persian term *sháh*, 'rex,' occurs for the first time in this series on the coin of Kutb-ud-dín Ghází, A. H. 580. The coins of this period are so irregular, that Christian marks and names are sometimes visible on them: signs of the zodiac were also frequently introduced. The Fatimite dynasty restored the primitive form and purity of the Kufic inscriptions. Their coins have generally more than one concentric circle of inscription. They also exhibit the several localities of Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and Sicily.

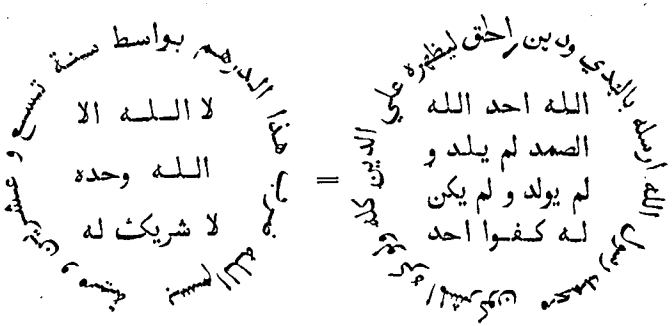
The coins of the Il-Khánian or Moghul dynasty of Persia, are known by the title of Káán, Khán, and Sultán Ahzem, in connection with the name of the sovereign. The writing is generally contained in an ornamental or scalloped frame, such as is now common in the coins of Persia, Nepál, and other Oriental countries.

These very general remarks will be sufficient to afford a clue to the classification of the coins of Persia, when the legend may not be sufficiently legible to

determine them: the subject has been most ably expounded by Mr. Marsden, in the work already quoted from; and to it all must refer who would pursue this branch of numistatic study.

FIG. 16.—A silver coin of the Khalifs of the second century of the Hijra, bearing on the areas the usual formulas in the Kufic character, surrounded by the marginal inscriptions here reproduced in modern Arabic type :—

OBVERSE. REVERSE.



(AREA) *Non est Deus præter Deum unicum, cui non est socius.*

(MARGIN) *In nomine Dei cusa est hæc drachma in Wâsit. Anno* 129, *nono et vicesimo et centesimo.* (A.D. 746).

On the Reverse is the ordinary inscription, and on the margin a quotation from the Kurán (Sura ix. 33).

(AREA) *Deus unus, Deus æternus, non gignit, et non ei compar unus.*

(MARGIN) *Muhammad est legatus Dei, qui misit eum cum doctrina et religione vera, quo eam extolleret super religiones omnes si vel refragarentur associantes.*

In Hallenberg's 'Numismata Orientalia' are described several coins of the same age, the nearest in point of date being one of A.H. 126 (A.D. 743): Merwán, the son of Muhammad, etc., and fourteenth in descent from Omíah, came to the Khalifat in A.H. 127; and was killed in 132, being the last Khalif of that race.

Wásit, the town at which the coin was struck, was so called, says the same authority, from being half-way (واسط 'the middle') between Basra and Kufa; it was built by Ibn-Gjuzí in A.H. 75, and remained the seat of the Khalifs and of the coinage until the 'Abbásidæ succeeded to the Omíah Khalifs, when the capital was established at Muhammadíah (or Baghdád) as proved by coins struck the year 137 A.H.

In the third volume of the 'Gleanings,' Plate XXIII., are depicted four Persian gold coins, also brought from Persia by Lieut. Conolly, which appear to belong to the Saljúk dynasty. In fig. 3, the words *ul-malik* are legible, but it requires some experience in the Kufic character to decypher the remainder.

BACTRIAN COINS.

J. Prinsep. del. et. sculp. 1832.

Published by Stephen Austin, Hertford.

III.—NOTE ON LIEUTENANT BURNES' COLLECTION OF ANCIENT COINS.

[JUNE, 1833.]

CONSIDERING the short space of time allowed to a traveller, in his rapid passage through a foreign country, for the pursuit of objects not immediately connected with his errand; and the disadvantages which his own disguise and the suspicions of the natives oppose to his search after the very rare relics of antiquity which may have escaped destruction for twenty centuries in their country: considering, too, that the inhabitants are unable to appreciate the value of such objects, and mostly ignorant of the demand for them among the inquisitive natives of the West, Lieut. Burnes may be deemed very successful in the store of coins he has brought back from the Panjáb and from the valley of the Oxus.

Of pure Bactrian coins, he will be able to add at least three to the cabinets of Europe; upon one of which the name of Euthydemus is quite distinct; while of the Indo-Scythic or subsequent dynasties, his store is so ample as to afford ten for the Bombay Literary Society, and as many more for our own cabinet; besides those he takes to Europe: and among the latter is one coin of the dynasty which supplanted the Macedonian princes of Bactria, calculated to excite much curiosity among antiquarians.

This abstruse subject is already deriving elucidation from the discovery of coins in many places, which is a forcible proof of the advantage of giving early publicity to such discoveries, and to the comments of antiquarians upon them. Already has Dr. Swiney at Karnál, following up his former researches, fallen upon two silver coins of Apollodotus and Menander, neither of them duplicates of the two which rewarded Colonel Tod's labours. I hope soon to have it in my power to engrave these coins, as a continuation of the plate I am now about to describe in illustration of some of Lieutenant Burnes' collection. Captain Wade has also presented me with a few coins obtained in his recent tour down the Satlej. To General Ventura, however, we still look for our richest harvest, because his coins have a definite connection with an existing monument; and when that meritorious officer shall see how Lieutenant Burnes has taught us to appreciate his labours at Manikyála, we hope he will no longer think us unworthy of being made the medium of their introduction to the knowledge of the world.

MACEDONIAN AND SYRIAN COINS.

Having given[1] a type of the coins of Alexander, I need not stop to describe those brought from Persia by our traveller, a tetradrachma and two small coins of that conqueror, in excellent preservation.

Captain Wade has presented me with a rarer silver coin of Alexander, having a fine juvenile portrait of the

[1] 'Journal of the Asiatic Society' of Bengal, Vol. II., Plate I.

Conqueror before he assumed the horn of Ammon; and, on the reverse, Apollo resting on the peculiar oracular seat, holding an arrow pointed downwards, in the right hand (denoting clemency); his left hand resting upon a bow.

The epigraphe is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ. On the exergue, the letter C; and on the left, a peculiar three-pronged monogram, resembling the letter A.

This coin is not mentioned by Pinkerton, and would, doubtless, be designated by him RRRR or *rarissimus*. It is engraved as fig. 1 of Plate III.: and was procured in Asia Minor by Dr. Martin, the German physician, lately in Ranjít Singh's service, and by him given to Captain Wade.

[This piece is from one of the mints of Alexander I. (Bala).]

To return to Lieutenant Burnes' collection.

PLATE II. FIG. 1, represents one of three beautiful coins of Antiochus VI. or Theos, of Syria, during whose war with Ptolemy Philadelphus Bactria revolted. These are supposed by Pinkerton to exhibit the most perfect examples, both of manly and of monetal beauty, to be found among ancient medals. They are, however, common enough. The epigraphe is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. Device—Jupiter seated, holding a small Victory.

[Antiochus XI.]

FIG. 2.—Another Antiochus, probably struck in Parthia, from the figure of the javelin-thrower.

[On its first publication this coin did not attract the attention it has since claimed, in the progress of our knowledge—incident to the testimony its *reverse* device affords, as to the distinct supremacy of the Seleucidæ in Ariana, as well as in virtue of the illustration of subsequent dynastic revolutions evidenced in the retention of the identical reverse-die by Diodotus after the assertion of his independence. And, although it may be

felt to be somewhat in anticipation of any general review of Bactrian coinages, which are more largely treated of in Prinsep's later essays; yet this clearly seems to be the most appropriate place to dispose of the sequent series of Diodotus' coins, which are united by the one and unvaried bond of similarity of type with this, the solitary exemplar of the class that occurs among the engravings in this volume.

The coin figured as No. 1, Plate II.,[1] of which we have now a second and far more perfect specimen,[2] is assigned, on historical grounds, to Antiochus II. ΘΕΟΣ, 280—261 B.C., though the portrait on the obverse does not altogether coincide with the likeness of that king exhibited on his ordinary coins. The reverse device is also a novelty in the Seleucidan series: it may be described—

Nude figure of Jupiter standing; the right arm is upraised in the act of hurling the thunderbolt, while the left is covered by the Ægis. An eagle is introduced at the foot of the figure. In the field appears the monogram [3] with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ.

The monogram to a certain extent associates these pieces with the Bactrian money of Euthydemus, among whose mint-marks this and a nearly similarly fashioned symbol is of frequent occurrence, while it has not hitherto been discovered on coins of more westerly origin.

I next pass to those pieces of similar type and device which bear the name of Diodotus, equally exhibiting the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, and but little varied in their die details, except in

[1] Reproduced in Burnes' Bokhárá, vol. ii. Pl. III. Fig. 8.

[2] Procured by J. Gibbs, Esq., Bombay Civil Service, at Karáchí.

[3] This monogram is copied from a cast of Mr. Gibbs' coin. The Burnes coin has the inner lines of the figure somewhat jumbled; but it seems to be wanting in the continuity of the perpendicular line, which in the very perfect Euthydemus piece in the British Museum, is clearly disconnected between the semicircle and the top of the T. Since the above note has been set up in type, I have had an opportunity of examining a third coin of this class simultaneously acquired by Mr. Gibbs, and now in the possession of Mr. Frere, the Commissioner in Sindh. The obverse of this piece is in remarkably fine preservation, and the die execution is literally perfect. The reverse has been double-struck, but the legend is distinct, as likewise is the monogram in the field as above given. The only portion of the impression that is materially obscured is the second monogram placed between the legs of the figure; which, however, seems to be composed of a Ξ enclosed within an O.

the introduction of a chaplet below the left arm of the figure on the *reverse*, and the rejection[1] or change of the monogram.[2]

Professor Wilson very naturally conjectured[3] that as the one class composed the Bactrian coinage of Diodotus the Satrap, struck in the name of his master, so the other formed the consecutive local issue of Diodotus, the independent sovereign! The simplicity of this arrangement is, however, somewhat complicated by the discovery of a most important medal which connects the names of Diodotus and Agathocles. I allow M. Bartholomæi to supply the details of this and his other interesting acquisition.

'1.—Drachme inédite de Diodote Ier.

'Tête diadèmée de Diodote, tournée à droite; les cordons du diadème flottent par derrière.

'Revers.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ. '(Monnaie) du roi Diodote.' Jupiter nud et debout, vu du dos, dans une attitude menaçante, brandissant le foudre, qu'il tient dans la main droite, le bras gauche étendu enveloppé du *pallium* en guise d'ægide; à terre, l'aigle à demi éployé. Dans le champ, à gauche, une couronne de lauriers; à droite, un monogramme confus; et plus bas, quelque chose d'incertain.

'Argent: module, 4: poids, 65 grains.

'2. Tétradrachme inédite, frappée sous le règne d'Agathoclès, en l'honneur de Diodote Ier.

'ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. '(Effigie) de Diodote le Sauveur.' Tête diadèmée de Diodote tournée à droite, les cordons du diadème flottent par derrière.

'Revers.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. '(Monnaie frappée) sous le règne d'Agathoclès le Juste.' Jupiter nud et debout, vu du dos, dans une attitude

[1] The gold coin in the Paris collection has no monogram.

[2] The monogram on Mr. Bartholomæi's drachma is . Major Cunningham has already published a nearly similar monogram, (Num. Chron. viii. p. 180), outlined as , and derived from other specimens of Diodotus' coinage: regarding which he remarks as follows: 'No. 2., also No. 57 of Frölich; Nos. 5, 9, and 46 of Gough. This occurs on a drachma of Diodotus, and on both the silver and copper coins of Seleucus Nicator, but not on those of his successors. The natural inference from these facts is, that this monogram represents the name of a city, which once belonged to the Seleucidæ, but was afterwards wrested from them by Diodotus. The monogram forms ΜΑΡΓΙΑΝΗ, the name of the capital of Margiana, which was at first called Seleucia Margiané, and afterwards Antiochia Margiané; and which was undoubtedly one of the principal cities belonging to Diodotus.' The configuration of the present monogram and the independent exhibition of the Γ would certainly appear to improve Major's Cunningham's position, only in this case the cross-line at the top of the M is clearly superfluous. The remaining monogram on Diodotus' *proper* coins is given by the same author as . This he proposes to identify as ΤΑΛΙΚΑΝΑ, *Tálikán*, which is hardly so satisfactory a rendering.

[3] 'Ariana Antiqua,' 219.

menaçante, brandissant le foudre, qu'il tient de la main droite, le bras gauche étendu, enveloppé d'un manteau (pallium) à frange ; à terre, l'aigle à demi éployé. Dans le champ, à gauche, une couronne de lauriers ; à droite, un monogramme qui ressemble à la lettre Φ (assez fréquent sur les médailles de la Bactriane).

'Argent : module, 9½ : poids, 4 drachmes, 14 grains. [a]

'La tétradrachme II. a été évidemment frappée après la mort de Diodote Ier. La légende du côté de la tête donne au roi le titre de σώτηρ ('Sauveur') : c'est un hommage de reconnaissance de la nation, qu'il a délivrée du joug étranger (Prolog. Trog. Pomp. XLI. Justinus XLI. c. 4). Ce titre de 'Sauveur' n'a pas été dicté par la flatterie, car la Bactriane devait son existence politique au courage et à la sagesse de Diodote. Si l'on conservait encore quelques doubtes sur le véritable fondateur de la monarchie bactrienne, la légende de cette médaille, confirmée par le témoignage historique, suffirait pour prouver la vérité concernant ce fait.' (B. Koehne's 'Zeitschrift für Münz- Siegel- und Wappen-kunde,' etc., Berlin, 1843, p. 65).

M. Bartholomæi, it will be seen, considers this medal to have been struck in posthumous honour of Diodotus I., or II., during the reign of Agathocles. Professor Lassen prefers to suppose that Agathocles reigned over part of Eastern Bactria or in Badakhshán, at first in subordination to Diodotus, and subsequently as an independent prince; and that, therefore, this coin must be looked upon as having been struck by Agathocles while Diodotus was still king, though, possibly, in mere nominal acknowledgment of the supremacy of the latter.

Lassen,[1] following Droysen, discovers indication of a lower stage of kingly power as implied in the use of the term ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ, when contrasted with the ordinary title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. However, M. Bartholomæi has risen up in his own defence, and in this respect, I think, triumphantly demonstrated the true value of the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ, whatever may be said about the inferences he draws in regard to the relative positions of the two kings. But this last is far too large a subject to be entered upon satisfactorily in these hasty notes, so I shall content myself with permitting M. Bartholomæi to be heard in his own cause, though not to the extent of the thirty-two pages he devotes to his 'Réponse à M. Droysen.'[2]

[a] This coin is stated to have been found at Bukhárá by M. de Khanikoff.

[1] 'Indische Alterthumskunde,' 1852.

[2] 'Notice sur des Médailles de la Bactriane (Réponse à M. Droysen sur ses conjectures concernant les premiers rois de la Bactriane).' 'Zeitschrift für Münz,' etc., 1846, p. 129.

'Il nous paraît tout-à-fait impossible d'admettre qu' Agathoclès ait fait frapper cette médaille du vivant de Diodote et sous son autorité; comment dans ce cas aurait-il pu se dispenser de donner à un souverain plus puissant que lui, et vis-à-vis duquel il se serait trouvé dans une certaine dépendance, le titre de roi? ce titre que Diodote prenait sur sa propre monnaie?[a] ce titre qu'il s'était arrogé, et dont, par conséquent, il devait être encore bien plus jaloux que les rois héréditaires? Aucun des rois de ces hautes régions de l'Asie n'a manqué de s'intituler ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ sur sa monnaie. Ils y ont souvent ajouté d'autres épithètes, mais aucun n'a remplacé le ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ de rigueur. Comment ce vassal ou satrape de Diodote se serait-il permis de le priver d'un titre qu'il s'arrogeait lui-même? car le ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ne dénote aucune dépendance, comme semble le supposer M. Droysen. L'emploi de ce participe est un exemple presque unique dans la numismatique grecque,[b] mais non pas dans les inscriptions. C'est même par ce mot que commence celle de la fameuse pierre de Rosette.' p. 144.—E. T.]

BACTRIAN COINS.

Figs. 3, 4, 5, 6.—These silver coins, tetradrachms, are known at once to be of Bactrian origin, from the sitting figure of Hercules holding his club, on the reverse, much in the same posture as that of Jupiter on the Syro-Macedonian coins. The epigraphe on Fig. 3,—a valuable coin and in fine preservation—is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜ.. 'of King Euthydemus,' the third king of Bactria. The only coin of this monarch hitherto known in Europe is described in Mionnet's 'Description des Médailles Antiques.' Pinkerton says it is a gold coin, having 'two horsemen with Bactrian tiaras, palms, and long spears' on the reverse; it is therefore quite different from the unique specimen before us.

[a] It is a question how far this argument is good and valid. If the term ΣΩΤΗΡ implied so much as our author has previously claimed for it in reference to this very Diodotus, the absence of the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ need not create any difficulty. This, indeed, is the view most in accord with the probabilities of the case. We know that Alexander's generals did not obviously assume the title of King till about 306 B.C. Seleucus Nicator's coins restrict themselves to the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Antiochus I. has ordinarily the same title before his name; but we have two examples of his coinage bearing only the words ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. ("This is the same coin which Frölich thought unique, and confirming the assumption of the title of Soter to Antiochus I. in his seventh year." Gough, Pl. II., Fig. 13. See also Pl. III., Fig. 14, *Ibid.*) Ptolemy I. Soter, after adopting the title of King in 306 B.C., is stated to have had divine honours paid to him, as the 'saviour' and preserver of the Rhodians in 304 B.C., which is supposed to have been the first occasion of his adoption of the ΣΩΤΗΡ. This term, as in the parallel instance of Antiochus the First, we find in independent association with his name, though never in conjunction with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, which, however, equally holds its place on other mintages.

[b] Mr. Burgon has pointed out to me a medal which bears materially in favour of M. Bartholomæi's view. I transcribe Mionnet's notice of it. 'No. 568, Α. Κ. Μ. ΑΥ. ΚΟ. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝ. Tête laurée et barbue, à droite. *Rev.* ΚΟΜΟΔΟ.. ΒΑCΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟC Ο.. ΥΟCΜΟC (sic) ΕΥΤΥΧΕΙ. ΝΙΚΑΙΕΩΝ. en sept lignes, dans une couronne de laurier.' Supp. V. p. 105.

Fig. 4 has the features of a different prince; the reverse is, however, similar to the last, the three final letters of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ are visible: as are ..HM.. which can only form part, either of Ευθυδημος, or of δημητριος his son.

Fig. 5, of which there is a duplicate, is of a similar nature; the features corresponding with No. 3, or Euthydemus. There are two others of still ruder fabrication, distinguished by a more projecting forehead: they are illegible on the reverse.

Fig. 6.—One of two silver tetradachms. These are more like Arsacidan coins, the stool on which the figure on the reverse sits having the form of those depicted in Vaillant. Although the connection with the foregoing coins is very strong, the head-dress and formal curls appertain to the Persian monarchs. The inscription is in the Pehlví character: some of the letters resemble ill-executed Greek.

These coins are all from Khoja-o-bán, the ruins of an ancient city N.W. of Bukhárá, whence numerous gems and antiques were also procured.

[Since Prinsep wrote this description of Fig. 6 a question has arisen as to whether these decidedly 'barbarous imitations' should not be classed under Characene.[1] There is much to be said in favour of such an assignment, but there are for the present many valid reasons against any distinct recognition of this derivation. These coins have hitherto, almost without exception, been found in sites which associate them with the more perfect medals of Euthydemus, or in localities whither

[1] Professor Wilson's observations on the attribution of these coins, written in 1840, are to the following effect:—

'Nos. 9, 10, Pl. I. Tetradrachm. Head of king to the right, wearing a sort of cap or crown, as well as the fillet. *Rev.* sitting Hercules; barbaric inscription.

'These were brought from Bukhárá by Sir A. Burnes; and several others procured from the same place, as well as from other places north of the Hindú Kush, occur in his supplemental collection. They are apparently classed by M. Raoul Rochette with the preceding (J. des Sav., Sept., 1835, p. 515.) They are allied to them by the rudeness of their execution, and by the device of the reverse; but the costume of the head is very different from that of Euthydemus, and so is the expression of the face. It is also worthy of remark, that they bear a legend which, as far as has yet been observed, is always the same. It is so in the two specimens of the Plate; and in one represented in Baron Chaudois' Supplement. He also observes, that the legend 'est toujours figurée avec les mêmes caractères.' The inscription may possibly be intended for ΕΤΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ, but, if so, the modification of the Greek letters is curious. In the rude delineation of the Hercules they resemble the coins of the kings of Characene.' 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 225.

such types might well have found their way. They are discovered, too, in company not only with the better Greek examples of Euthydemus' mintage, but in conjunction with other less imperfect derivations from the normal type, which, in their progressive degradation and loss of weight, may well have prepared the way for the appearance of the more debased specimens! The device for the original Euthydemus reverse die seems to have been borrowed from the coins of Antiochus II. ΘΕΟΣ, with this difference, however, that while the Club of Hercules on the Western money is exaggerated in size and extends to the ground by the foot of the figure, the Eastern coins reduce it to more reasonable proportions, and ordinarily make it rest on the right knee. Unfortunately for any comparisons that we might institute in reference to these die details, the Characene coins equally share this modification. The style of the hair on the obverse of these imitations certainly seems to approximate more in character to the Mesopotamian type; but, on the other hand, the bare chin, though not incompatible with a derivation from the latter, is, to speak generally, opposed to the prevailing portraiture.

But to come to a much more important query—that is, in what characters are the legends expressed? Up to a certain point they manifestly continue to be copies, more or less fragmentary, from the original Greek ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ. On one coin,[1] while the consecutive Greek letters of the title are still fairly distinguishable, the name on the opposite side of the field is seen to be either much further degraded or else it must be supposed to be altered altogether; for, omitting the opening characters, the third, fourth, and fifth letters read palpably .. ΣΙΣ, and are followed by an Ε, which, however, is deficient in its lower line and takes the form of a modern F.

Next in order, I would cite one of Burnes' coins[2] which, so far,

[1] In the collection of Colonel W. Anderson, C.B., late of the Bengal Artillery.
[2] Now in the possession of General Fox.

retains traces of the title, in the letters.. ΑΣΙΛ...and exhibits the name after the strange fashion here represented [ϟΣΣ⊣⊢].[1] This piece would almost seem to exemplify one of the starting-points of the progressive degradation towards the *fixed* 'barbarous' legend, indicated in the Baron Chaudois' remark as 'toujours figurée avec les mêmes caractères,' which is only found in association with an obverse of extensively degraded type, remarkable for the spiked and bossed helmet with protective cheek-plates—the whole of which may, perchance, be only designed to represent a very barbarous rendering of an ordinary head of hair! In examining these legends, a very striking coincidence presents itself, which, although it may eventually prove to be purely imaginary, is entitled to a certain degree of notice in this place. A comparison of this writing with the legends on three very opposite classes of coins, displays an identity in the opening word in each that may well excite surprise. The coins referred to are—

1st. Those classed under fig. 9, pl. II. 2nd. Those figured as No. 10 in Dr. Scott's paper on 'Regal Coins of Mesopotamia.'[2] 3rd. A certain class of Indo-Sassanian money.[3]

Dr. Scott has proposed to render the word on the Mesopotamian money as משכא, Moská, and such the first four letters on the coins under review will fairly answer to, if tried by

[1] The first of these characters, it will be observed, is an Arian ϟ; other letters of this alphabet find their way into the mixed legends, but not so frequently among those that, as it were, lead up to the transition point. On a coin of Colonel Anderson's this ϟ recurs in a similar position in the general legend, while the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ line ends with ⊣ϟ⊣. On one of General Fox's coins the nominal legend opens (reading Semitically) with a figure like a Parthian ה *h*: this is succeeded by a facsimile of the third letter of the fixed debased legend ('Ariana Antiqua,' I. 9); next follow the well-formed Arian characters ⊢⊣; after these come two semicircular strokes that indicate an ⊣⊢, in Sassanian: and the whole concludes with an Arian ⊢ P, which may equally stand, in the interchange of alphabets, for a Parthian ת T.

The heads on the obverse of both these coins continue to display fair artistic execution, and are but little removed from the Greek model.

[2] Numismatic Chronicle, XVIII., p. 34.

[3] Unpublished: East India House Collection.

Aramæan tests.[1] In like manner the opening letters of the Phœnician-looking money, in a specimen quoted below (p. 34), may be accepted for the moment, as representing similar sounds. The Sassanian mintages, while reproducing the same initial character, merge the Aramæan ש, or ס, into the similitude of an early Pehlví 𐭮 *s*. The third letter is also more Sassanian than the Semitic כ *k* of the other series, though, strange to say, the fourth character, if it be read as an א *a* at all, must needs be referred back to the Aramæan category. The most obvious and satisfactory way of disposing of the difficulty would be to propose to consider the four letters as representing the word מלכא *malká*, only that there is scarcely authority for the liberty that would thus have to be taken with the Mesopotamian ש, even if the Sassanian legend, supposing it to be analogous, did not leave the balance of evidence against such an alteration.

The identities cease with these letters, and it would be hazardous to suggest any reasonable reading for the concluding portion of the legend on the debased coins unless, indeed, it is permissible to conjecture 𐭠𐭮𐭪 Esak, or Asak, for Arsaces, in which case it will be necessary, for consistency's sake, to revert to the reading of *malká* for the initial title; otherwise it will be difficult to reconcile the use of two differently shaped, and conflictingly derived *s*'s on one and the same coin.—E.T.]

FIG. 8 was obtained from the same place. A gold coin of one of the Sassanian kings of Persia, supposed to be Sapor (Shápúr). The name and titles are very distinct in the Pehlví character. It is remarkable that the usual supporters of the fire-altar, two priests or kings, are omitted; unless indeed the rude ornaments on each side are intended to represent human figures holding swords. A silver Sassanian coin delineated in Hyde's 'Religio Veterum Persarum' has

[1] [It will be necessary to accept the earlier Phœnician forms of ס, rather than the more positive Aramæan type of this letter, in justification of the proposed reading. The כ is also somewhat arbitrarily assigned; and the final O Aramæan = א has more the similitude of a Bactrian 𐭯 *p*, or Parthian 𐭩 *t*, than a true Syriac ܐ.]

similar supporters. Lieut. Burnes has also a silver Sassanian coin; it is curious, from the contour of the fire-altar being fashioned into a human profile; it was found at Khiva. I have not room to insert it.

[The obverse may be supposed to bear the usual legend of Sapor (see p. 14, *ante*) more or less defectively expressed. The writing on the reverse is difficult to read from the engraving, but it will be sufficient to indicate that the usual legend is

نووازي *Núwází* • شهپوهري *Shahpúharí*

I originally suggested the identity of the latter word with ناوس (Arab. ناووس) 'a fire temple.'[1] Dr. Mordtmann, in a later publication on Sassanian coins,[2] while concurring in the decipherment, derives the word from نوازيدن, نواختن 'to praise.' In the later specimens of this reverse type, نووازي is occasionally replaced by either اثوري, or راستي.—E.T.]

FIG. 9.—One of twenty small Sassanian copper coins, which are very abundant in the same neighbourhood. They have a good head on the obverse, and a very rudely executed fire-altar on the reverse.

[I am fortunate in being able to quote, in illustration of this class of copper money,[3] an unique silver coin of analogous type, lately brought from India by Major Cunningham, and now in the British Museum.

The *reverse* legend of this piece is reproduced in the accompanying woodcut, , which, in connexion with my remarks on the 'barbarous imitations' of the Euthydemus type, I would venture, with due reserve, to tran-

[1] ['Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' xiii. 386 (1852).]

[2] ['Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft,' 1854, p. 32.]

[3] [These copper coins are not uncommon in Northern India, but as far as my own experience extends, they are usually met with as isolated specimens, as if their point of issue had been elsewhere; on the other hand, to judge of the localities whence the other specimens of the class have been obtained, there is no reason to refer their origin to any Mesopotamian site.]

scribe into modern characters, as מלכא מיכל *malká míkal.* On the copper coins the legends are less definite, and seem to vary extensively in the expression of the several letters. On a specimen in our National collection, I observe that the second letter is fashioned exactly after the manner of a Palmyrene ל.[1] The fourth character of the silver coin again is often merged, on the copper specimens, into an apparent pedestal for the fire-altar, though at times it takes the shape of a more modern Aramæan מ, the acceptance of which, however, as such, would necessitate a modification of the value already assigned to the older form of that character. To continue these comparisons, I find many of the copper pieces replacing the second מ of the silver exemplar by a character identical, in their several independent series, with the outline given to the second and likewise to the eighth or *final* consonant. In some cases the three letters follow uniformly the design of the concluding figure above delineated; and again—in the specimen from which I cite the Palmyrene ל—there is an equal consistency of form pervading the three characters, though, as has been remarked, the type of that character differs materially from the more common design.

Further, it is to be noted, that the copper coins usually render the second כ in complete identity with the first letter of that value, omitting altogether the conjoined letter I have transcribed as ' *i*; though leaving traces of an initial mark, such as occurs on the first כ in the facsimile inserted above.[2] In these cases, therefore, the preferable reading would be מלכ לכל, *malak lakal;* whether these words מיכל and לכל are designed to represent names it is difficult to say; but supposing them by any hazard to constitute a portion of a mere titular legend, it is singular to note how near the מיכל approaches to the Greek ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ.—E.T.]

[1] [Gesenius, pl. v. Klaproth: 'Aperçu,' pl. xi.]

[2] [Klaproth gives a character very similar to this under his Babylonian heading, to which he assigns a value of ה *h*. 'Aperçu,' pl. xi. I prefer the כ. See Lr. Scott's coin of Ibilna.]

FIG. 7.—A square copper coin from Shorkót, a fortress twenty miles from the junction of the Jelum and the Chunáb (the Hydaspes and Acesines), where Alexander lost his fleet in a storm. It is by some thought to be the fortress of the Malli, in the assault of which he was wounded. All that can be read of the inscription is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.... On the other side the inscription is in Pehlví. This coin may be ascribed with tolerable certainty to Menander, both because it resembles in shape the coin of that prince in Colonel Tod's plate, and because the three first letters of the word which follows ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ have much the appearance of NIK, or ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ, the epithet applied to Menander, according to Schlegel, 'Journal Asiatique,' Nov. 1828. The standing figure, however, on the obverse, and the curious emblem on the reverse, supposed by Colonel Tod to be a portable altar, agree rather with his coin of Apollodotus.

[This is a common type of a coin of Apollodotus; the name is legible in the Arian character on the reverse.]

PLATE III. FIG. 2.—I must here introduce a coin procured from the same place by General Ventura, for which I am indebted to Captain Wade; it is a copper or brass coin of Antiochus, 'ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ,' with a Grecian head on the obverse, and the perspective view of the after-part of a boat on the reverse: the tiller of the rudder is worked from behind, as is even now the case in the river craft of the Indus. (A coin of Antiochus III. Magnus, dated ΠΙΖ = 117 = B.C. 196.)

A ruby seal antique [pl. iii., 3], with a well-executed head of a Grecian female, was found at the same place.

FIGS. 11, 12, 13, 15.—The series of small copper coins found near Manikyála, and generally throughout Upper India, which have a head on the obverse and a Bactrian horseman on the reverse, may be referred to the reign of Eucratides I., since the gold coin from the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea, described by Bayer, as having the same device on the reverse, bears in legible characters the epigraphe, 'of the great King Eucratides.' Our coins of this type have never shewn us more than the words 'King of kings,' and in most of them (as fig. 13, ΒΑCΙΛΕΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΥ) the Greek is so corrupted as to give the idea of a later epoch.

[Figs. 11 and 12 will be seen to bear the name of Ayasa or Azes on the reverse. On fig. 15 the designation is less distinct. Fig. 13 is a coin of the 'nameless king,' fig. 20, page 17.]

The type of the horse seems to have prevailed long afterwards in that part of the world, as fig. 14 evinces: it is a Hindú coin of much later, though of unknown, date. The Nágarí letters appear to be part of a larger inscription: their purport is therefore uncertain.

[Professor Wilson ('Ariana Antiqua,' p. 432) reads the Persian legend on the obverse of this coin as ناصر الدنیا و الدین *Násir ud-dunía wa ud-dín.* And Major Cunningham has independently deciphered[1] the Panjábí impression on the reverse, which he describes as 'Nágarí legend in characters of middle age, approaching Bengálí in form.' श्री महमद कतलक, *Srí Mahamad Katalak.* He assigns the entire class of these not uncommon coins to Saíf-ud-dín-Mohammed Kuttugh Khán, who revolted in the year A.D. 1255 against the government of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the Pathán Sultán of Dihlí.—E.T.]

FIG. 10.—A copper coin procured by Lieut. Burnes in the neighbourhood of Manikyála.

OBVERSE.—A king or warrior holding a spear in the left hand; and with the right sacrificing on a small altar (?). Epigraphe, BACIAEYC BAC.....KANHPKOY.

REVERSE.—A priest or sage standing, and holding a flower in his right hand; a glory encircles his head; on the left, the letters NANAIA —on the right, the usual Bactrian monogram with four prongs.

This coin is of very great value, from the circumstance of its being the only one, out of many discovered in the same neighbourhood, upon which the characters are sufficiently legible to afford a clue to the prince's name. In the onset, however, we are disappointed to find that none of the recorded names of the Bactrian kings at all resemble that before us; yet there can be no doubt about any letter but that preceding KOY, which

[1] ['Journal of the Archæological Society of Dihlí,' September, 1849, p. 38. This Society has as yet only put forth two numbers of its 'Journal.']

may be either Θ, Ρ, or C.[1] By assuming this latitude in the reading, I discovered a name which would agree, as nearly as it could be expressed in Greek, with KANHΘKOϒ or KANHCKOϒ; and should my conjecture prove correct, the discovery of this coin will be hailed as of the greatest value by all who are engaged in the newly-developed study of Bactrian antiquity. The coin was first placed with the Society by Lieutenant Burnes, but, seeing its value, I thought it but just, after taking impressions and drawings of it, to place it in the discoverer's hands, for the personal satisfaction of numismatologists in Europe. I suppose it to be a coin of Kanishka, a Tartar or Scythic conqueror of Bactria.

According to Mr. Csoma de Körös, the name of Kanishka occurs in the Tibetan works as a celebrated king in the north of India, who reigned at Kapila, which is supposed to be in Rohilkhand, or near Hardwár. His reign dates about 400 years after Sakya, when the followers of the Buddha religion had become divided into eighteen sects (the Sakya tribes, or Sacæ) under four

[1] By way of convenience to those who have not the power of reference respecting the history of Bactria, to which I may often have to allude in the discussion of these coins, I subjoin a catalogue of its kings, according to the authority of Schlegel: 'Journal Asiatique,' 1828, p. 326.

B. C. 255.	Theodotus I.	Fixed historically by Strabo, etc.
243.	Theodotus II.	
220.	Euthydemus of Magnesia.	
195.	Apollodotus Soter.	Alluded to by Plutarch, Trogus and Arrian, their coins prevalent in Baroach, A.D. 200.
	Menander Nikator.	
	Heliocles Dikaios.	On the authority of Visconti and Mionnet, from a single medal.
	Demetrius.	Son of Euthydemus, doubtful if he reigned in Bactria
181.	Eucratides I.	Artemidorus calls him the 'Great King.'
146.	Eucratides II.	Murdered his father and was himself slain.

125. Destruction of the empire by the Tatars and the Scythians or Sacæ.

principal divisions, of which the names, both Sanskrit and Tibetan, are on record.[1]

In Mr. Wilson's Chronological Table of the History of Kashmír ('Asiatic Researches,' xv., p. 81) we find 'Hushca, Jushca, and Canishca,' three Tatar princes, who succeeded Domodara, in the kingdom of Kashmír, either reigning successively or synchronously. They introduced the Buddha religion under a hierarch named Nágárjuna, and were, according to the 'Rájá Taranginí,' of Turushca or Tatar origin. The Sanskrit MS. places their reign 150 years before Sacaysinha (or Sakya Singh), but the learned translator in a note proves that the text was at first misunderstood, and that the passage intended to express '150 years *after the emancipation* of the lord, Sakya Sinha.'

The epoch of Sakya (the fifth Buddha, or Gautama) is determined by concurrent testimony of the Ceylonese, Siamese, Pegu, Birmese, and Chinese eras, which are all founded on the birth or death of the Buddha legislator, and, though all differing more or less, concur in placing him between the limits of 544 and 638 years B.C.: the Ráj Gurú of Asam, a pandit well versed in Buddha literature, fixes the Nirwán or emancipation of Sakya-Muni in 520 B.C.[2] Taking, then, from this epoch an interval of four hundred years to the reign of Kanishka, the latter would fall near the end of the second century B.C. We know from other sources, that the overthrow of the Bactrian dynasty by the Scythian or Sakyan tribes happened in 134 B.C. (125 by Schlegel.) The pre-

[1] Csoma's 'Life of Sakya,' MS.

[2] 'Oriental Magazine,' iv. 108.

sent coin, therefore, confirms the fidelity of the 'Rájá Taranginí' as a historical work, and leaves no doubt of the epoch of Sakya.

Mr. Wilson finds grounds for throwing back the termination of the reign of Abhimanya, Canishca's successor, from B.C. 118, as given in the 'Rájá Taranginí,' to B.C. 388, because 'Kashmír became a Buddha country under Tatar princes shortly after the death of Sakya;' but from Mr. Csoma's subsequent examination of the Tibetan sacred books, in which the three periods of their compilation are expressly stated—'first, under Sakya himself (520—638 B.C.), then under Asoka, king of Pátaliputra, 110 years after the decease of Sakya; and, lastly, by Kanishka, upwards of 400 years after Sakya'—little doubt can remain that the epoch as it stands in the 'Rájá Taranginí' is correct.

There are other circumstances connected with the Bactrian coins, which tend to confirm the supposition of a Buddhist succession to the Greek princes. In the first place, the reverse ceases to bear the formerly national emblem, the Bactrian horseman with the Macedonian spear, and in its place a sage appears holding a flower, and invariably having a glory round his head, proving him to be a sacred personage[1]; secondly, although upon the first coins of the dynasty we find the inscription in Greek characters (a custom which prevailed under the Arsacidæ also, and continued under the first Sassanian princes); still upon coins of the same device, but probably of later fabric, we find the same kind of

[1] See Colonel Tod's coins 11, 14; Mr. Wilson's plates, figs. 1, 2, 6, 7; and 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. ii., plate ii. figs. 17, 18.

character which appears upon the Dihlí and Alláhábád pillars:—the same which is found at Ellora and in many ancient caves and temples of Central India, and is held in abhorrence by the Bráhmans, as belonging to the Buddhist religion.[1]

I need not repeat Mr. Wilson's opinion, drawn from other grounds, that the tope of Manikyála, in the neighbourhood of which these coins are found, is a Buddhist monument, but it receives much confirmation from the discovery of this coin of the Sakyan hero, Kanishka.

Having thus far endeavoured to reconcile the coin before us, and others of the same class, to the Sakyan dynasty, to which the term Indo-Scythic very aptly applies; we may reasonably follow up the same train by ascribing the next series, which exhibit, on the reverse, a Bráhmaní bull, accompanied by a priest in the common Indian *dhotí*, as the coins of the Bráhmanical dynasty, which in its turn overcame the Buddhist line. Colonel Tod includes these coins in the same class as the last, and adduces his reasons for referring them to Mithridates, or his successors of the Arsacidan dynasty, whose dominions extended from the Indus to the Ganges, and to whom Bactria was latterly tributary. Greek legends of the 'King of kings,' etc., are visible on some, and what he supposes to be the Pehlví characters on the reverse:

[1] See translation of portions of the Salsette and Ellora inscriptions by Major Wilford, 'Asiatic Researches,' v. 140, which shews them all to refer by name to Sakya. Mr. A. Sterling, 'Asiatic Researches,' xv. 314, says of some similar inscriptions on the Udaya Giri Hill in Orissa:—'The Brahmans refer the inscription with horror and disgust to the time when the Buddhist doctrines prevailed. I cannot, however, divest myself of the notion that the character has some connection with the ancient Prákrit, and I think an explanation is to be looked for only from some of the learned of the Jain sect.' What has become of the key to this and other ancient Sanskrit alphabets, which Wilford says he fortunately discovered in the possession of an ancient sage at Benáres?

but I incline to think these characters of the Dihlí type, and the Bactrian monogram should decide their locality. Mr. Wilson and Schlegel both call them Indo-Scythic, and the latter, with Colonel Tod, names the figure 'Siva with his bull Nandí.'[1] Schlegel thinks it curious that such marks of the Hindú faith should appear on these Tatar coins, but, considering the Indian origin of the Sacæ, does not this rather prove the same of their successors, instead of their Tatar descent? It is more curious that the fire-altar should continue on all of the series, but the fact of its being a fire-altar at all is still matter of great uncertainty.

FIG. 16.—Copper coins of this device are met with throughout Upper Hindústán:—they constitute the third series of Colonel Tod's plate, and some in his possession have decided Greek characters upon them. On the obverse is the same warrior with spear and altar. On the reverse is what he supposes to be a priest about to sacrifice the bull; but in the coin before us the *dhotí* is so precisely the costume of the Bráhmans, that he inclines rather to look upon the animal (especially as he has the hump) as the sacred bull of this country; denoting the prevalence or predominance of the Bráhmanical faith in the Indian dependencies of Menander or Eucratides' dominion.

FIG. 18.—This type of coin is, if anything, more common than the last: and the inscriptions are no longer Greek; but either of the unknown character of the Dihlí column, or genuine Hindí. The figure astride upon the elephant is always much out of proportion, and the Rájá with the altar more rudely executed. The elephant is, like the horse, preserved in subsequent coins of the Hindús; thus

FIG. 17 represents one of these procured by Lieutenant Burnes in his tour. The same device is still common in Southern India. The form of the Nágarí characters on this and Fig. 14 agrees with those on copper grants of land 700 or 800 years old.

[Professor Wilson discovers the name of Srí Vanka-deva

[1] 'Ce qui me parait la circonstance la plus remarquable dans ces médailles, ce sont ces preuves du culte brahmanique adopté par les rois Tartares. Ils regnaient donc certainement sur des provinces où ce culte était etabli.'—'Journal Asiatique,' Nov. 1828.

on these coins ('Ariana Antiqua,' p. 430). I myself formerly accepted this reading,[1] and was inclined to identify the monarch so designated with the last of Albirúnís Kutúr kings, whose name is given in the Arabic texts as كنك Kanak[2] or Gang (the 'Kank' of M. Reinaud's French translation),[3] but I confess that there are difficulties in the way of the association; and, moreover, the name, in its Sanskrit form, is by no means assured, as it may be interpreted in various ways, but preferably, I think, वर्क *varka*. It has been proposed to render the name as पाक्क *pákka*, but to this transcription there are manifest objections, as it is usual to duplicate the क by a second character similar to the leading form of that letter. This practice, at all events, will be seen to have been followed in the majority of Indian inscriptions. (See Gupta coins, 'Ariana Antiqua,' plate xviii., fig. 4; also Allahábád Inscription, plate lv., vol. vi., 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal;' Gaya Inscriptions, *ibid*, plate xxxiv., etc.) Again, in regard to the initial प *p*, whatever may be the authoritative form of that letter, it is sufficient to say, in justification of my reading, that the outline of the character on the several coins almost uniformly agrees with that of the final व *v* in देव *deva*. But as I shall have to revert to this description of coins under Article XI., I defer any further remarks to the more appropriate occasion.—E.T.]

I do not mention Lieutenant Burnes' Muhammadan coins, as it is better to keep them distinct from the present engraved series, to which I may have soon to add a valuable supplement, containing a selection from Dr. Swiney's and General Ventura's discoveries. My task increases upon me daily, but I shall be amply rewarded

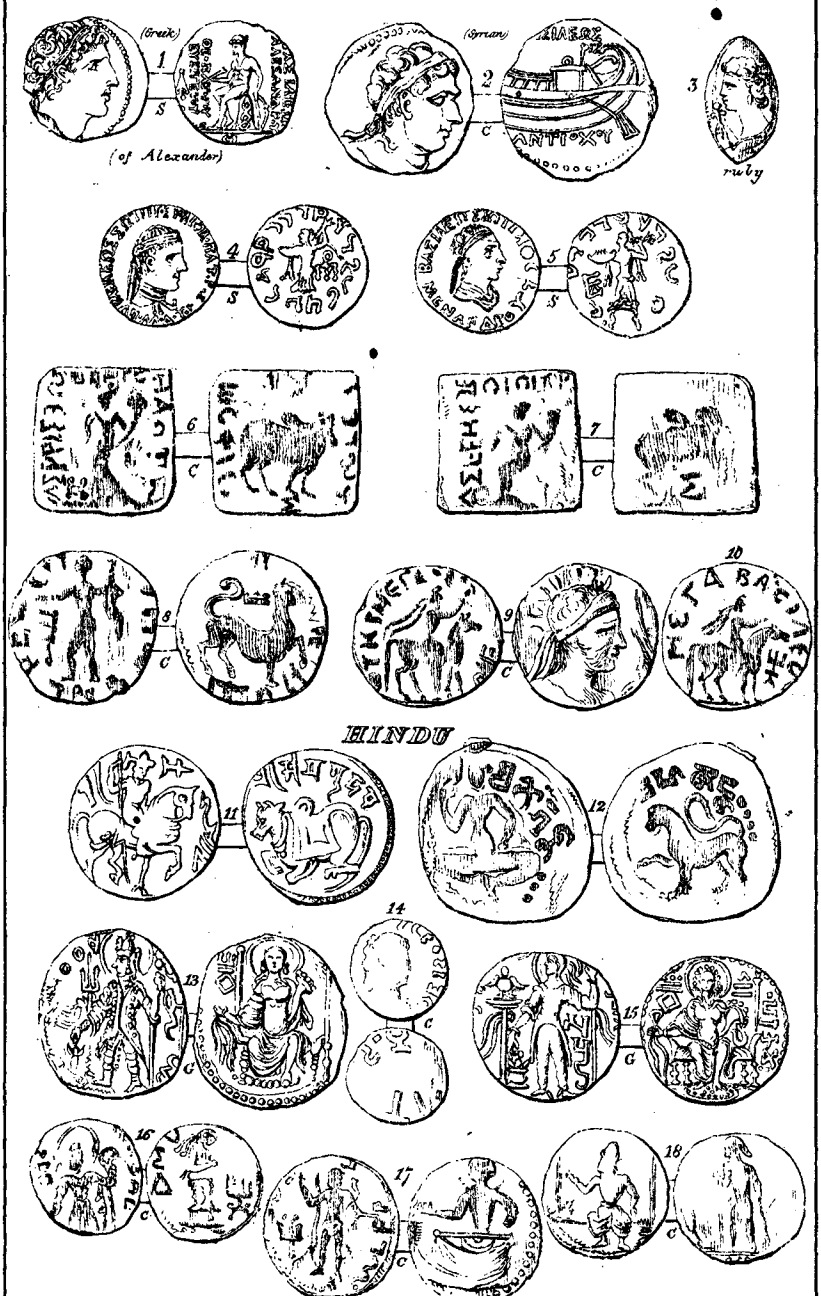
[1] ['Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' ix., 179.]

[2] ['Jámi'-ul-tawárikh,' etc., quoted in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' ix., 194.]

[3] ['Fragmens Arabes et Persans relatifs à l'Inde,' 'Journal Asiatique,' 4th series, vol. iv., 1844.]

if my humble notice of the discoveries of others shall, by connecting them with ancient history, eventually turn these most interesting reliques to the true end of numismatic study.

BACTRIAN COINS.



J. Prinsep del.

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IV.—BACTRIAN AND INDO-SCYTHIC COINS—*continued.*

[AUGUST, 1833.]

THE present plate introduces us to some of the coins of Dr. Swiney's collection, alluded to in my last article. It is as well to premise that all order of arrangement is out of the question where new objects are every day dropping in, and where the epoch of so many of our coins is not yet satisfactorily ascertained. Thus it happens that although headed 'Bactrian,' the last plate, as well as the present, contains coins of other dynasties.

Dr. Swiney pursued a course very similar to that of Colonel Tod in forming his collection:—'The plan I have found most successful under favourable circumstances of locality, or where no one has already explored the same ground, (and I have followed it many years before I heard of Colonel Tod's eminent success in the same pursuit,) is this: upon the line of march I employ an intelligent servant, generally a Musalmán tailor, to buy up old paisá, which the *baniyas* in some towns are in the habit of putting aside as useless, perhaps from father to son, and which rarely see the light except on occasions of this sort. Out of some dozens procured in this manner for as many current paisá, a few may be sufficiently curious to reward the trouble of search. Such beautiful coins as Lieut. Burnes brought back with

him from the Panjáb and Oxus are no longer to be procured in India; indeed ancient silver coins are of very great rarity compared either with those of gold or copper, and the only two Bactrian coins I have been so fortunate as to discover, were obtained out of the limits of our provinces.'

I have not attempted to engrave any of the numerous sketches of his antiques which Dr. Swiney has been so obliging as to forward, but have confined myself to those of which he has sent sealing-wax impressions, or paper casts made in the school-boy fashion (but not to be despised on that account), by wrapping the coin in several folds of paper, and rubbing the exterior with a key or hard blunt point.

BACTRIAN COINS, PLATE III.

FIGS. 1, 2, and 3 are described at pages 25 and 35.

FIG. 4.—A small silver coin of Apollodotus, weighing 36 grs.

OBVERSE.—Head with diadem and fillets, and a neckcloth, inscription circular, close but quite distinct; ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. The introduction of the conjunction ΚΑΙ I do not remember to have seen on any other Greek coin.

REVERSE.—Minerva Promachos. On the right is a singular monogram (No. 4 of the series at the foot of the plate), differing widely from that of Colonel Tod's coin of the same king (No. 6 of the same series). The legend is distinct but illegible, and agrees in character with that upon many of the bull and elephant coins. (See Wilson's plates, figs. 3, 4, 31; Tod, figs. 11, 12, etc.)

The native who brought this coin to Dr. Swiney stated that it was procured by him at a town called Kaital, in the Sikh territory, not far from Karnál.

FIG. 5. —A coin of Menander, agreeing in its general features with the last; weight, 34 grains.

OBVERSE.—A well-executed and intelligent face, with the diadem;

latter part of the inscription not very distinct, ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗ(ΡΟΣ?)

REVERSE.—Minerva wielding the bolts of Jove. The monogram (No. 5) resembles the last, without the hook (unless the hook below, as I at first supposed, forms a part of it); one half of the inscription consists of the same letters as appear on the coin of Apollodotus: it must, therefore, be the native title equivalent to *βασιλεως σωτηρος*.

This coin was purchased of a ṣarráf in the bázár at Subáthú.

In favour of these two coins I may venture to repeat the remarks of Professor Schlegel, on the equally valuable pair discovered by Colonel Tod:—'These two medals are beyond all price, as much for their admirable preservation as for their extreme rarity and their importance to history.' And I shall make no apology for also translating the Professor's learned commentary on that part of the Bactrian history connected with them, at length, as much more satisfactory than a partial gleaning or plagiarism of his remarks, which so well exemplify the use of numismatology in correcting the vagaries of historians:—

'In the profound obscurity which envelopes the history of Bactria, we must cull with care all that can throw the least light upon it.

'We find only two passages in ancient authors which mention king Apollodotus. Arrian, the reputed writer of the 'Periplus,' says, 'Αφ' *οὗ μέχρι νῦν ἐν* Βαρυγάζοις *παλαι αἱ προχωροῦσι δραχμαί, γράμμασιν* Ἑλληνικοῖς *ἐγκεχαραγμέναι, ἐπίσημα τῶν μετ'* Ἀλέξανδρον *βεβασιλευκότων* Ἀπολλοδοτου *καί* Μενάνδρου. 'For this reason even now ancient drachmæ are current at Barygaza (*Bhrigu-gácha* or Baroach), bearing, in Greek characters, the stamp of the kings who reigned after Alexander, Apollodotus and Menander.'

The two coins now brought to light, agree better with this passage from Arrian than those of Colonel Tod, on account of their exact similarity, which would allow them naturally to be coupled together in speaking of them.

'The other passage concerning Apollodotus is from the summary of the history

of Trogus Pompeius, which is placed at the head of the abridgment of Justin: Prolog. lxxi.

'Deinde, quo rege pugnante, Scythicæ gentes, Sarancæ et Asiani Bactra occupavere et Sogdianos. Indicæ quoque res additæ, gestæ per Apollodotum et Menandrum reges eorum.'

'The printed editions have 'Apollodorum,' which was corrected by the learned and judicious Bayer, on the authority of the 'Periplus.' This reading is now fully confirmed by a medal (two), an authentic and public monument. Vaillant and Longuerue suspected a corruption of the text, and sought to correct it in another way. They thought that the name of Apollodotus, the historian of the Parthian and Bactrian kings, had been confounded with that of a king; and Longuerue proposed to read 'ex Apollodoro, gestæ per Menandrum et Eucratidam, reges eorum.' This is not correcting, but disfiguring arbitrarily, an ancient text; and yet the latest editor of Justin in France, M. Lemaire, recommends this unwarrantable conjecture!

'Bayer, however, while he reinstates Apollodotus, disputes his title to the kingdom of Bactria, which Colonel Tod, again, vindicates with reason. Bayer would make him one of those Greek kings who, at that epoch, reigned separately over a part of India, such as Demetrius, son of Euthydemus. This is, in the first place, contrary to the text of Trogus Pompeius: for the word *eorum* applies to *Bactra et Sogdianos*. The coin confirms this refutation, for by what motive should a Greek king, not having possession of Bactria, put a legend in Bactrian characters on the reverse of his coin? I call them so, without prejudice to the question of the language to which they may belong. Certainly they are not Sanskrit: they have a strong resemblance to those on the early Sassanian medals. The credit of decyphering them is reserved for scholars acquainted with Zend and Pehlvi.

'To escape from this objection, we must suppose that Apollodotus reigned in the eastern provinces of the ancient Persian empire, south of Bactria. The medal of Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, discovered by Baron Meyendorf, bears a Greek legend, *βασιλέως Δημήτριου*; the empire of India is designated by the skin of an elephant's head with which the portrait of the prince is adorned.

'Apollodotus, therefore, must be admitted among the kings of Bactria. The celebrated Visconti has endeavoured to assign his probable place in Bayer's 'Chronological Canon of Six Kings,' the dates of which are, however, mostly conjectural: he places him after Euthydemus [see p. 38], and both the authorities quoted above agree in placing him before Menander. Now Menander certainly reigned between Euthydemus and Eucratides; but Visconti will not allow the latter to follow Menander directly: he makes a place between their reigns for Heliocles; whose name is only known from one medal bearing the inscription *βασιλέως Ἡλιοκλέους δικαίου*, and pronounced by Mionnet to be of Bactrian fabric, merely from analogy to other coins of the same locality—an argument by no means conclusive. When a coin of Heliocles shall be discovered in India or Tartary, we may grant his title to the Bactrian throne.

'It is difficult to assign the exact limits of the Indian dominions of the Bactrian monarchs, or of their contemporaries, who reigned in India itself. The ancients use the word India vaguely, and sometimes make it comprise the Persian provinces north-west of the Indus. The conquests of the Bactrians may have been made in two directions:—One, towards the east by the Panjáb, and onwards; the other, by following the course of the Indus. The expedition of Seleucus Nicator was directed towards the Ganges: by his treaty with Chandragupta, king of the Prasii (people of

the East), he gave up some provinces, and received a number of elephants in exchange. It is probable that the first kings of Bactria, on declaring themselves independent, took possession of what remained of Alexander's conquests in the Panjáb.' (Dr. Swiney's coins confirm their domination there, as far as the presence of medals can do so.) 'At any rate, the third king, Euthydemus, in his treaty with Antiochus the Great, by which treaty his independence was acknowledged, gave up all his elephants. This proves two points: first, that Euthydemus had provinces, or at least subjects, in India proper; second, that his rule was not extensive, for the elephants were few in number; added to those given by Sophagasenus to Antiochus, they made but 150, whereas Seleucus received 400 from Chandragupta.

'Antiochus' expedition was brilliant, but it procured him little solid advantage beyond the acquisition of these war elephants. After his campaign against Euthydemus and Sophagasenus he repassed the Indus, and returned by way of Arachosia and Carmania to the western seat of his empire.' (Was it after this expedition that he struck the coin represented in figure 2, depicting the stern of a boat of the river Indus?)

'Euthydemus may have profited by the distance of Antiochus, and the decline of his strength, to deprive him of the provinces situated along the Lower Indus. It is certain that Demetrius reigned there, I think, first as governor in the name of his father; afterwards as an independent king. Demetrius did not succeed Euthydemus in Bactria: his absence, perhaps, allowed his competitor to supplant him. If Demetrius had not been in possession at the death of his father, with what force could he have conquered these vast provinces, when the army of Bactria was at the command of a rival? It is he, no doubt, who founded the city of Demetrias in Arachosia, the name of which is preserved in the geographical work of Isidorus. Thence his dominions extended to the Delta of the Indus.

'Trogus Pompeius ascribes exploits in India to Apollodotus and Menander; Strabo also to the latter. Their conquests, then, must have been towards the Panjáb, since they would have come into contact with Demetrius on the south; and there is no mention of war between the Bactrians and this king of India until the end of the reign of Eucratides. Strabo says expressly that Menander passed the Hyphases and penetrated to the Jamna. Εἴγε καὶ τὸν Ὑπανιν διέβη προς ἕω, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ισαμου προῆλθε. Lege Ὑασιν et Ιωμανον.

'This authorises our extending his kingdom to Mathurá or even Baitasor (where Colonel Tod's coin was found). The probability is, that it included the kingdom of Láhor; for since Strabo says that Menander was the first to penetrate so far, his predecessor's rule, of course, must have been more limited.'

Plutarch bears testimony to the excellent character of Menander as a sovereign:—'A certain king, Menander, who had reigned with justice over the Bactrians, having died in camp, the cities in common had the care of his funeral rites, but afterwards contended for his ashes; they at last divided his remains equally amongst them, and agreed that monuments to him should be

raised amongst them all.'[1] May not this singular passage have had its origin in a confused account of the monuments raised by the Buddhists to preserve the relics of their lawgiver, of which one at Manikyála seems to have been founded immediately after the Bactrian monarchy was overthrown, and while the communication of those countries with the West was still, perhaps, maintained.[2] But to return to Schlegel's epitome:—

'We know nothing of Heliocles, if, indeed, he ever reigned in Bactria. But as Eucratidas was the first to assume the distinction of 'Great King,' it is natural to suppose that he aggrandized the empire. He may have conquered Ariana, which Strabo says belonged to Bactria.

'For the war between Eucratidas and Demetrius, king of India, we are reduced to the unsatisfactory notice of Justin, according to whom Demetrius was the aggressor. Eucratidas, at first besieged, and in great danger, saved himself by his valour, and finished by despoiling his adversary. In his retreat, after terminating this war, he was assassinated by his son. Bayer thinks that this Demetrius is the same who, in his youth, negociated the peace for his father Euthydemus with Antiochus. However, the great age to which he must have attained is a staggering objection. One may reconcile probabilities by supposing that a son of the same name had succeeded to Demetrius' throne.

'The existence of the parricide of Eucratidas is well established; but his name is unknown, and it is uncertain whether he enjoyed the fruits of his crime. King Eucratidas II., therefore, in Bayer's catalogue, rests only on a double conjecture.

'Thus end the Bactrian kings hitherto known. The later history of the dynasty is enveloped in darkness yet thicker than the rest. Justin attributes its destruction to the Parthians; the author of the summary of Trogus Pompeius to the Scythians; both quoting the same authority. It appears, then, that both these nations took part in it, but that the Scythians remained in possession.

'In a fragment of Diodorus, or rather in an extract by Photius, it is said that one of the Arsacidæ (no doubt the sixth, Mithridates I.) penetrated as far as India and seized the kingdom of Porus, *i.e.*, the country between the Hydaspes and the Acesines. Bayer says, with reason, that the Greeks, wherever they allude to India, imagine a Porus;—but in this case the historian seems justified, for we see that the Bactrians possessed not only that province, but even beyond it. By Bayer's calculation, Mithridates I., king of Parthia, must have survived Eucratidas by seven years, but these dates are purely conjectural. At any rate, it is after Eucratidas' death that these conquests must have been made: the war between him and Demetrius would not have taken place had the Parthians occupied the intervening provinces. Eucratidas was assassinated when in the height of his power:—it is, then, after his death,

[1] Major Tod on Bactrian Medals, 'Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society,' i. 330.
[2] See page 39.

that the decline of the empire commenced. M. de Guignes, from the Chinese historians, fixes the epoch of its destruction in the year 125, B.C. The king or kings who may have reigned in the interim are yet unknown—perhaps they may be brought to light by Colonel Tod's discoveries.'

The above condensed and critical sketch of the later Bactrian kings contains all that is known of them, and leaves us to fill up blanks only as fresh matter may be elicited through the labours of the antiquarian in this fruitful field. Schlegel felt pride in adding two cognomens to his two kings; Dr. Swiney's coins have already increased their Majesties' titles; giving to Menander the common appellation 'saviour;' and to his predecessor, in addition to the same title, the respectable appellation of 'Philopator,' 'loving son.' This latter title is of more consequence than might at first be suspected, for, unless his father were of kingly dignity, he would not have been mentioned: and it is more than probable that his son succeeded him peaceably. But we have no knowledge who the father was, since Demetrius is the only recorded son of Euthydemus. We may suppose him, to be sure, to have been a brother—perhaps a younger one,—a favorite—'a gift of the gods,' as his name implies; and this might account for the mission of the rightful heir to a distant province: but it is wrong to hazard conjectures upon points of such remote diplomacy!

FIGS. 6 and 7.—Two square copper coins resembling in form Fig. 7 of Plate II. Weight, 102 and 121 grains.

OBVERSE.—A figure, apparently female, holding a cornucopia on the left arm; the other indistinct; legend in parallel lines, and evidently Greek, but only partially legible: the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ commences both of them.

REVERSE.—The Indian bull with hits hump, encircled with the unknown character. Below, on both coins, the letter Ϡ or a symbol of that form.

One of these coins was found at Machwarra, a small town near the Satlaj river, between Ludiána and Rúpar; the other in the bázár at Bussy, on the road from thence to Simla. Dr. Swiney considers them to be not only similar, but of the same die. It is not possible to do more than ascribe them to the Bactrian dynasty generally.

[These are now known to be coins of Philoxenes. See pl. xv. fig. 2.]

FIG. 8.—This small copper coin, from the neighbourhood of Saháranpúr, is classed among the Bactrian coins by Dr. Swiney, from the similarity of its monogram to that of fig. 4. The legend also appears Greek: the obverse has a warrior with a bow (?) and the reverse a lion, panther, or *singh*, which connects it with one class of the Hindú coins.

FIGS. 9, 10.—I have introduced these two of Dr. Swiney's Bactrian-horsemen, or Eucratides,' coins,[1] because the head is in better preservation than usual, and a letter or two more of the legend can be added to the scanty list hitherto elicited; thus, on fig. 9, we have ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑ...and on the other ΜΕΓΑ ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC, 'the great king,' quasi Mahá Rájá. As far as the specimens hitherto discovered can prove it, the nominative seems to be used in all the coins of this type, instead of the genitive, as is usual on Greek medals; the terminations are also corrupted; all which circumstances tend to pronounce these coins to belong to the last princes of the race, as conjectured in ascribing them to Eucratides.

FIG. 14 is a small coin supposed to have Greek characters, but undecypherable.

FIGS. 16, 17, 18, are drawings of three small copper coins procured by Lieutenant Burnes at Manikyála, which differ in some particulars from those already made public, and are on that account, rather than as leading to any fresh observation, now inserted. Fig. 16 belongs, from the side figure of the female stooping, and the monogram or symbol, to the Kanishka group. Fig. 18, a man sitting, dressed in the Bráhmanical *dhoti*, accords so far with No. 1 of Mr. Wilson's plate, a gold coin dug out of the tope at Manikyála by General Ventura. Fig. 17 is of a novel type, but the coin was in too imperfect a state to permit an accurate development of the figures.

[1] See plate ii., and p. 36.

HINDÚ COINS.

From the coins of Bactria a transition is easily traced through the dark period of the Indo-Scythian or Buddhist dynasty, (to which numerous coins have been allotted upon such degree of internal evidence as their appearance affords,) to the coins of the Hindú princes of Central India, Andhra, Rájputána, Kanauj, Indraprastha, and perhaps Magadhá or Bahár. I have, on a former occasion, ventured to doubt [1] whether any native coin, properly so called, had circulation in India anterior to the

[1] Page 4 *suprâ*, and 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' I. 394. [I annex extracts from an elaborate note of Burnouf's bearing on this subject. "Or il fallait, pour obtenir les faveurs de Vâsavadattâ, donner cinq cents Purâṇas. . . . Je ne demande pas. . . un seul Kârchâpaṇa." Introd. 147. (Note.)—"Il importe, en premier lieu, de remarquer que le Purâṇa dont il est parlé dans le texte, est une monnaie de poids, c'est-à-dire une monnaie appartenante à un système purement indien, et antérieur, conséquemment, à l'influence qu'a exercée dans l'Inde le système monétaire des Grecs de la Bactriane. Or dans le système auquel appartient le Purâṇa, qui est un poids d'argent, l'unité est le Raktikâ, c'est-à-dire le poids d'une graine rouge de Gundja ou de l'*Abrus precatorius*. . . . On comprend qu'on arriverait à un résultat beaucoup plus élevé, s'il s'agissait d'un poids d'or; mais l'emploi du mot Purâṇa nous interdit absolument cette supposition, puisque le Purâṇa est positivement donné pour un poids d'argent. . . . Quoi qu'il en soit, les termes de 'Mâcha' et de 'Mâchaka' appartiennent, comme celui de 'Raktikâ,' à ce système de poids fournis par la nature, et très-problablément fort ancien, qui caractérise les époques de civilisation encore peu avancée; car le Mâcha est un haricot de l'espèce dite *Phaseolus radiatus*. Le texte de notre légende parle encore d'une autre monnaie, le Kârchâpaṇa, qui est, suivant Colebrooke ('Asiatic Researches,' v. 93) égal à 80 Raktikâs de cuivre, c'est-à-dire à 175 grains troy anglais, ou, suivant Wilson, à 176 grains. Quoique le Kârchâpaṇa puisse être aussi bien un poids d'or et d'argent que de cuivre, l'ensemble du texte me semble prouver qu'il y faut voir un Kârchâpaṇa de cuivre, car la courtisane veut certainement dire qu'elle ne demande pas même à Upagupta, la plus petite somme."—*Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme indien*, p. 597. Professor Wilson enters into the question more fully. His summary is necessarily of the highest value in the citation of Hindú authorities, thought he numismatic and other evidence might, perhaps, have warranted a more decisive expression of opinion in favor of the antiquity of Indian coinages.] "Doubts have been entertained of the existence of a native Indian currency prior to the introduction of the art of coining by the Greeks of Bactria (Prinsep: 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' i. 384, *suprâ cit.*) and certainly there are strong grounds for admitting the probability that the fabrication of money in India originated with them. There are some considerations, however, which militate against it. That the want of a specific denomination of money is not incompatible with a metallic medium of exchange, we know from the practice of the Chinese and Indo-Chinese nations to the present day, amongst whom certain weights of gold and silver, sometimes bearing a stamped attestation of their standard value, take the place of coined money. This may have been the case also with the Hindús; and as the different tables, which are given in their law-books, of the several values of gold

incursion of Alexander. In none of the ancient books[1] of the Hindús is mention made of coined money. The word 'suvarna,'[2] or 'gold,' which occurs frequently in the Puránas, is supposed to mean a lump of gold of a fixed weight, such as is still current in Ava and China. Colebrooke states,[3] on the authority of Manu and other authors, that the 'suvarna' (karsha, arsha, or tolaka) was equal to sixteen máshas. If the másha was, as now, about 17.4 grains only, this would certainly make the Suvarna[4] small enough to admit of a doubt whether it

and silver refer to weight, not to number (Colebrooke 'Asiatic Researches,' v.), it is likely that the currency of the country consisted chiefly, if not exclusively, of lumps of gold and silver not bearing any impression, until the Hindús had learned the usefulness of money from their Bactrian neighbours, and from their foreign commerce, especially with Rome. At the same time it seems likely that they had a sort of stamped coin even before the Greek invasion. In all parts of India numerous small pieces of silver have been found in the ground—some oblong, some square, some round—and which were, no doubt, once employed as measures of value ('Asiatic Researches,' xvii. 596, pl. v.)" (See Art. X. pl. xx.) "They commonly, but not always, bear upon them rude symbols of the sun and moon, a star or nondescript mark, to which it is not easy to assign a definite import, but the application of which gives to them the character of a coinage. The style of these pieces and the rudeness of their execution, are in favour of their ancient date, as it is scarcely probable that after the art of fabricating money had been introduced, the making of such coins would have been continued. They would have preceded also, it may be supposed, the law which inflicts punishment on the falsifier, not only of the standard, but of the fabric and the stamp of the coin as has been noticed above ('Ariana Antiqua,' page 364, note). Again, it is well known that the chief punishments in the penal code of the Hindús are fines, and it is difficult to reconcile such a penalty with a mere weight of metal. The 100, 500, and 1,000 Panas, which are the several series of mulcts in Manu, might possibly have intended so many pieces, or their equivalent in weight in some other metal; the Pana being either a copper weight or a coin of about 200 grains, which may be considered as that of the native Pice or copper coins. That it was a coin is so understood apparently by the commentator on the text of the 'Yajnawalkya,' in which he explains the word karsha or pana to denote a fabricated form of copper (*támrasya vikára*), and a text of Vichaspati is quoted in law-books, which defines a Karsha or Pana to be a stamped coin. That it had come to signify a piece of money, there is no doubt, although at what period is open to conjecture. It is not unlikely that Hindú artists were employed by some of the Greek princes."—'Ariana Antiqua,' page 403.—E.T.]

[1] The 'Rájá Taranginí,' a comparatively modern work, mentions the dínár, a Persian gold coin. [The term occurs also in the Sanchí inscription of Chandra Gupta. See Art. X. *infrá*.]

[2] 'Asiatic Researches,' V., 93.

[3] See Mr. Ravenshaw's note, 'Journal of the Asiatic Society,' II., page 266.

[4] Major Wilford, and many as inveterate etymologists, might have derived our English 'sovereign' from this word, had it chanced to have been current at an earlier period than is assigned by our mint annals for its introduction, namely, Edward IV.'s reign, A.D. 1489.

did not bear some stamp: on the other hand, small lumps of gold called 'phátang,' of a smaller weight and value, and without a stamp, are still brought from the hills, and passed as cash in the purchase of goods in the plains. Again, the great analogy which is observed between the earliest Indian coins introduced to our notice by modern research, and those of the Macedonian colonists, is a very strong argument in favor of the supposition that the art of die-cutting was introduced at that period; and the employment of Greek workmen may reasonably account for the continuance of Greek legends where, otherwise, they would have been little expected. A further direct and incontestable proof of their connection is derived from the similarity of the monograms or symbols visible on most of them. I have inserted, at the foot of the present plate, such of these as occur in the coins before us. Most of them may be found on the Greek civic coins of the Hunterian cabinet at Glasgow; those upon the genuine Greek coins are evidently cyphers or compounds of Greek letters; either numerals marking the date, or initials of persons connected with the mint.

Monogram 1 appears upon a coin of Demetrius of Syria (see plate v.), and may be compounded of A T, symbolical of Antioch, the place of coinage: it is No. 67 of Combe's Hunterian Catalogue. Monogram 2, on Alexander's coin (53 of Combe) may be A, and may stand for one of the numerous cities of this monarch's name. The third (plate ii., fig. 1) is evidently formed of the Greek letters P E, being, perhaps, the date (105 of the Syrian era, or 206 B.C.)[1] subjoined by A, betokening the locality.

The next four (4, 5, 6, 7) occur in the coins of Apollodotus and Menander (86, 216, and 326 of Combe). Colonel Tod supposes the latter two and fig. 9 to be formed of numeral letters, but the combina-

[1] If so, this coin should belong to Antiochus the Great, and not Antiochus Theos, as supposed in page 25, from his cognomen, Epiphanes.

tion of units is pronounced to be inadmissible. 8 and 9 appear on the coin of the last Bactrian monarch, 'the great king.' They are not found in Combe; but the latter may be a combination of the letters O, T, H and E. Nos. 10, 11, and 12, having four prongs and the ring below cut open, belong to the supposed Kanishka coin, and all the coins of the rájá and bull, and rájá and elephant type. These can no longer be interpreted as letters, though evidently imitated from the foregoing. Monogram 13 occurs in one of Colonel Tod's coins of the same class, with the running figure (13 of 3rd series); but it may probably be an imperfect impression of the foregoing symbol. From monogram 12 to the lozenge form of 14 is but a slight transition, and thus we pass to a wholly different class of coins, ascribed by Colonel Tod to the Pándu dynasty, because the inscriptions are in the same character which is found wherever the Pándu authority existed; in the Caves, and on the rocks of Junagarh, Girnar, on the pillar of victory in Maiwár, and on the columns of Indraprastha (Dihlí) and Prayága (Allahábád).

[I have already had occasion to refer to a paper by Major Cunningham, entitled, 'An attempt to explain some of the monograms found upon the Grecian Coins of Ariana and India,' published in vol. viii of the 'Numismatic Chronicle' (London, 1846). I have now again to advert to it, in somewhat more detail, in connexion with this, the earliest attempt at the explanation of these symbols by James Prinsep.

The general subject of mint monograms is necessarily a difficult one, and, until lately, was rather shirked and avoided by numismatic writers; in the present instance, it will be seen to be unusually complicated in the later Bactrian coinages, not only by the use of two distinct alphabetical series, Greek and Arian, but in the multiplicity of the signs, and their frequent association to the number of four and five varieties on single specimens of the subordinate series of coins!

Since Major Cunningham's Essay was written,[1] however, not only has great progress been made in the comparative geography of India and Central Asia; but the special question

[1] [In this and in many similar instances of works composed in India, it would be more accurate to say, 'Since the date of the publication of the authorities the author had an opportunity of consulting,'—in preference to defining relative priority in the ordinary European phraseology.]

of the interpretation of mint monograms has received more attention and illustration from the learned in Europe. And now—when we are fully prepared to admit the accuracy of the verification of the monogrammatic expression of the mints of Alexander the Great in the western section of his dominions;[1] and are equally ready to recognise the Parthian employment of combinations of Greek letters to typify the mints of Drangia[2] and Chorasmia,[3] besides carrying on the evidence of the abbreviated definition of the local mints, in the Pehlví character,[4] down to the date of the Arab denomination in Persia—we can scarcely hesitate to concede the probability that the Bactrian Greeks observed some such custom. The obstacles to any conclusive assignment of the purport of these symbols, consist not alone in the endless transpositions to which the various letters of any given monogram of ordinary complication may be subjected, but in the parallel practice, which, we have reason to believe, obtained, of inscribing on the currency the names of mint masters and others connected with this fiscal branch of State Government, couched in similarly combined literal ciphers. This is not the place, however, to enter into any lengthened review of Major Cunningham's theory, or its subordinate application; but, having said thus much in acceptance of the general principle, and being prepared to say even more in praise of the labour and assiduity the author has bestowed on his task, I may be permitted to add, that he appears to have pushed his theory into needlessly severe trials, in his, perhaps, laudable anxiety to prove its complete comprehensiveness.—E T.]

These coins are decidedly the most ancient of Hindú type which are known, and yet, being of pure gold, they are generally in a perfect state of preservation, and the

[1] [*Ex. gr.* 'Aradus.' Mionnet, Supp. iii. 198. 'Odessus,' *ibid*, 206.]
[2] [Lindsay, suprâ cit.]
[3] [Unpublished Parthian (British Museum) Monogram, XOP.]
[4] ['Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' xiii.]

characters, though unknown, are very clearly defined; many of them resemble the Tibetan form of Sanskrit. Most of them may be recognized in the inscriptions (or descriptive titles) over the sculptures at Mahábalipuram, described by Mr. Goldingham in the 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. v., page 79: and as these sculptures are said by tradition to represent the personages and acts of the Mahábhárata, the value of some of the letters may perhaps be hereafter recovered. In point of age the coins can only belong to the Maurya, the Sunga, the Kanwa or the Andhra dynasties of Mr. Wilson's catalogue (315 B.C. to 428 A.D.)

FIG. 15 is copied from a gold coin, presented to me by Captain Wade, who discovered it near Fírozpúr: it agrees precisely with figs. 5 and 7 of Mr. Wilson's plate; the former of which, stated to be taken from a drawing of a coin in Colonel Mackenzie's collection, seems to have been reversed by the artist, to assist the engraver, and inadvertently retained in that position. Every letter of the legend is identical in the three coins.

[This is a coin of Samudra Gupta, see plate xxii., etc., *infrâ*.]

FIG. 13 is from the sealing-wax impression of a coin belonging to Dr. Swiney: it corresponds precisely with No. 6 of Mr. Wilson's plate, having the trisúl or trident of Siva in lieu of the bird of Vishnu.

These two coins are of the description just alluded to. They have been found at Ágra, Mathurá, Ujjain, Ajmír, and even in Bengal. Mr. Wilson possesses one found in a tank in the Huglí district. The mixture of emblems on these coins might almost persuade one that they were forgeries, but that no two have hitherto been seen identically the same, and it would be manifestly impossible to forge a new die for each, especially when their price is little beyond the value of the metal. The

female on the reverse sometimes sits on a well-formed chair or settee, sometimes in the Indian fashion on a lotus-flower, at others, like Durgá, on a lion;[1] she holds a cornucopia in the left hand, in the right a scarf or riband; a glory encircles her head; her left knee is bare.

The obverse represents a king clad in a coat of mail, and with scale armour on the legs; where the coin is worn (as in figure 15), the dress exactly resembles the modern coat and trowsers. The head-dress in fig. 13 has a resemblance to the Sassanian or Persian cap. The left hand is invariably raised, as if holding a spear: the right is extended, as if placing an offering on a small fire-altar. This hand is more clearly defined in fig. 15, than in any coin of the class I have seen; and it may be questioned, whether the action is not rather that of plucking a flower, for an artist would hardly represent the hand in so hot a position, were the object below a fire-altar!

As another anomaly in these coins, it may be remarked that the letters on the left of the prince, in fig. 15, are identical with the Tibetan triliteral compound *spy*, pronounced as *ch* or *sh*, with the inherent short vowel *a*, *spya* or *sha*; this combination forms no word in the Tibetan language, but with the vowel sign i (shi) it would signify 'generic' or 'general,' as *spyi-dpon* (pronounced *shi-pon*) 'viceroy' or 'governor-general.'

Now the Tibetan alphabet, according to Mr. Csoma Körös, was only formed as a modification from the

[1] *Vide* Colonel Tod's plate.

Sanskrit model in the seventh century of our æra, up to which period it were difficult to conceive that the characteristic monogram of Bactria should have been preserved. The two first letters of the side inscription also resemble the Tibetan *pá*, or if the antecedent dot be an *r*, *prá*.

On the right hand, in fig. 15, is a standard resembling in some sort a Roman eagle; it is probably the Garuda, or bird of Vishnu, and if so, is a proof of the connection of this coin with the ascendancy of the Vaishnava sects.

Of this peculiar class of coin, the plates in the 'Asiatic Researches' afford numerous varieties. I now pass to another type, more recent perhaps by several centuries, but more rare than the preceding. The legends are here decidedly in the Devanágarí character; yet the devices still bear a near analogy to their Grecian prototypes: the horseman, the bull, the lion, the seated figure, are revived with variations of dress and attitude, but it seems to have been contrary to the feelings or taste of the country to represent the human face, or perhaps the artists found themselves unequal to the task. Mythological subjects were better suited to the Hindús. The bull of Siva, the Singh of Durgá, the Garuda of Vishnu; Ganesa, Hanumán, and similar devices, predominated until the latest period in the coins of Southern India and Ceylon;[1] or until the progress of Muhammadan conquest interdicted the privilege of coining to the tributary Hindú princes.

[1] See plates iii. iv. 'Asiatic Researches,' xvii.; and Mr. Wilson's remarks on the 'Rámátankas,' 'Garuda-Mudras,' etc.

From the desultory mode in which materials are collected for my plates, and from a wish to avoid delineating any that have already appeared in print, it is impossible for me to give a connected train of Hindú coins; and the student must refer to the plates in the 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xvii, for more ample information. The medley of types once collected and preserved, however, may eventally afford the means of a proper classification, although it cannot be attempted in the present state of our scanty knowledge.

FIG. 11 is an unique coin in Dr. Swiney's possession. I have a sealing-wax impression, from the sharpness of which I conclude the original to be of gold.

OBVERSE.—A horseman mounted and holding a spear with the right hand: the horse is ornamented with trappings in the native style. A curious scroll or symbol appears in front.

REVERSE.—Siva's bull kneeling in the attitude of the images of Nandí in the temples. He is also clothed in ornamental trappings. Above, are characters which seem to form the words श्री समगृ देव *Srí Samagri deva* in ancient Nágarí; the ग्र written ग is met with in one of the inscriptions decyphered by Wilford, 'Asiatic Researches,' ix., 104. No such name as Samagri Deva occurs in the catalogues of Hindú dynasties of Central India or Magadhá; but the import of the words may perhaps be understood as an honorific appellation; समग्र signifies 'whole,' 'entire.' Were it possible that the fourth letter were an old form of न्त we might ascribe the coin to Samanta Deva, the first of the Ajmír princes, who reigned, according to Wilson, in A.D. 500. But such a conjecture is not warrantable. Wilford says, the titles of *Srí* and *Deva* were assumed by the descendants of Karna, as 'Srí Karna Deva,'[1] etc. We may therefore ascribe this coin to the Andhra-jatiya or Andhra-bhritya dynasty, some time anterior to the Muhammadan invasion.

[This class of coin is more fully described in the text illustrative of pl. xxv. *infrá.*]

FIG. 12.—Two copper coins of this die were brought by Dr. J. M.

[1] 'Asiatic Researches,' ix. page 104.

Bramley, from Nepál, in a collection of the coins of that country; and I have inserted a drawing of them here, both as a fair pledge that other ancient Hindú coins are forthcoming in that hitherto unexplored region, and as furnishing some very legible characters in a class of coin of frequent occurrence, both in gold and copper. The lion or Sinha on the reverse agrees with fig. 8, and with fig. 12 of plate ii. The sitting female figure on the obverse may be identified with figs. 1, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, and 40 of Wilson, and with the fourth series of Tod; the characters are, however, of a different class, the क्ष for instance, like that of fig. 14, in the last plate, more resembles the Bengálí form ক্ষ, and is found on the ancient grants and inscriptions, between the fifth and twelfth centuries. The nail-headed character is noticed by Col. Tod, as predominating in all the inscriptions of the Mauri princes of Chitor, from (S. 465 to S. 1191) A.D. 409 to 1135.

[Having concluded Prinsep's original paper, Art. IV., I now proceed to introduce a detailed description of the coin of Abdullah bin Házim (pl. v. fig. 8); and, as I shall have to employ an unexpectedly large amount of Pehlví type in the course of this note, I think it may be as well that I should anticipate the exhibition of the entire alphabetical series (which I had designed to retain for the Palæographic illustration of Art. IX.), and insert it at once in this place.

The following list displays—First, the Pehlví alphabet as pointed, or distinguished by diacritical marks, under the system of the modern Pársís; Secondly, the simple or normal letters placed in juxtaposition with the Arabic characters, to whose several phonetic values they may be held to respond; Thirdly, the modifications to which the simple letters are subjected, in their combinations with one another: though it must be remembered, that the single set of Arabic equivalents here inserted, are each and all liable to permutation, under the same rules as those affecting the variants entered in the second comparative table.

I.—MODERN PEHLVÍ.

1	[illegible]	ا	A.	12	[illegible]	ك	K.
2	[illegible]	ب	B.	13	[illegible]	گ	G.
3	[illegible]	ت	T.	14	[illegible]	ل	L.
4	[illegible]	ج	J.	15	[illegible]	م	M.
5	[illegible] or [illegible]	خ	KH.	16	[illegible]	ن	N.
6	[illegible]	د	D.	17	[illegible]	و	W.
7	[illegible]	ر	R.	18	[illegible]	ه	H.
8	[illegible]	ز	Z.	19	[illegible]	ي	Y.
9	[illegible] or [illegible]	س	S.	20	[illegible]	چ	CH.
10	[illegible]	ش	SH.	21	[illegible]	پ	P.
11	[illegible]	غ	GH.				

II.—Commutable Sounds of the Normal Letters in Modern Persian.

1	[illegible]	ا ه ح خ ع	A, H, H, KH, Ain.	8	[illegible]	غ	GH.
2	[illegible]	ب	B.	9	[illegible]	ك	K.
3	[illegible]	ت ث ذ	T, TH, Z.	10	[illegible]	م	M.
4	[illegible]	ر ل	R or L.	11	[illegible]	ن or و	N. or W.
5	[illegible]	ز	Z.	12	[illegible]	ي or د	(گ or ج ?)
6	[illegible]	س	S.	13	[illegible]	چ CH.	ص ز ژ ج.
7	[illegible]	ش	SH.	14	[illegible]	پ or ف	P. or F.

III.—Compounds.

1	[illegible]	اا	6	[illegible]	يم	10	[illegible]	رن
2	[illegible]	اي	7	[illegible]	ان also / هو for خ	11	[illegible]	ات
3	[illegible]	اپ				12	[illegible]	يت
4	[illegible]	رچ	8	[illegible]	ين	13	[illegible]	رت
5	[illegible]	ام	9	[illegible]	من	14	[illegible]	نن[1]

[1] [It will be seen that I have usually departed from the strict letter of the original, in the Persian transcription of the redundant final [illegible] = ن, for which I substitute a simple *sukún*.]

The Pehlví coins of the entire series of the Arabian Khalifs and local governors, are mostly uniform in type and device, of which the engraved specimen may be accepted as an ordinary example.

It bears, on its obverse face, in Pehlví characters:

To the left . . . افزوتْ = [illegible]

To the right . . { افدوله • = [illegible]
ي هزمان = [illegible] }

On the margin, in rude Kufic letters, بسم الله

On the reverse it has:

On the left of the altar, شش شستْ = [illegible] A.H. 66.

On the right of the altar, . . . مروْ = [illegible] Merv.

To give a general idea of the present state of our knowledge of this series of coins, I annex an outline list of those governors of whom we have satisfactory identifications, together with a detail of the chief cities wherein they struck money.

Arab Khalifs and Governors of Persia, etc., previous to the reform of the coinage, and the introduction of Kufic as the official alphabet :—

1. Zíád-i Abú Sofián . . .	A. [illegible]	Dárábgird,	A.H. 43.[1]
	B. [illegible]		A.H. 51, 53, 54.
	C. [illegible]	Basrah,	A.H. 55.
	D. [illegible]	Nahr[ván, M.],	A.H. 52.
	E. [illegible]		A.H. 52.
	F. [illegible]		A.H. 54.
2. Moávia, with the title of 'Amír of the Koreish'![2]	A.	Dárábgird,	A.H. 43.

[1] [Mr. Bardoe Elliot, of Patna, has a second specimen of this mintage.]

[2] [I must not omit to mention that I stand alone in this interpretation; Professor Olshausen and Dr. Mordtmann being both against me: the former originally designed to interpret the titular legend as نیرو دهندگان 'the givers of strength;' while the latter, correcting both Olshausen and myself, adopts the version of روان دهندگان deriving the first word from the Pehlví רובאנן [[illegible]] 'soul,' and translating the

2. Moávia, under the style of 'Abdullah, Amír of the Koreish'.	A.		Dárábgird,	A.H. 53, 54, 57.
3. Abdulrahman-i Zeid? .	C.		Basrah,[1]	A.H. 52.
	A.		Dárábgird,	A.H. 54.
4. Obeidullah-i Zíád . . .	A.		,,	A.H. 45, 66. [*][2]
	C.		Basrah,	A.H. 58, 59, 60, 64.
	B.			A.H. 58.
	G.	وكرد	Yezd?	A.H. 56, 58.
5. Selim-i Zíád	G.		Yezd?	A.H. 56.
	H.	سلم	Khuzistán,	A.H. 66. [*][2]

compound as 'givers up of self' or 'soul.'! ['Zeitschrift,' 1854, p. 157]. I am not very anxious to insist on the finality or perfection of my own transcription from any given Pehlví original that has not either context or historical authority to support it. A glance at the table of characters exhibited above will indicate, in a very modified degree, the permutations all unpointed Pehlví words must be liable to; but, when to this I add that, in the coin-writing, the س *s* is usually indistinguishable from the ا *a* (i.e. ا ث ح خ or ع); that the ش *sh* may be transformed, at the option of the reader, into a very extensive diversity of literal combinations, I may have commenced to give a limited idea of the real difficulties to be contended against. However, to return to the true test of original documents, I am in a position to affirm, apart from the improbability of these associations, that the letters on the five coins I have examined will not answer to either of the readings suggested in opposition to my own.]

[1] [Dr. Mordtmann asserts that the ـبـ, which I conceive to be an abbreviated form of بصر *Basrah*, ought to be read as بى *Bi*, and be held to stand for Bi*histun* (p. 169). I do not agree with him! 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.' xiii. 393].

[2] [The two coins marked [*] bear on their reverse surfaces the written date سى-و-دو-سلم 'twenty-six.' This I have assumed to be an error, or an imperfect rendering of 'sixty-six' ('Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' xi. 290). Dr. Mordtmann does not appear to accept my rectification, but prefers to retain the expressed numbers in all their original crudity ('Zeitschrift,' 1854, pp. 154-157); and he further contributes a new example of a proximate date, 'twenty-seven,' which occurs on a coin of Obeidullah-i-Zíád, from the mint numbered 27 in his list (p. 19); and classed under 39 in my latest plate ('Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, xiii. pl. i). I have been compelled to admit the apparent issue of posthumous coins in this series ('Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' xiii. 408), but I am scarcely prepared for the appearance of medals foreshadowing not only the coming greatness, but even anticipating the very birth of those whose names they bear! Suffice it to say, that if the coin impressed with the designation of Selim-i-Zíád, associated with the number 26, is to be attributed in accordance with Hijra dates, it must have been struck some ten or eleven years before the ushering into existence of that individual! (Ockley, quoting MS. Laud 161 A, p. 231, edition of 1718, 'A.H. 61' 'he was then 24 years of age.')]

5. Selim-i Zíád	I. [illegible]	Merv,	A.H. 63 to 67 continuously.
	J. [illegible]	Herát,	A.H. 66, 67.
	K. [illegible]	Babá, district of Merv.	A.H. 67.
	L. [illegible]	Mervalrúd,	A.H. 63, 64, 67.
6. Yezíd, under the style and title of 'Abdullah, Amír of the Koreish' . . .	A.	Dárábgird,	A.H. 60 (M. p. 160).
	M. [illegible]		A.H. 63.
7. Aumar-i Obeidullah . .	C.	Basrah,	A.H. 65.
	N. [illegible]	Kermán,	A.H. 65.
	B.		A.H. 68, 69, 70.
	H.	Khuzistán,	A.H. 68, 69, 70.
	M. [illegible]		A.H. 69, 70.
8. Abdal Azíz-i Abdullah Amír, vii. (pl. iii. 'Journal Royal Asiatic Society,' xii. . . .	G.	Yezd,	A.H. 66.
9. Abdullah bin Zobeir, xvii.	N.	Kermán,	A.H. 62.
Abdullah-i Zobeir, xiv. .	N.	,,	A.H. 63.
,, unpublished. . .	N.	,,	A.H. 69.
Abdullah, 'Amír of the Koreish,' xv. 2. . .	M. [illegible]		A.H. 63.
,, ? xv. 1 and 3 . .	N.	?	A.H. 66.
10. Abdullah-i Házim. . .	I.	Merv,	A.H. 63-70.
	L.	Mervalrúd,	A.H. 69.
	O. [illegible]	Balkh ?	A.H. 67, 68, 69.
	K.	Babá,	A.H. 67, 68.
11. Muhammad-i Abdullah .	J.	Herát,	A.H. 67.
12. Amrau-i Abedoan ? .	H.	Khuzistán,	A.H. 72.
13. Abdal-malik, 'Amír of the Koreish,' xxiv. . . .	H.	,,	A.H. 73.
Abdal-malik-i Merwán, xii	I.	Merv,	A.H. 75.
14. Khaled-i Abdullah ? .	B.		A.H. 74.
	C.	Basrah,	A.H. 75.

15. Mohallib-i Abu Safrah .	B.			A.H. 75, 76.
	A.		Dárábgird,	A.H. 76.
16. Omiah-i Abdullah. . .	P.	عبد الله بن عامر	Seistan,	A.H. 73.
	Q.	عبد الله بن عامر	Khurásán,	A.H. 73.
	L.		Mervalrúd,	A.H. 74.
17. Hejáj bin Yusaf (*Name in Kufic*).	B.	الحجاج		A.H. 78, 79, 80, 81.
	H.	الحجاج		A.H. 78.

Even the reduced list of the coins of the early Arab Governors, which I here transcribe, demands a certain amount of comment in reference to that most perplexing enquiry—the identification of the Pehlví names of mints; more especially as a writer whose learning and numismatic opportunities I have reason to respect, has, in some instances, arrived at conclusions opposite to my own.

My last Essay on the subject does not appear to have reached Dr. Mordtmann's hands till after he had completed his most recent memoir on Sassanian coinages[1]; so that I have the advantage of him in the independent evidence I have collected; and which he had had no means of considering when he expressed many of the opinions from which I dissent. Dr. Mordtmann has been more fortunate than myself in access to the striking amount of specimens he quotes in such elaborate detail; but, on the other hand, my materials have been more complete in the Arabian section of the Pehlví series, to which alone I am about to advert. So that, although Dr. Mordtmann counts his imperial Sassanians almost by thousands, he has not added a single Arab to my list, nor suggested any satisfactorily

[1] [My earliest paper dates June, 1849: 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' xii, p. 253.—Dr. Mordtmann's first article was published in the 'Zeitschrift' of 1850.—My second notice on the subject appeared in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' for 1852, xiii. p. 371.—Dr. Mordtmann's last Essay will be found in the 'Zeitschrift' for 1854: his supplementary note to which is dated 'Constantinople, 27th June, 1853.']

improved[1] reading for either my accepted or conjectural transcriptions of the names of the early warriors of Islám.

Of the mints above enumerated, I have to notice seven, in the assignment of which we do not concur. The first in order of the undetermined names is that expressed by me in modern Pehlví as زدن. Dr. Mordtmann objects both to the transcription itself, and to my rendering it into Arabic as بيضا on the following grounds:—First, that the Pehlví nomenclature should necessarily follow an Aramæan original, and not an Arabic one; Secondly, that the old Persian name of the place in question was نيشانک and not Beizá; Thirdly, that the original three letters on the coins read palpably as زدنه, بسا *Besa* or *Fesa*.

In reply to the first argument, I would remark, as regards the Aramæan requisition, that I was not aware it had yet been conceded that Pehlví was definitively or exclusively a language of that class; besides which it is very doubtful how much the word بيضا itself *is* peculiarly Arabic; we have בוץ, and Chaldee עבץ, אבץ, and בעיץ, besides the Persian ويژ 'white.'[2]

[1] [Dr. Mordtmann has essayed to correct my reading of No. xxiii by substituting نومايراي مهلقان for المغيراي مسلمان. If there were any historical support for the alteration suggested, I should not be disposed to object to minor orthographical discrepancies, but this seems to me to be a mere futile attempt to alter without amending; it is easy to show that Arab names, in the imperfect expression of the originals through the medium of the limited and inappropriate Pehlví character, might be subjected to an almost endless variety of transformations. But, even conceding the new version of the patronymic (which is not at all justified by the form of the second letter, or the absence of the duplication of the مد which is constant in Mohallib's own coins), it is to be remarked that the name of 'Nomaira' does not appear in the detail of the sons of Mohallib, ten in number, enumerated by Tabarí, whereas the designation of مغيرة figures at the head of the list; and Moghaira is further noticed by that author as dying in Khorásán, in 82 A.H., while his father was occupied beyond the Oxus (Tabarí, cap. 107). The casual record of his death in this mere *résumé* of history, may be taken to indicate that he had arrived at some mark and prominence during his lifetime. (See also Ibn Kotaiba, Gott. 1850, p. ٧٧.)]

[2] [So also בוץ, Gr. *βύσσος*, *Byssus*, "'cloth of Byssus,' so called from its whiteness." Gesenius. Vullers continues the comparison thus, "ويژ (also) بيژ purus, بشيک peculiariter. Sine dubio est hind. بشيک, quod etiam بشيکه et بشيش scribitur, et e S. विशेष ortum est."]

Next, in respect to the Persian name of 'Beizá,' as given by Abulfeda from Ibn Haukal, نیشانک, I would observe that Fesa likewise had another name in olden time, viz., رام و شناسقان[1] and in neither case do we know when the changes in nomenclature occurred; but, while objecting to insufficient reasoning, I can concede much to an argument that is not urged against me, which is that فسا appears as a mint city in the immediately sequent series of Kufic mintages, while Beizá only occurs in بلخ البیضا, Derbend.[2]

Lastly, I would most willingly surrender all opposition, if my fac-similes, and the original coins I am able to refer to, would permit my reading the name as Dr Mordtmann does, زدبد; but, although in some specimens the word might be so rendered, yet the clearest examples from Fíroz (458, 488 A.D.) to Hejáj bin Yusaf, almost invariably separate the second letter, which I suppose to be an ـه *e* from the preceding and following consonants; and the Fíroz coin (in the British Museum), which is my starting point, gives the third letter as a clear and manifest Sassanian ـد, the definite outline of which character, as it was then the custom to shape it, scarcely admits a doubt of its true value. Otherwise, Fesa would be to me the best and most obvious reading,[3] but both the ـه and the ـد are clearly opposed to its acceptance; neither, on the other hand, must I admit, does زدد satisfactorily render the Arabic بیضا;—but as the geographical question involved merely extends to the choice of one city or another in a given province, the whole of which province ordinarily belonged to the Arab governors on whose coins the name of the town appears, there is nothing in the doubt which need greatly disturb my arrangement of the general series.

The next mint in my list above quoted, in which we do

[1] [Hamza Isfahání.]
[2] [Stickel, p. 8; Frœhn, A.H. 81, p. 7.]
[3] [See 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' xii., 300, note.]

not fully accord, is that marked D, which Dr. Mordtmann accepts as Nahrván; from the early Sassanian examples of the monogram that I had met with, where the letters *a* and *h* are often discriminated, I had come to the conclusion that the *a* was the preferable transcription for the second character in our tri-literal compound. (See my mint No. 35 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' xiii.). But as neither this nor the two following mints are of frequent occurrence, the historical points dependent upon their due appropriation are too slight to need any lengthened comment in this place.[1]

The mint marked G (No. 42 of my last list) I have always expressed doubts about.[2] I was once inclined to look upon it as يزد *Yezd*, but my faith in the attribution, never strong, has been further shaken by the discovery of another orthographical form for the same name, viz., يشت *Esht*,—though this objection would be by no means insuperable. However, under no circumstances can I agree with Dr. Mordtmann, who desires to make the compound into סיkestán. If my difficulties as to the non-conquest of Yezd by the Arabs at so early a date of the Hijra as appears on the class of بسم الله coins bearing this monogram, are to hold good, these obstacles will tell with increased force against the more extended conquest of Sejestán; but I join issue more definitively on the forms of the letters on the coins themselves, which I have examined, transcribed, and copied in fac-simile in my own plate i. No. 42,[3] and no human ingenuity that I am master of could ever enable me to transform the final *d* into the *i* which 'Sikestán' is asserted to require in its initial syllable!

[1] [I may, however, observe, *en passant*, that there is somewhat of a want of consistency in Dr. Mordtmann's renderings, as tested *inter se*: he accepts a Pehlví reading for نسا with the long *i* in the first syllable (See his No. 17, pp. 15, 153), while in his Pehlví mint for نیشاپور he deprives the name of that requisite vowel (No. 26, p. 19)]

[2] ['Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' xii. pp. 281, 325; xiii. 403.]

[3] ['Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' xiii.]

The monogram H is assigned hesitatingly[1] by Dr. Mordtmann to Andámesh اندامش in Khuzistán, I prefer to retain it as [illegible] Huth, for [illegible] Khuzistán.

The mint indicated by the letter K, I assign to one of the districts of Merv;[2] some such locality must needs be claimed for it, from its frequent occurrence on the coins of the governors of Khorásán, or of those connected with them, combined with its non-appearance on the money of the administrators of more westerly provinces. Dr. Mordtmann once ventured to read it as Babylon;[3] having abandoned that interpretation, he now desires to make it בכא 'die Pforte,' and to apply it to the 'Residenz' at Madain, or any other seat of government.[4]

The mint [illegible] *st*, classed under the letter M, is declared by Dr. Mordtmann, in accord with M. Olshausen,[5] to represent استخر (Arab. اصطخر) Persepolis. That it typifies some mint not very distantly removed from that part of the country is clear, from its association with (B) [illegible], (H) [illegible] and (N) Kermán on the coins of Aumar-i-Obeidullah, who governed Persia, etc., for Mosáb, but I do not adopt its attribution to Persepolis, as I am not prepared to read استخر without the initial ا.

I have classed the entire set of the terminal additions to the simple name of Kermán, under the general heading of that province (marked N), as my space, already too much encroached upon, will scarcely admit of the elucidation of the various details necessary to the full determination of the several localities involved.

[1] [Page 18, No. 22, "סנט oder אנט." Taf. iv. No. 24.]

[2] [My authority for this is the 'Murásid-ul-Ittila. The following is the original passage:—

ببان تثنية باب بابي [باباي] ببان محله بافسل مرو.]

[3] ['Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft,' 1850, p. 93.]

[4] ['Zeitschrift,' 1854, page 12.]

[5] [Page 13.]

The mint city embodied in the letters [illegible] I still consider to be the ancient Balkh, in spite of much that I am aware may be urged against the attribution.[1] Under any circumstances, however, I look upon Dr. Mordtmann's notion of any possible transformation of the word into زابلستان Zábulistán, as simply out of the question; more especially as the Indo-Sassanian coins have already furnished us with the true Pehlví orthography of that name in the form of [illegible] =زاولستان.[2]

There are a few mints whose attribution is altogether uncertain, which, like the names of many of the governors of whom we have no historic record, I have intentionally omitted from this general summary. The full details of each may be consulted in the several papers of Dr. Mordtmann and myself referred to above.—E.T.]

[1] ['Vendidád,' Anquetil du Perron, i. 226. Heeren, ii. 313. Moses of Chorene, II. c. ii. pp. 54, 188.]

[2] ['Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' xii. 343.]

V.—DISCOVERY OF AN ANCIENT TOWN NEAR BEHAT, IN THE DOÁB OF THE JAMNÁ AND GANGES.

By Capt. P. T. Cautley, Superintendent, Doáb Canal.

(Extract of a letter read at a Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 30th Jan. 1834.)

"I have this day despatched for the museum a number of coins of unusual interest, from their having been found on the site of an ancient (apparently Hindú) town, which site is now seventeen feet below the general surface of the country, and upwards of twenty-five below that of a modern town near it. I will confine myself in this hasty notice to stating, that in consequence of the clearing out of the canal bed south of the Bekka falls, near the town of Behat, north of Saháranpúr, the exposure took place; and on the canal being laid dry shortly afterwards, the coins, etc., were found amongst the shingle in its bed. I may mention that this line is altogether distinct from that which is said to have formed the ancient canal; and, therefore, even were there not evident marks to the contrary, there can be no quibbling as to the articles having been transported. In the present case, the section directly above the inhumed city is as follows, the surface of the country at that point being, however, much lower than that on which the town of Behat stands:—

A. Grass jungle with cultivation on the surface of the country .....
B. River sand ..... 2½ feet.
C. A seam of sand with traces of shingle.....
D. Reddish clay mixed with sand ..... 12½ feet.
E. Site of ancient town.....
F. Black soil full of pots, bones, etc., in which the coins and other articles have been discovered ..... 6 feet.
G. Bed of canal, 23 feet below the surface.

"The level at E, or the site of the ancient town, is distinct in section for about a quarter of a mile; and were it not for the breaking down of banks, etc., it might be traced much farther: the soil upon which the town appears to have stood is very black, and full of bones and broken pots of different descriptions, bricks of a large size and of unusual shape, appearing as if they had been made to suit the circular form of wells; pieces of the slag of iron-smelting furnaces (such a thing as smelting iron at Behat was never heard of), arrow-heads, rings, ornaments and beads of different descriptions; in short, an Oriental Herculaneum, for there appears every chance of the discoveries being extended hereafter. The appearance of small pieces of kankar[1] (amongst the shingle), of which I also send one or two specimens, is an extraordinary feature, as kankar is not known in this part of the country."

[1] s. كنكر *kankar*, 'a nodule of limestone.'

NOTE.—The probable date of Captain Cautley's subterranean city, to whatever cause its inhumation may be attributed, can be pretty well placed within cognate limits through the very fortunate discovery of many coins imbedded in the same place with the bricks and bones. The coins belong to three different species already made known through Mr. Wilson's paper on the Society's cabinet.[1]

I. The Indo-Scythic coin, or that having the figure of a man in a coat of mail, offering something on a small altar (Nos. 23 to 33, plate ii. 'Asiatic Researches,' xvii.) which has been referred with much probability to the Christian era:—of this only one coin is recognizable out of twenty-six.

II. The chief part of the coins belongs to the series No. 69, plate iii. of the same volume, of which nothing at all is known; only two have hitherto been seen, one of which was dug up in cutting the trench of the new road from Allahábád to Benáres: this, however, was square, as was a duplicate in Colonel Mackenzie's collection, but all those now brought to light are circular: they are identified with it by the elephant on one side, and by one or more singular monograms. Some of them differ considerably in other respects, having a Bráhmaní bull on the reverse, and an inscription in unknown characters round the edge.

III. The third species of coin is of silver. A square lump with no regular impression, but simply stamped with various Chháps,[2] as might have been the custom

[1] See 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xvii.

[2] چھاپ *chhâp*, 'seal, impression.'

anterior to the general introduction of coined money. Of this ancient coin, the Mackenzie collection furnishes abundant examples (plate v. figures 101 to 108), but his researches altogether failed in ascertaining their date, or even their genuineness, both which points are now satisfactorily developed by the present discovery. They must all date posterior to the Indo-Scythic dynasties in Bactria, and belong to a period when (as in China at present) silver was in general current by weight, while the inferior metals (for all of the present coins are not of copper) were circulated as tokens of a fixed nominal value.

This discovery alone would be of great value, but it is only one of innumerable points for which we may eagerly expect elucidation from this Herculaneum of the East.

The appearance and state of the tooth and bone sent down are also of high interest; they are not entirely deprived of their animal matter, though it is in a great measure replaced by carbonate of lime. The tooth is of the same size, and belongs to an animal of the same family (Ruminant), as those found in the Jamná, presented by Captain E. Smith at the last meeting; but the mineralization in the latter has been completed, whereas in these it remains imperfect.

FURTHER ACCOUNT OF THE REMAINS OF AN ANCIENT TOWN, DISCOVERED AT BEHAT, NEAR SAHÁRANPÚR,

By Capt. P. T. CAUTLEY, Supt., Doáb Canal.

(*In a letter to the Secretary, read at the Meeting of the 30th April*, 1834.)

"With more coins and other articles that have been found in our Herculaneum, I have now the pleasure of sending a sketch of the country in the neighbourhood of Behat,[1] which will be more descriptive of the ancient town, with the size and extent of the mountain torrents in its vicinity, than any explanation that I could give in writing: the total absence, moreover, of any tradition of its having existed, and the little information to be gained from natives on subjects of this nature, unless coming under their immediate observation, places me in dependence solely on the few notes that I have by me, which I fear are hardly worthy of the notice of the Society.

"Tradition, but even that of the vaguest description, carries us back to the reign of Sháh Jahán, as well as to that of Muhammad Sháh and his successors at the dissolution of the empire. Sháh Jahán built a palace or hunting seat at the foot of the lower range of hills on a branch of the Jamná river, about fourteen miles north of Behat. This palace, which consists of a main quadrangle of 800 feet square, with numerous buildings and minor courts attached, is now in perfect ruin, the superstructure only remaining in a few places, and that entangled and held together by arms and roots of the Bur (Ficus Indica) and other jungle trees; at Raipur, Nyashahr, Fyzábád, and other places between Behat and this palace are remains of the same period in the shape of mosques, tombs, etc.; and the forests in the neighbourhood contain marks of a once extended cultivation, and indication of the country having been more thickly inhabited than it is at present. It may be fairly presumed that all the Musalmán buildings now in existence in these localities are due to a period posterior to the middle of the 17th century. Behat itself contains a mosque and tomb near it, with only one brick house or enclosure, but a number of masonry wells, and is said to have been a large town at the period alluded to; but the ruins and tombs pointed out as the remains of this era are south of the present town, and in quite a different direction to the antiquities that have been now discovered.

"To a person at all acquainted with the strange revolutions that take place on the surface, in the proximity of these mountain torrents, provincially termed 'ráos,' the mere change of the river's course, or an extensive deposit of sand on a wide surface, thereby laying waste large tracts of cultivable soil, would not be at all surprising: such changes are in constant progress, and things of annual occurrence! The course of the Nogáon ráo has been so altered within the last half century, according to the information of a respectable Zamíndár or landholder who resides at Behat, that the features of the country are perfectly changed since his childhood: he mentions (a circumstance borne out by my excavations), that, in his recollection, 'all the country between the two rivers through which the present canal runs, and on which the Belka Falls are now constructed, was a low clay soil (dhâka), with rice

[1] [Omitted in this reprint. Colonel Sir P. T. Cautley has been obliging enough to revise for me such portions of this paper as were dependent upon the original map for due illustration.]

cultivation; that this tract now is raised five hát'hs (cubits) by a deposit of sand, caused by one very severe rainy season, in which the present town of Behat was in jeopardy.' This exactly corresponds with the canal excavations, the superficial five to seven feet of which was sand, reposing on a reddish sandy clay; the section at the point where the ancient town is buried shows the same deposit of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet with the same substratum of clay! The Behat khála or ravine opening out into the Muskura river is said to have been much enlarged by the ancient canal, when great mischief was done to the neighbourhood; referring to the last attempt at making use of this line as a canal by the Rohilla, Zábita Khán, who has the credit of having carried water to the town of Jalálábád and his fortified camp Goursgarh. I also desire to advert to the strange tortuous outline of this ravine, as near it lies the old town at a depth of seventeen feet from the surface, with a super deposit of $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet of a reddish sandy clay.

"The Muskura and Nogáon are torrents from the Siwalik hills, running parallel to each other in a north-westerly direction. These torrents are separated by a tract of alluvial country, which is contracted to a width of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile at the point where the town of Behat (which lies equally distant between them) is situated. A ravine, rising on the north-east of Behat, drains this alluvial tract, and falls into the Muskura at a point south of and below the town. The native engineer who originally designed the Doáb Canal, and who in all cases took possession as far as he could of natural hollows, excavated a channel from the Nogáon torrent to the head of the ravine above mentioned, taking advantage thereby of the lower part of its course for the passage of the canal water. The difference of level between the bed of the Nogáon (which, it will be understood, is the most northerly of the two torrents), and that of the Muskura, at the point where the ravine joined it, was twenty-one feet; the length of canal channel, with all the tortuosities of direction taken up by the engineer, was about three miles. The average fall or declivity of bed per mile, therefore, was seven feet; the bed itself consisted of sand and soil intrinsically alluvial.

"Now, it may be supposed that had the canal water been allowed to pass over this line without masonry or works of some sort to protect it from erosion, the wear and tear arising from a rapid under such circumstances would in a very short space of time have brought the whole of the torrent of the Nogáon into the channel of the Muskura, thereby establishing a permanent junction between the two torrents at a point below the town of Behat.

"The existence at the present day of these torrents on separate courses led to the inference that here were the difficulties that interfered with the engineer in his original project. It was probable that the canal, if ever opened at all, was only maintained as an open channel for a limited period; or that, on discovering the danger arising from such an excess of slope as twenty-one feet in three miles, the engineer had adopted the expedient of overcoming the difficulty by the construction of masonry works: the exposition of the old foundations and brick-work, accompanied by other remains to which I have lately drawn your attention, might have been the ruins of these ancient canal works. Such was the first impression on my mind on hearing that ruins had been laid bare at this particular spot, and it was in full expectation of having this view realized that my visit to them was undertaken. An examination of the locality placed all doubt out of the question. There was a distinct stratum of black soil at a considerable depth from the surface of the country, not confined to a narrow limit, but extending to a considerable distance along the line of canal. The section exhibited by the canal channel was marked by the remains of a brick wall *in situ*, with here and there irregular masses of brick work, all of

which were confined to the stratum above alluded to, which in its character was precisely that of the soil on the site of deserted towns and villages now existing elsewhere, rich in broken pieces of pottery, bones, sculls, etc. etc. There could be no doubt of the fact that here was the site of a town or village burried under the material brought down by the neighbouring torrents, and by the drift sands which to the present day are a remarkable feature of the country around Behat. The remains were distinctly those of domestic habitations, and were totally unconnected with works for canal purposes. At what period the catastrophe occurred which led to the desertion of the town, it is hopeless to inquire; but I have no doubt that there are many other towns similarly situated, and that accidental circumstances like those which have led to the present discovery, will show that population existed in this region when the whole surface was on a much lower level than it is at present.[1] That the town is of great antiquity, there can be no doubt; and to those conversant in such matters—and I cannot refer to one better able to give an opinion than yourself—the coins which I have submitted to you may offer the means of unravelling the mystery.

"The surface of the country on which the town of Behat stands does not exhibit any distinct basin or hollow; on the contrary, one continuous slope with indentations at each of the rivers is a remarkable feature. The proximity of the sand-ridges in the immediate neighbourhood of the town and site of the ruins, and the directions in which they have established themselves, might lead to speculations; but these are just as well avoided; for if, as we must allow (from finding shingle and old beds of rivers many feet below the present surface) the surface has been undergoing change, we have, with the agency of mountain streams and winds, data sufficient to shew that the inhumation of a city was nothing at all extraordinary.

"It may be interesting, with reference to the constant change of surface in this region, to mention, that when engaged in constructing a bridge at the village of Gandewar, about two miles higher up the canal than the Nogáon ráo, the difficulty of obtaining water for the works was such, that I was induced to sink a shaft in the canal bed. The well was sunk thirty feet to water; the upper twenty feet was through the reddish sandy clay above-mentioned, below which was shingle or boulders exactly resembling those found now in the beds of all these rivers; through ten feet of this shingle water was found. This nearly corresponds with the bed of shingle now laid bare south of the Belka Falls, and amongst which the coins, etc. have been found; and I have no doubt that it is all part of an extensive line formerly the bed of the escapes from the lower mountains. If this is true, it goes far to prove a circumstance that I before mentioned in a communication to the Society, that the enormous discharge of matter from these lower hills is, in its distribution, gradually raising the surface of the whole country skirting their bases! I may mention, that near a village named Jytpúr, three miles south of the Kálowála Pass (at which Pass water is within ten inches of the surface) a well was sunk for the reasons aforesaid sixty feet deep through a succession of beds of shingle, without finding water at all. At a place six miles south of this again, water was within eight feet of the surface. This phenomenon extends apparently on the whole line between the Jamná and Ganges; that is to say, water is near the surface at the foot of the hills, and shews itself near the surface again ten miles south, being in the

[1] At a point near Kulsea, about two miles north-west of Behat, bricks and coins similar to those here adverted to, were discovered in excavations on the right bank of the Muskura river, considerably below the surface of the country.

intermediate distance at a great depth. In building the masonry dam on the Nogáon river, water was found at a depth of twenty-nine feet from the bed of the torrent; the excavation being through beds of sand and clay, but no shingle. The only mark of building which has been as yet found in the site of the old town is a portion of a foundation, the greater part of which had been cleared out and broken by the canal: the bricks were soft and friable. This foundation was sunk about four feet in the black soil, terminating on its surface. The great quantity of bricks scattered in the canal bed proves distinctly that many more foundations had been cleared out, and it is possible that when I have time to sink wells in neighbouring points, so as to detect the boundaries of these ruins, I may bring to light matters of greater interest than those even now before us. The bricks discovered are of a large size, and generally speaking, badly burned (similar to some that were found on a former occasion at Manukmow, near Saháranpúr, where a quantity of old foundations were discovered, consisting entirely of the same sized bricks); a number of them wedge-shaped $\frac{9 \text{ inches}}{6 \text{ inches}}$ as if intended for well-building, and better burned than the square ones. Amongst the fragments of pots were some which the natives recognised as resembling those now used in making indigo—long elliptical vessels! The fragments of pots, bones, teeth, and articles of this description, are in abundance. In sinking three wells on the west of the canal near the site of the old town, the same section of soil appeared, and the same articles were discovered on reaching the black stratum. I look forward with great interest to the time when I can have leisure to make further excavations in the neighbourhood, enabling me to form an idea of the extent of the discovery.

"At a spot considerably south, a large masonry well was exposed in the canal channel. I had this cleared out and partly removed, supposing that there was a probability of making further discoveries. I send to the Society an article (either lead or pewter [1]) which was the only thing of metal found: a great quantity of 'gharás' or water-pots were taken out whole, as if they had fallen into the well and sunk; the bones also of two deer (bárasingás),[2] the horns broken in pieces, but the jaw-bones and other parts tolerably perfect. From the circumstance of finding so many unbroken 'gharas' the natives seem to conclude that this was a town or village well, and not that in use for irrigation. If the ancient town extended to this point, it would be extensive indeed, but of this there does not appear to be any probability.

"The presence of the deer's bones is easily accounted for, as a number of these, as well as other wild animals, are constantly lost in galloping over the jungles, and falling into deserted wells. The well in question was doubtless one of this description for a long time after either the town or cultivation for which it was intended was deserted, and remained long open amongst the high grass and jungle which so rapidly obtain in this part of the country when the hand of man is absent. All marks of this well were so completely obliterated, that the present canal was excavated over it without its being discovered. The bricks used appear to have been of the same description as the square ones above described.

"Amongst the metal articles found in the site of the old town, are a great number of 'saláis' or instruments in use in a Hindústání lady's toilet for applying 'surma' (antimony) to the eyes, made of copper apparently. To this circumstance

[1] This small disc or wheel does not bear any marks of antiquity.—J.P.

[2] بارہ سنگا

my attention was drawn by a native 'sunár' (goldsmith), who observed that *now* articles of this description were never made of that metal. The great quantity of rolls of metal and wire found would lead a person to suppose that the main exhumation at present consisted of a smith's shop! There are some other things, one bearing in some respects a resemblance to a small cannon (17), another to a button hook, etc. etc. The quantity of slag of iron smelting furnaces is a singular circumstance, for although iron ore is found in the mountains at no great distance, it is not the practice now to import it in than state into the plains.

"The number of coins found, and in my possession, is 170, amongst which are two intruders that would, if they belonged to this town, very considerably reduce the antiquity of it; but from the circumstance of there only being two, and from their appearance (having no mark of that antiquity so eminently conspicuous in all the other coins found) I am much inclined to suspect that some of my myrmidons have been false, or that these are stray coins:[1] both of them are sent with this letter. My method of collection was by giving new coin for old, that is to say, new pice for all the old ones, and new rupees for all the old rupees discovered, and remuneration according to the value of other articles: this may have raised the cupidity of some speculator to introduce these two Musalmán coins into my cabinet. All those upon which any mark is apparent, and all other articles worthy of transmission, will be sent to the Society's museum.

MEMOIR ON THE ANCIENT COINS FOUND AT BEGHRÁM, IN THE KOHISTÁN OF KÁBUL.

By CHARLES MASSON.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, April*, 1834.)

[Mr. C. Masson's first memoir on the ancient coins found at Beghrâm, in the Kohistán of Kábul, appeared in the April number of the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal' for 1834; it extends over no less than twenty-two pages of close type, and is illustrated by seventy-two rather indifferent fac-similes of coins; its value or utility has necessarily been superseded by the more learned and systematic work[2] of Professor H. H. Wilson, descriptive of the same medals. I therefore confine myself to such extracts from Mr. Masson's papers as may serve to indicate the more prominent sites of his discoveries. Such details as are to be met with in his first memoir are inserted in this place, with a view to preserve, as far as

[1] Our author need be under no alarm whatever from the presence of these two coins, which must have been purely accidental, and in no way connected with the antiquities of Behat; for on examination, one turns out to be a paisá of Indor, the other of Lakhnaw, both known by their respective symbols, and quite modern.—J.P.

[2] ['Ariana Antiqua:' London, 1841.]

possible, the continuous order of the original publications in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.' A full recapitulation of each year's acquisitions will be found at the conclusion of his third memoir, immediately preceding Art. XII. of this series of James Prinsep's Essays.—E.T.]

"In July of the present year (1833), I left the city of Kábul, to explore the districts north of it at the base of the mountains Hindú Kúsh, with the primary object of identifying the site of Alexandria ad Caucasum. Although upon this question I defer a decision, until I can consult the ancient authorities, there being many spots which would agree therewith in a local point of view,—I was recompensed by the discovery of numerous interesting objects, and among them the site of an ancient city of immense extent, on the plain now called Beghrám, near the confluence of the rivers of Ghorband and Panjshír, and at the head of the high road leading from Khwájah Khedrí of Kohistán, to Nijraw, Taghaw, Lughmán and Jalálábád. I soon learned that large numbers of coins were continually found on the plain of Beghrám, and my first excursion put me in possession of about eighty, procured with difficulty, as their owners were suspicious of my motives in collecting them. The coins were of such a type and description, as naturally increased my ardor in their research; and, succeeding in allaying the mistrust of the finders, I obtained successive parcels: until up to this time (November 28th, 1833), I have accumulated 1,865 copper coins and fourteen gold and silver ones, the latter Brahmanical and Kufic. Of course many of these are of no value, but I persevered in my collection, under the hope of obtaining, ultimately, perfect specimens of every type and variety of coin; in this I have but partially succeeded, so great is the diversity of coins found at this place, that every fresh parcel of 100 or 150 coins yields me one or more with which I was not previously acquainted.

"I may observe that, on my return from Kábul, from my first excursion, I found two persons there, busy in the collection of coins. I left them the field of the city, and confined my attention to the more distant and ample one of Beghrám. Besides, as my object was not merely the amassing of coins, but the application of them to useful purposes, I hailed with satisfaction the prospect of obtaining a collection from a known spot, with which they would have, of necessity, a definite connection, enabling me to speculate with confidence on the points they involved.

"I suppose that no less a number than thirty thousand coins, probably a much larger number, are found annually on the 'dasht' or plain of Beghrám, independently of rings, seals, and other trinkets. Gold and silver coins occur but rarely. If we allow a period of five hundred years since the final extinction of this city (and I have some idea that negative proof thereof might be adduced), and if we allow, as I presume is reasonable, that the same or not a less number of coins has been annually extracted from its site, we have a total of fifteen millions, a startling amount, and which will not fail to excite curiosity as to this second Babylon. The antique treasures of Beghrám, until their partial diversion this present season, have been melted in the mint at Kábul, or by the coppersmiths of that city and of Charíkár. The collection of them is made by Afghán shepherds, who sell them by weight at a very low price to itinerant 'misgars' or coppersmiths, who occasionally visit their tents; and these again melt them down themselves, or vend them at a small profit to the officers of the mint."

NOTE ON THE COINS FOUND BY CAPTAIN CAUTLEY, AT BEHAT.

THE accompanying plate (iv.) exhibits faithful representations of some of the coins presented by Captain Cautley to the Society. Those numbered 1 to 6 are all of the same character, and, as far as I know, entirely new to Hindú numismatology, although connected by a peculiar symbol with the fifth series of Colonel Tod's plate[1] (fig. 19 of the present plate); also with the copper coins 68, 69, of Mr. Wilson's third plate[2] (fig. 22 of the present plate); and with fig. 19 of Mr. Masson's collection,[3] in plate ix. of the April number of the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal'; all three series in other respects differing materially from one another.

FIG. 1 may be looked upon as the type of this new series. It is a silver coin of the size depicted in the engraving, and weighs twenty grains. The silver has been so acted upon by long continued burial, that on arrival in Calcutta, wafered on to the folds of a letter for security, the removal of the wafer stripped off a thin film of silver from its surface. The impression however is still perfect and in deep relief.

OBVERSE.—A female figure clothed, in her right hand a stalk, bearing on its summit a large open flower (this emblem will be seen to be common to another class of Indian coins); on her right stands an animal, of the precise character of which it is difficult to make any positive assertion:—it has a stout straight trunk, which might pass for that of a deer or horse, but the head more resembles that of a bird, and is surmounted with a radiated crest, which at first sight wears the appearance of horns. On the left of this nondescript animal is a symbol or monogram much resembling character 5 of the Allahábád inscription, No. 1, but square, instead of round, in the body. There are other characters round the margin but partially visible.

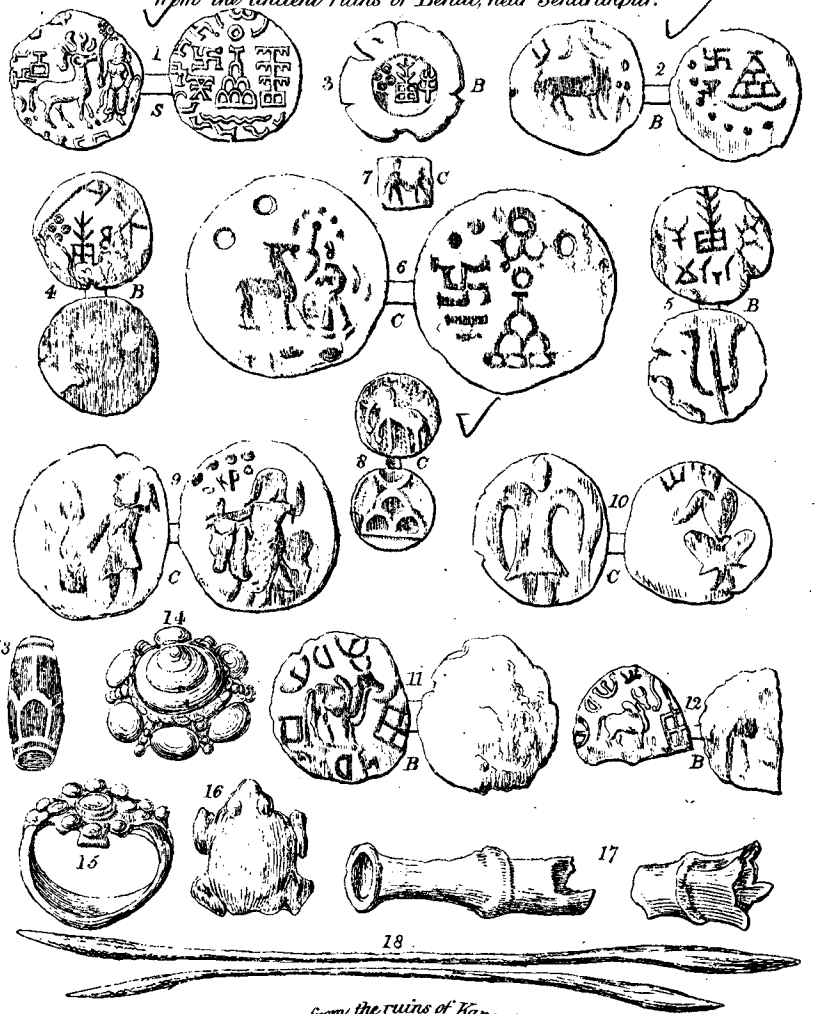
[1] 'Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. i.

[2] 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xvii.

[3] ['Ariana Antiqua,' xv., fig. 26 reproduces the same, or a nearly identical coin.]

HINDU COINS.

from the ancient ruins of Behat, near Seharanpur.



from the ruins of Kanouj.

J. Prinsep del. Published by Stephen Austin, Hertford.

REVERSE.—The opposite side of this curious coin presents an assemblage of symbols, the purport of which it is difficult to divine. The principal figure in the centre seems to represent a temple, a pyramidal building with three tiers of rounded súras, spires or domes, surmounted by a kalsá or pinnacle in the form of the letter T: the contour of this device resembles also the Hindú drawings of rocks and mountains, and it may be intended to pourtray some holy hill, connected with the mythology, or with the locality, of its place of coinage: beneath the pyramid is a waved line, which may also depict the sea, and point to some fabulous mountain in the ocean, as Lanká or Meru. To the right is another curious emblem, which, for want of more correct information, we may call a tree of triple branch, standing in a frame or on a kind of chabútrá or platform. To the left is the swastiká emblem of four legs conjoined; and below it a figure very similar in form to some compound Greek characters on the Bactrian coins. There is a legend around the margin consisting of the letters hitherto called Pehlví, but which I think we shall soon find reason to denominate otherwise.

[Any remarks I may have to make on this coin had better be reserved for the illustration of the analogous piece delineated as fig. 16, plate xix., under Art. X. A similar course will be pursued with most of the specimens in this plate.]

FIG. 2.—A copper coin, similar in every respect to fig. 1, but of inferior execution: in this the circles of the chaitya or temple are made square, and resemble common masonry.

FIGS. 3, 4, 5, are smaller copper (or rather white bronze) coins, stamped only on one side, except No. 5, which has a faint impress of a trisúl on the reverse. The form of the tree is altered, and the frame below has, in some specimens, four compartments instead of two: the swastiká is also exchanged for four circular rings.

[Prinsep subsequently discovered that the letters visible on coin 5 formed a portion of the word 𑀫𑀳𑀸𑀭𑀸𑀚𑀲 *Mahárájasa.*]

FIG. 6.—A copper coin weighing 163½ grains, in imperfect preservation. The only variation in this coin from the type-coin (fig. 1) is that the pyramid contains two tiers instead of three. This circumstance, however, constitutes the link of connection with the other series of coins to which I have alluded; all of them having the chaitya symbol in common.

FIG. 7 is a small square copper piece, with an elephant on one side, the other effaced.

FIG. 8 is a small copper coin procured by Lieut. A. Conolly,[1] at Kanauj, upon which this chaitya mark forms the distinguishing emblem. A similar coin is in Major Stacy's possession, obtained in Central India. I shall have to recur to the subject in describing figs. 19 and 22.

FIGS. 9 and 10.—I have introduced these two coins to shew that what has been called the Indo-Scythic series occurs plentifully among the exhumed relics of Behat.

The first of these, the Rájá and bull coin, must henceforward be entitled the Kadphises series, in compliance with the successful researches of Mr. Masson; the Kanerkos series also occurs as commonly among the coins transmitted by Capt. Cautley, and as we know that these two coins bear Greek inscriptions, and that their epoch cannot consequently be much posterior to the Bactrian dynasties, we may presume that all the descriptions of coins having the chaitya symbol, being proved to be contemporaneous with these, must belong to the first centuries of the Christian era; and consequently the destruction of the ancient city may be ascribed with tolerable certainty to the same early period. The circumstance of so much money being discovered in one place would seem to denote that the catastrophe which destroyed the place was sudden, but the destruction is as likely to have been effected by the ravages of war, as by any convulsion of nature; and, when once depopulated, the place might easily have been buried under the gradual deposit of silt washed down by hill streams, as described by Capt. Cautley.

Figs. 11 and 12. These coins are connected with the above by the tree symbol, by their being stamped only on one side, and by their

[1] [The adventurous officer who subsequently perished with Colonel Stoddart at Bukhárá.]

being of white bronze: but in them the animal is decidedly the bráhmaní bull, and the inscription is in a different character.

[The letters ब्यधय् may be read in the old lát character on 11; No. 12 reproduces the three characters ध्यधय्. See Art. X., *infrâ*.]

Figs. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18, are introduced to give an idea of the other curiosities from Behat. The first is a black-and-white enamelled bead; 14, an ornament of the head-dress of some image; 15, a ring worn probably while performing certain religious ceremonies; 16, appears to be a weight moulded in the shape of a frog, as is the custom in Ava, and in many parts of India: it weighs 360 grains (precisely two tolás), or six Grecian drachmæ, and is not corroded. Fig. 17 is the metal handle of some vessel: it is broken in half. Fig. 18, the Saláís for applying Surmá to the eyes, spoken of by Capt. Cautley as so numerous: in the present day they are generally made of zinc.

Besides these articles, our flourishing little museum contains plain rings, arrow-heads, hooks, and rolls of lead, converted into semi-crystalline hydrated oxide by exposure to the moisture under ground.[1] Most of the copper coins, likewise, are in a very imperfect state, the pure metal not resisting corrosion nearly so well as bronze.

HINDÚ COINS FROM THE RUINS OF KANAUJ.

To confirm the assertion made above of the connection of several other series with the Behat coinage, I have introduced at the foot of the present plate, drawings of some most interesting coins, procured by Lieut. A. Conolly, of the 6th Light Cavalry, at Kanauj, and this moment received from that officer at Cawnpore.

Figs. 19 and 21. Silver coins, weighing 28 grains each ($\frac{1}{2}$ drachm),

[1] See note on a similar change produced in zinc plates, 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. ii., p. 437. The lead is partially converted into minium, and partly into protoxide. In some rolls the interior is still metallic.

corresponding in every respect with Colonel Tod's fifth series, in the head, on the obverse; and in the circular inscription on the reverse: in 19, also, we find the central chaitya symbol, with five dots on the side, as in his coin.

Colonel Tod's observations on these rare coins are as follows:—

"The fifth series is entirely novel and unexplored. All I can say of them is that they belong to a dynasty which ruled from Avanti or Ujjayan to the Indus, for in that whole tract I have found them. The first I obtained was from the ruins of ancient Ujjayan, twelve years ago, presented to me by Mr. Williams, resident at the Gykwar court, who first awakened my attention to their importance. He found them in Cutch, and in his company, I discovered others among the ruins in the Gulf. The character of the epigraphe I have met with on rocks in Saurashtra, in the haunts of the Suroi, the bounds of the conquests of Menander and Apollodotus. I have little hesitation in assigning them to the Balhara sovereigns of Renaudot's Arabian travellers, the Bhalla Raes of Anhulwára Patan, who were supreme in those countries: 'This Balhara is the most illustrious prince of the Indies, and all the other kings acknowledge his pre-eminence. He has, of these, pieces of silver called Tartarian drams. They are coined with the die of the prince, and have the year of his reign.'—Renaudot, p. 15. The Balhara dynasty had a distinct era, 375 years posterior to Vicramaditya."

The character of the circular legend in all these coins strongly resembles Sanskrit:—if the place of their discovery be a test of the extent of empire in which they circulated, they will belong to a powerful monarch indeed, for Mr. Masson has found twenty at Beghrám (of the same symbol at least), while they extend to Kanauj, Behat, and Benáres on the east.

[Fig. 19 belongs to the Sáh series, and 21 to a subordinate suite of the same class.]

Fig. 20. A silver coin, weighing 34 grains; is evidently of the same series; but here the distinctive symbol is lost, and is replaced by a peacock with expanded tail: the letters are not decypherable.

[The legends on these coins are given under Art. XI., in connection with figs. 10, 11, 12, pl. xxvii.]

Fig. 22. A square copper coin, also from Kanauj, is already known as No. 68 of Wilson's plate (see 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xvii.), which was dug up by Capt. Vetch on the Alláhábád road. It bears on the obverse an elephant and some other animal prostrate; on the

reverse, the chaitya symbol, the tree, and a cross, all of which prove its close alliance with the Behat coins. More of the general history of the whole series may yet be developed by future discovery.

Fig. 23. A silver coin, weighing 7.7 grains, resembles a fanam of South India, but its type shows that it may be a genuine connection of the coins it accompanies.

Fig. 24. A gold medal, weighing 123 grains.

OBVERSE.—A figure clothed in the Hindú dhotí, with armlets, holding a bow, as having just discharged an arrow through the head of a lion, or other monster, on the right; in his left he holds another arrow prepared; his right foot rests on the tail of the lion. Inscription in ancient Nágarí, महाराजधिराज श्री *Mahárájadhirája Srí.*

REVERSE.—Either the same person, or a female figure clad in similar costume, seated upon the vanquished lion, holding a large flower in the manner of a cornucopia in the left hand (see also figs. 1, 4), and in the right, a kind of noose; above which the lozenge symbol with four prongs, (16 of pl. xiv., vol. ii.) On the right in ancient Nágarí, the words श्री मद्भव कचो *Srí madghavakacho* [श्री सिङ्ह विक्रम *Srí sinha vikrama.*]

It will be at once seen that this beautiful medal has no connection with the subjects of the foregoing remarks. I have given it a place that it might be as early as possible brought to the knowledge of numismatologists, for it appears likely to prove the very key to our knowledge of the valuable series of Kanauj coins, forming the fourth of Colonel Tod; and the second plate of Wilson.

[This piece is re-engraved in the general series, under No. 25, pl. xxiii. I assign this coin to Kumára Gupta.]

The former author says of these coins:

"They are Hindú, of a very remote period, and have the same character which I have found wherever the Pandu authority existed, in the caves, and on the rocks of Janagur Girnar, on the pillar of victory in Meywar, and on the columns of Indraprestha (Delhi) and Prayág (Allahabad). Some of them are not unlike ancient Pehlevi. These coins are of gold, and in fine preservation. Like all my medals, they are either from Agra, Mathura, Ujjayan, or Ajmere. Dr. Wilkins possesses some found even in Bengal: he thinks he can make out the word 'Chandra' upon them."

"It is well known," as Lieut. Conolly remarks, "that our love for the antique has induced certain cunning men of this famed city to set up a mint for the fabrication of moneys of the olden time;" and many that are brought thence bear all the marks of having been cast in the mould of some original, of which they bear so imperfect an impression that it has been hitherto impossible to assign the true nature of their inscriptions: Colonel Tod, it is evident, supposed them to be in the Dihlí character No. 1; one was read as in the Mahábalipúr alphabet[1]: and only now do we perceive for certain that the character is precisely that of No. 2, of the Allahábád column: of which the reader may convince himself by comparing the legend on the obverse with the titles of Chandra-gupta in pl. vi., vol. iii., of the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.' Applying the same alphabet to the reverse, we find the name 'Srí mad-gava kavo' or 'kacho' which, as Dr. Mill remarks, by a slight alteration will become Ghatat-kacho, the very name read by himself as the

[1] [The following additional note was inserted among the miscellaneous notices appended to the December No. of the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal' for 1833]:—'Note on the Inscription on the Hindú Coin (pl. iii., fig. 15). At page 415 of the present volume* I stated that the characters of the inscription on the reverse of the ancient gold coins of Hindú fabrication from Kanauj represented in fig. 15, and in several coins of pl. i., vol. xvii., 'Asiatic Researches,' were not legible. Mr. Wilson had, however, suggested, that the three first letters agreed with the ancient Nágarí characters पाक, and I find, on referring to Dr. Babington's 'Account of the Inscriptions and Sculptures at Mahámalaipúr,' that all of the letters may be unquestionably identified with the ancient Sanskrit characters of the Ratha sculpture, so ably decyphered by that gentleman, and of which he has given a complete alphabet in the same volume. The first letter is probably स rather than म or प्र although, as observed by Dr. Babington, these letters are very similar in form; the fourth letter is म, and the whole word thus restored becomes clearly साकम: but the meaning is still as hidden as ever; and if it be a proper name, none such is to be found in the catalogue of Hindú princes.'—J.P.

* See page 60, *suprâ*.

father of Chandra-gupta in the Allahábád inscription.[1] I must here leave this important discovery to the elucidation of our learned Vice-President, having performed my own more humble duty of making known by the pencil the prize which has rewarded my friend Lieut. Conolly's researches.

[1] In a paper read before the Asiatic Society on the 28th May, 1834. [See 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. iii., page 257. Prinsep's revised translation of the entire inscription will be reproduced at the commencement of Art. X., as introductory to pl. xxiii., which commences the more comprehensive illustration of the Gupta coinage.]

VI.—ON THE COINS AND RELICS DISCOVERED BY M. LE CHEVALIER VENTURA, GENERAL IN THE SERVICE OF MAHÁ RÁJÁ RANJÍT SINGH, IN THE TOPE OF MANIKYÁLA.

[JULY, 1834.]

GENERAL VENTURA'S well imagined and successfully executed operations for the examination of the Tope of Manikyála, in the year 1830, are familiar to all who are interested in antiquarian research. His own account of the excavations was published in the Calcutta newspapers of the day, and was afterwards inserted, with remarks, in Professor Wilson's Essay on ancient Indian Coins, in the seventeenth volume of the 'Asiatic Researches.' Some of the coins have been the subject of discussion and investigation at Paris;[1] and the subsequent collections of Lieut. Burnes, Doctor Martin Honigberger, and especially Mr. Masson,—who have all followed in the track pointed out by the success of General Ventura,—have materially contributed to demonstrate the value of his original enterprize, and to make us wish for a fuller account of its highly curious results. Lieut. Burnes favoured the Society with his own impressions of the importance and magnitude of the

[1] [See further notices: Jacquet, 'Journal Asiatique,' February, 1836, November, 1837, February, 1838, and March, 1839 (unfinished): M. Raoul Rochette, 'Journal des Savants,' September and October, 1835, February, 1836; and on M. Court's coins, February, 1839.]

Chevalier's labours from an ocular inspection of the Tope itself, and of the collection of relics which were shewn to him at Láhor. This is printed in the second volume of the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' p. 308; and an expression, which I ventured to use, in a note subjoined on that occasion, "trusting that the Chevalier would no longer deem us unworthy of being made the medium of their introduction to the world,' was, in fact, a hesitating allusion to the good fortune which a letter from Captain Wade had that moment announced; but which I could hardly bring myself to believe. A more than ordinary degree of magnanimity was necessary to induce the author of such discoveries to forego the natural desire of monopolizing a prize won by his personal achievement and labour, and at considerable cost to himself; but in the present instance it required further the self-denial and disinterestedness of a friend to whom the possession of these valuable relics was generously proffered, to enable them to reach a third party who had no such claims of friendship; and nothing to offer in recompense, but the public notice, which his position enabled him to promise, in the pages of the 'Journal.' I should not do justice to General Ventura, nor to Captain Wade, did I not make known circumstances so highly to their credit, and I trust, therefore, that I shall be pardoned by the latter gentleman for publishing the following extract from his private letter to me in corroboration of the above facts, from which the world will be enabled to appreciate both the extent of his forbearance, and of the sacrifice made by General Ventura himself.

(*Extract of a Letter from Captain C. M. Wade, Political Agent at Lúdiana, dated 3rd June*, 1833.)

'While at Dera Ghází Khán in March last, the guest of M. Ventura, the 'Journal' for January reached me, containing a notice of the coins found by the Chevalier at Manikyála. I showed the passage to him, and he expressed himself flattered by the allusion which you made to his labors in exposing the numismatic treasures buried under that mysterious temple. We had a long and interesting conversation on the subject, the result of which was an offer to me, on his part, of the whole of the Manikyála coins, together with the cylinder in which some of the most valuable were found. I told the Chevalier I could never think of accepting such a gift for myself, but that I should be proud of the honor of sending them in his name to you, who would be able justly to appreciate their value, and to do him the credit to which he was entitled as the author of the discovery. He assented to my proposition, and promised to dispatch these precious articles to me on his arrival at Láhor, for which place he was then about to set out.'

In acknowledging this unexpected and most disinterested offer, I could not but disclaim all permanent interest in the relics, and request M. Ventura, through Captain Wade, to consider them still at his disposal, although I should be proud, while they were deposited under my care, to do my utmost in making them more fully known to the world.

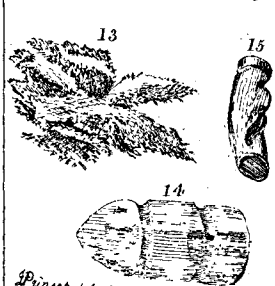
On the 16th August, the precious packet came into Captain Wade's possession, and although he was unable to find a secure opportunity of conveyance for them to Calcutta until the beginning of the following year, still, through fear of injury or displacement of the various objects, especially the liquid contained in the cylinders, he would not open the package even to gratify the curiosity of many who wished to feast their eyes on its contents.

General Ventura's simple request is characteristic: 'Je m'empresse de vous expédier mon fameux Manekiala, que vous désirez pour envoyer à M. Prinsep: veuillez, je vous prie, mon bon ami, vous servir de cette occasion pour faire agréer mes sentimens d'estime à

Relics found in the Tope of Manikyala.

First discovery.

Second discovery.



Third discovery.

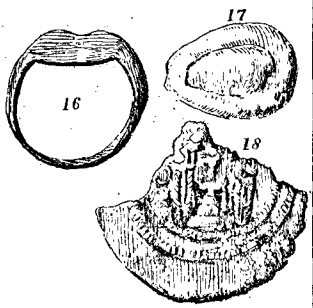
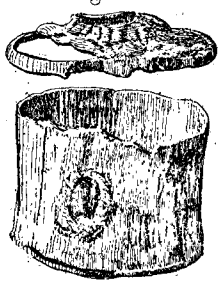


Fig 12



Prinsep del et sculp

M. Prinsep, et de le prier en même temps de m'envoyer une description, écrite en Français, de ce qu'il pourra déchiffrer des inscriptions et empreintes de ma trouvaille.'

The package has just now reached Calcutta under charge of our associate, Sir Jeremiah Bryant.

I hasten to make known its curious contents to the Society, confining myself on the present occasion to a description of the several articles in the order of their discovery, of which we have a full account in the 'Etât des Travaux,' published by Mr. Wilson, as already noticed, in the 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xvii., page 601. The articles, being separately and carefully packed, left no difficulty in recognizing them from the circumstances there indicated.

DESCRIPTION OF GENERAL VENTURA'S OPERATIONS.

The excavation was commenced on the 27th April, 1830, at the very bottom of the cupola on the south side, where, having met with nothing but loose materials, the work was of necessity discontinued.

On the 28th April, the cap of the cupola was laid open, and there, at the depth of three feet, six medals (or coins) were discovered.

On the 1st May, at the depth of twelve feet, a square mass of masonry was found, exactly in the centre of the mound, and regularly built of quarried stones, in very good preservation. On piercing ten feet into this, a medal was found in the middle of a clod of earth.

On the 6th, a silver coin and six copper coins were met with at the depth of twenty feet.

I am not able to recognize the coins discovered up to this period, and I conclude they have been mixed with the general heap of scattered coins, all being of the same nature.

On the 8th May, the workmen came upon a box of iron (? copper) which was broken by the stroke of the pickaxe. There was in this box a second smaller box of pure gold (fig. 1, plate v.), with an ornamental top, in the centre of which is inserted a stone resembling the opal, but friable and adhesive to the tongue like tabshír; it is reserved for future examination: this box contained the following articles:—

FIG. 2.—One medal of gold, weighing 122 grs., or two drachmæ (the same as

was depicted, from a sealing-wax impression, in the 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xvii., as No. 1 of Mr. Wilson's plate.) There is also a description of this coin in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' ii., 38; but both that and the drawing (plate ii., fig. 18) are imperfect when compared with the real coin, of which I have now endeavoured to give an exact etching.

OBVERSE.—The sceptre held by the king has a knob like an ear of wheat. The projection behind the cap is a double fillet or riband, and not hair: the side-flap, on the contrary, has more the appearance of hair, and the moustaches are well defined: the left hand holds a hook or key, or it may be a small sickle, with which the ear of corn has been cut (?) The legend, if Greek, is considerably corrupted, but the central part—ANOPA—may be traced on many of the copper coins.

REVERSE.—The seated figure on this side appears, at first sight, to have four arms: but, on closer inspection, what was taken for one right arm may be a sword-belt, and the uplifted left arm may represent the curved part of a bow; the resemblance to wrist-bangles and hands, however, is strong. The half moon behind the shoulders seems to prove the figure to be a sacred or symbolical personage, although the chair is a Grecian fauteuil, and the head-dress resembles a close helmet. The epigraphe on this side can hardly be other than MANAOBA...ΓO: the first may be connected with the name of the sacred personage, or the locality; the last two letters may be the date, 73, of some unknown era. (See *infrá*, plate vii., 25, 26, plate xxix., 8, and 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 376).

FIG. 3.—A gold ring, set with a pale sapphire stone, having characters engraven upon it, apparently Pehlví, (fig. 3, *a*).

FIG. 4.—A small bit of pale ruby (Balas or Badakhshání ruby, see 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. i. 358).

FIGS. 5, 6, 7.—Three very small silver coins.

FIG. 8.—A thin silver Sassanian coin, similar to those so frequently met with in Persia; weight, sixty grs. or one drachma.

OBVERSE.—The king's head, bearded, and having flowing curled hair: the cap peculiar for its central ornament of feathers, which somewhat resembles the Egyptian symbol of two wings supporting (in this case) a half moon and star. The characters are Pehlví and illegible.

REVERSE.—A rudely executed fire-altar and two priests or supporters.

[This is a coin of Abdullah bin Házim, Governor of Khorásán, struck at Merv in A.H. 66=A.D. 685-6. I reserve the full description[1] of the piece, as well as some illustrations I have to offer on the general series, for the conclusion of this article, in order that I may not break in upon the continuity of Prinsep's description of the Manikyála treasures.]

FIGS. 10 and 11.—Two silver coins, resembling the Sassanian piece in thinness and general character, but destitute of the fire-altar; weight about 50 grains each.

OBVERSE.—A beardless head, with well-marked Indian features: the head-dress has a kind of trisúl in the centre, and two flowing ribands. A name, very plainly written on the field, in an unknown character. The whole is encircled with an

[1] [By a typographical error, this description has been made to follow Art. IV. in lieu of Art. VI. See page 62.]

inscription at once recognized to be in Sanskrit characters: these have been also engraved under the coins, to show the coincidence of the two inscriptions, one of which will materially assist the decyphering of the other.[1]

REVERSE.—Head of a female, front face, with very singular head-dress. necklace and rows of pearls on the boddice: legend in the ancient Persian character not easily legible. It is copied in 10 *a.*, pl. v.

[I withhold any commentary on these specimens of Indo-Sassanian coinages, until the more appropriate occasion in connexion with the review of the general subject, entered into by Prinsep under Art. XV. Further illustration of this particular type of money will be found under Art. XX. I may, however, mention, with reference to the light they might be expected to throw on the age of the monument wherein they were found, that their date is, as yet, altogether indeterminate.]

FIG. 9.—The last coin of this series is a silver coin, already depicted as 43 of Mr. Wilson's plates, very rude in execution, but of strong relief. The fabrication of this is decidedly Hindú, and the inscription on the reverse resembles the Lantsu, or pointed variety of the Nágarí alphabet, of which we have specimens from Nepál and Tibet. The words visible are 'Srí yag.....'

[Major Cunningham assigns this coin to 'Srí Yaso Varma, of Kanauj, circâ 692=729 A.D.;' the date is, of course, doubtful.—'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' No. 7, 1854. The reference is quoted entire at page 99 *infrâ*.]

OBVERSE.—A rájá, coated; his disproportionate left hand seems to hold the hook before remarked; the hair is disposed in curls; on the right is a symbol resembling a tree, but it may probably be the sleeve of the right arm.

REVERSE.—I have little doubt that this rude figure represents a female standing, with flowing drapery; the head and face are out of the die, but the breast and waist, on comparison with other coins of the same type (for they are plentiful), fully bear out this conclusion.

The contents of this first box are peculiarly valuable, not only from the variety of coins here discovered to be contemporaneous, but from the presence of the Sassanian coin [A.H. 66=A.D. 685-6], which brings the epoch of the structure within cognate limits, unless indeed a dynasty of fire-worshippers reigned in these parts previous to the formation of the last Persian monarchy by Artaxerxes in A.D. 223: but we must postpone all speculations, and proceed with our description of the works.

The above box and its contents were found in their natural position, as deposited at the base of the square stone block of masonry which terminated there: (I am uncertain, however, whether the French text will bear the interpretation I have given,

[1] A few more of these curious coins have been received in Kera'mat Alí's collection, but I do not introduce them here, being desirous of exhibiting the Manikyála treasures unmixed. One bears the name of Krishna as Srí Vásu Deva.

or whether the square is not a hollow square or chamber,—"On a trouvé un carré parfait à douze pieds, très-bien établi au centre, bâti régulièrement en pierres de taille, et très-bien conservé. Après avoir creusé dix pieds," etc., and afterwards, "le tout au bas du carré, dont la batisse régulière s'est terminée là."

[This latter proved to be the correct interpretation. 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. iii., p. 326.]

On the 12th May, the perforation had reached thirty-six feet, when another copper coin presented itself.

On the 22nd May, as it was imagined that nothing more would be found in the centre of the cupola, on account of the termination of the square building, an opening was made on the northern side, of the height of six feet, and twelve broad: the excavations were pushed forward at both points.

On the 25th May, a depth of forty-five feet had been attained, when, on lifting up a large quarried stone, another similarly-squared stone was found underneath, having in its centre a round hole; in the middle of this hole there lay deposited—

FIG. 12.—A copper box, somewhat similar in form to the gold one just described; it was perforated on opposite sides, where apparently handles had been soldered on. The lid was decayed. Inside this box were found—

FIG. 13.—A little piece of cloth:

FIG. 14.—A circular crystal drop, and

FIG. 15.—A small cylinder of pure gold. (Whatever relic may have been in the gold cylinder has been lost).

On the 27th May, at the depth of fifty-four feet, another copper coin was turned up.

On the 29th May, at the depth of sixty-four feet, an irregular hole appeared of six lines broad, in which were discovered—

FIG. 16.—A copper ring, and

FIG. 17.—A kauri (cypræa moneta).

FIG. 18.—At ten lines lower down were also found an iron ring and three more Sassanian coins, in a very decayed state.

[This broken coin also appears to belong to the Arab period, or to an epoch closely preceding it.]

On the last day of the same month, the principal discovery rewarded the Chevalier's labours.

An immense stone slab seemed here to cover the whole surface: it was removed with great labor and difficulty, and underneath was perceived with joy a small chamber or basin cut into the solid stone, a foot in breadth and depth, the interior of it built up with stone and lime. In the midst of this, on its careful removal, were found, thus hermetically sealed, the second series of relics now to be described (plate vi.)

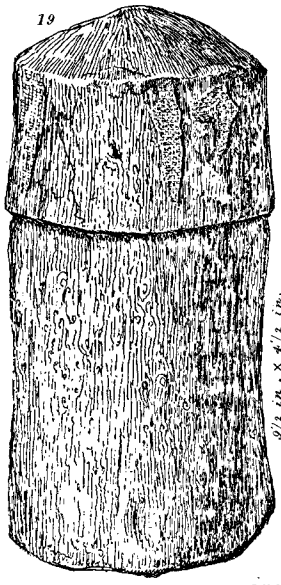
FIG. 19, Pl. vi.—A box of copper (supposed to be iron by M. Ventura) filled with a brown compound liquid.

FIG. 20.—Within this box and liquid, a brass cylindrical box, cast and turned on the lathe. The surface of the metal was in such excellent preservation as still to retain the fresh marks of the tool, but the pinnacle on the top of the lid was broken off by corrosion, or in consequence of a flaw at the neck. The lid having been made on the lathe also fitted perfectly tight, and must have kept in, without loss by evaporation, another portion of the thick brown liquid with which it was found to

Relics found in the Tope of Manikyala.

Principal deposit

19



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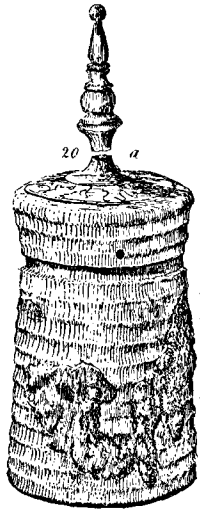

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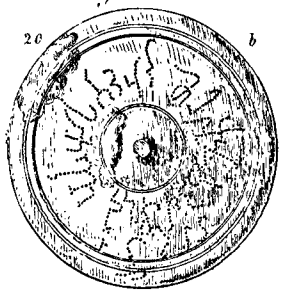
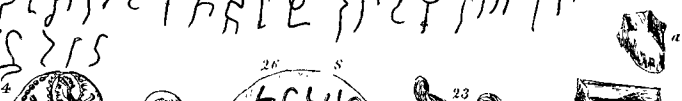


21

27

Inscription on brass cylinder.



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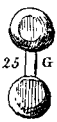
25 G



26 S

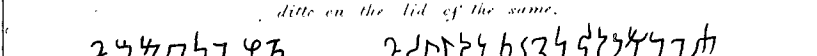
23

22

a.... ΟΜΙΚΙΚΟΡΑΝΟ

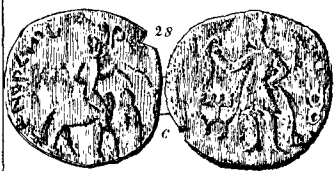
b ΝΙΙΡΟ

Characters scratched around a brass cylinder found in a Tope at Jelalabad.



ditto on the lid of the same.

28



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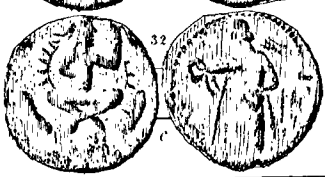

JPrinsep del et sculp.

Pub. by Stephen Austin, Hertford.

be filled. On cleaning the upper surface of the lid, it was discovered that an inscription had been there punched circularly round it. The letters are formed by dots, but they are perfectly well preserved, and are of the first importance in making out the nature of the deposit.

FIG. 20 *b.* represents a fac-simile of this inscription, which is again written below to facilitate its lecture. The character so strongly resembles an ancient form of Nâgarí, such as might be used in writing, without the head-lines of book-letter, that sanguine hopes may be entertained of its yielding to the already successful efforts of our Vice-President and Captain Troyer. The same writing has been found by Dr. Martin Honigberger and Mr. Masson in other topes. The latter has favored me (through Dr. Gerard) with a transcript of two in which he finds the same words repeated. I have placed these on the same plate for convenience of examination.

[Major Cunningham—an early numismatic coadjutor of James Prinsep—has, throughout, devoted much attention to the Arian section of Indian Palæography, and we even now await the complete exposition of his labors in his long-promised work, on the 'Successors of Alexander in the East.' In the meantime, in his most recent paper in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vii. of 1854, he has favored us with some tentative readings of the various inscriptions illustrative of the Manikyála and other tope relics. And although, —in the very nature of the character, and the consequent difficulty attending any positive definition of phonetic values which is not supported by a leading context, or illustrated by transcripts or translations in other alphabets and languages,— these interpretations can scarcely be expected to prove conclusive, yet Major Cunningham is entitled to the fullest credit for having grappled with a difficult subject, and for having done his utmost to advance the general enquiry.[1] As I have

[1] [As I am anxious to do every justice to Major Cunningham's perseverance in the cause of Indian Antiquities, I anticipate the due order of the development of Arian Palæography in these pages, and admit him to set forth his full pretensions in this branch of discovery, in introductory juxtaposition with his most recent application of his alphabetical test:—"I cannot close this account, without saying a few words in favor of my claim to the discovery of the true value of eleven letters, or of just one-third of the Ariano-Páli alphabet. The whole number of single letters amounts to thirty-five, of which James Prinsep had assigned the true value to seventeen or just one-half. To Mr. Norris is due the discovery of six single letters of which two are the monumental forms of *ch* and its aspirate; and the form of one letter *jh* still remains unknown. Of the nine known vowels (five initial and four medial), seven were determined by James Prinsep and two by me. Of the few compound letters which are at present known, the numismatic *anuswára* was discovered by James Prinsep, the monumental one by Mr. Norris; but the attached *r* in *kra*, *tra*, *dra*,

set forth Major Cunningham's claims, so I am equally bound to acknowledge my own special deficiencies. I have never yet had occasion to appear as the expounder of Arian writing: I have allowed my progress in that direction to follow the developments of others; and it is only now, when I find myself pledged to edit Prinsep's Essays, that I have commenced any original and independent scrutiny of these alphabets, either monumental or numismatic. I have, in brief, hitherto confined my studies to the less interesting divisions of Indian Antiquities, seeing that so many and such competent archæologists were occupied in tracing out the records of Greek civilization in Central Asia. However, as I am bound, in the cause of truth, to expose any defects that may become apparent as I proceed, I shall not shrink from that duty, even as concerning a writer who may be supposed to be better instructed than myself.

First, as to the fac-similes which form the data upon which the proposed interpretations are based, I observe that Major Cunningham's transcript[1] of Prinsep's legend, No. 20 *b*, plate vi., differs materially from that engraving.[2] Whether the author was in possession of any improved fac-simile he does not tell us; but it will be sufficient for me to say, that I have the original inscribed relic at hand,[3] wherewith to rectify either the one or the other copy.

Major Cunningham, it will be seen, from the passage quoted *in extenso* below,[4] now represents this legend in

and *stra*; the attached *t* in *st*; the attached *m* in *rm* are all due to myself. The single letters of which I claim the discovery are *g*, *gh*, *ng*; *ch*, *chh*; *ṭ*, *ḍ*; *ph*, *b*, *bh*; *v*; all of which, with the exception of the fourth and fifth, were made known in this Journal, before the publication of Mr. Norris's alphabet in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, for 1856."—'Coins of Indian Buddhist Satraps,' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vii. of 1854, p. 714.]

[1] ['Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vii. of 1854, plate xxxv., fig. 24.]

[2] [Especially in regard to the second, eleventh, thirteenth and twenty-second letters.]

[3] [In the British Museum.]

[4] [I extract Major Cunningham's own summary of his decipherments, as well as his inferences therefrom:—

"Fig. 24, plate xxxv., 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' No. vii.

Roman letters by '*Swati Siva Chatrapasa Gandaphuka Chatrapa putrasa danatrayam.*' I have little objection to offer to this rendering, except in the somewhat unimpor-

of 1854, is the inscription on the lid of the brass cylinder, extracted by General Ventura from the great Manikyála tope, which I believe no one but myself has yet attempted to decypher. One of the names is still doubtful, but the remainder of the inscription seems to me to be perfectly clear. I read the whole inscription as follows: '*Swati Siva Chatrapasa Gandaphuka Chatrapa putrasa danatrayam.*' 'The three gifts of the Satrap Swasti Siva, son of the Satrap Gandaphuka.' The last four letters of the inscription, which, for want of room on the lid of the cylinder, are placed below, I read as *danatrayam* 'the three gifts.' These I suppose to refer to the three cylinders or relic-boxes, which were deposited in the three separate chambers of the tope."

I should be sorry to offer any discouragement to corrections of errors, but as I am contesting Major Cunningham's present decipherment, I insert, by way of contrast, his previous interpretation of the same inscription, published in 1845. This will, at least, serve to exemplify how readily phonetic values and supplemental arguments may be made to follow the favorite theories of the moment:—

"Ventura's Manikyála cylinder inscription . . I read as follows: '*Swati Siri munipasa Gangaphuka munipa putasa. Swati Siri* is the Sanscrit *Swasti Sri*, an auspicious invocation of very common occurrence in the beginning of inscriptions even at the present day. *Muni* is 'a holy personage,' with the affix of *pa*, usually given to holy men; for instance, Gwali, after whom 'Gwali awara' (Gwalior) is named, is invariably called Gwalipa. *Gangaphuka* means 'the bird of the Ganges,' and the whole legend is, 'All hail! (Tope) of the Muni, the son of Gangaphuka Muni.' This, of course, refers to Kanyatratra Muni; and, indeed, the very name of Manikiyala points to the same conclusion, *Muni-ka-alaya* being 'the place of the Muni.' Another derivation may be from *mani*, 'a gem'; Mani-ki-alaya, 'the place or receptacle of a gem or relic.'"—'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' No. 162, (1845, p. 432.)

I resume the sequel of Major Cunningham's remarks from his last paper in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vii. of 1854:—

"The three deposits comprised the following articles:—

"*Upper deposit* at twelve feet from top. Iron (or copper) box, enclosing a box of pure gold, which, amongst other things, contained the following coins:—

"Gold coin of Oerki. REVERSE.—A four-armed seated figure, with a crescent behind the shoulders, styled MANAO-BAΓO. This figure I take to be the four-armed OKPO, the supreme God or Mahadeva. . . . MANAO is, no doubt, the moon.

"One thin Sassanian silver coin.

"Two Indo-Sassanian silver coins.

"One thick silver (or electrum) coin . . of *Sri Yaso Varma*, which was the name of the celebrated Rája of Kanauj, the rival contemporary of Lalitáditya, of Kashmír, who reigned from A.D. 693 to 729. I do not infer from this that the great tope was not built until A.D. 700, but simply that the uppermost chamber, with its enshrined relic, was accessible until that date. In most topes the relic-chambers were made accessible, with the view of extracting the relic-boxes for annual exhibition to the people. Kings and conquerors could, of course, command a sight of them at any time. I suppose, therefore, that on his invasion of the Punjáb, Yasovarma may have inspected the relics of the great Manikyála tope, and that his coin may have been deposited in the relic-box by the grateful Buddhist fraternity, as a remembrance of his visit.

"*The second deposit*, at a depth of forty-five feet, consisted of a copper box enclosing a cylinder of pure gold. Nothing was found in this casket; but it is

tant[1] matter of the orthography of the names. 'Swati Siva' is clearly Kavi Siva in the original, and the 'Gandaphuka' is doubtful; the '*nd*' seems to be a simple न *n*, and the '*u*' which is supplimented by Major Cunningham to the '*ph*'—whatever the real value of the sign may be—certainly does not accord with the obvious '*u*' in '*putra.*' The '*danatrayam*' is the portion most open to question; but its rendering as such assimilates so well with apparent probabilities, that we can afford to overbear minor difficulties, and admit it to stand for the present. Supposing, however, this reading to be adopted, I am by no means disposed to concur in the idea, that 'the three gifts of the Satrap' comprehend the three distinct deposits at different elevations in the perpendicular central line of the tope, but rather would confine the reference to the triple-casket[2] (19, 20, 21) enclosing cinerary remains, which was

probable that there was an enshrined relic, which was not observed on account of its minuteness.

"*The third deposit*, at a depth of sixty-four feet, consisted of another copper box, enclosing a brass cylindrical box, 'cast and turned on the lathe,' inside which was another gold cylinder. With these caskets were found forty-nine copper coins and one gold coin, all belonging to the Indo-Scythian princes, Oerki and Kanerki, or Hushka and Kanishka. In the gold cylinder there was a small piece of silver, about the size of a shilling, on which were engraved two lines of Áriano-Páli writing. The upper line may be read without hesitation as *Gomangasa*, 'of the emancipated,' or more literally, 'of one who has abandoned the body'; from *guna*, 'abandoning;' and *angga*, 'the body.' The second line I read as *Kanarakasa*, taking the first and fourth letters as cursive forms of *k*. No doubt this plain disc of silver, as James Prinsep supposed, was 'intended to explain the whole mystery.' This mystery I believe to be explained by my reading of the two words as *Gomangasa Kanarakasa*, or '(relics) of the emancipated Kanerki.' According to this reading, the great tope of Manikyála was the mausoleum of the Indo-Scythian Kanerki or Kanishka, the paramount ruler of Kábul, Kashmír, and the Punjáb, about the beginning of the Christian era. The brown liquid, therefore, most probably contained the mortal remains of the great Indo-Scythian emperor, mixed with a portion of sandal wood or other ashes from his funeral pile.

"With regard to the 'three gifts' of Swasti Siva, the satrap of Taxila, I suppose that they may have been either the distinct deposits which were found in different parts of the tope, or the three separate boxes of the lower deposit; only, the former I think the more probable conclusion, as the uppermost deposit contained a gold coin of Oerki, who was an Indo-Scythian prince of as early a date as Kanishka himself." —'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' No. vii. of 1854.—E.T.]

[1] [I say 'unimportant' only with reference to these particular names, as the identification of the local satrap of Taxila is not very likely to aid the cause of general history.]

[2] ['This triple encasement of the relics is frequent in the topes opened by Masson.' *Ariana Antiqua*, 41.]

clearly isolated, and cannot but be regarded as the primary deposit of the whole, both from the position it occupies, and the care that has been taken to secure it from access from above. When the deposition took place it is difficult to say, and it would be still more hazardous to assert that the assembled contents had remained undisturbed from the date of their first enshrinement; but it is interesting to note, in partial support of such an inference, that the small gold coin holding the place of honor in the inmost recess, and the copper coins preserved in the brass box, as well as those in the external stone receptacle, alike belong to Oerki and Kanerki, and were unassociated with any medals of other kings either of an earlier or later period.[1] It is a further subject of remark, that in this deposit we have nothing more modern in the palæographic aspect, than Greek and Arian writing.—E. T.]

In this brass box, 20, were five copper medals, FIGS. 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, all differing in device, but of that kind already known to us from a multitude of specimens found in Afghánistán and Upper India, by the arbitrary names of 'Indo-Scythic coins,' and now ascribed by Mr. Masson with certainty to Kanerka, Kadphises, etc.

They are all wonderfully well preserved, and seem to have been selected to shew us the prototype of the very five species of coins to which the 'key' monogram is peculiar.

Leaving these coins, as already familiar to us, although by no means exhausted in interest: within this brass cylinder and buried in the brown liquid appeared a gold cylindrical box, FIG. 21, four inches long, by 1½ inch in diameter; the lid fitting closely on the interior of the cylinder, which it entered to the depth of 1½ inch.

This box was also filled with thick brown liquid mixed up with a multitude of fragments of what M. Ventura supposed to be broken amber *(ambre brisé)*. FIG. 22 *a, b, c, d, e,* will give some idea of their appearance when washed. They were of a light yellow or topaz colour, which was driven off by a red heat, leaving them colourless. The first conjecture supposed them to be fragments of a glass vessel, which burst into pieces from the expansion or fermentation of its contents; and that the small bit of string, FIG. 23, might have been used to bind the cover?

[1] [Kanerki has been variously dated by Major Cunningham. 'Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka, B.C. 41 to 21.'—*Numismatic Chronicle*, vi., 18, and *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1845, p. 431: again, 'between 30 B.C. and 24 A.D.'—Chronological Table, *Numismatic Chronicle*, viii, 175: and, lastly, 'B.C. 77 to 17.'—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, No. vii., p. 704, 1854. The preferential date may be selected from the various authorities quoted in full under Art. XXI.]

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Within the box was also discovered FIG 24, a small gold coin weighing precisely 30 grains ($\frac{1}{5}$ drachma). The device resembles in some respects the larger gold coin in the first gold box.

OBVERSE.—The king holding the spica and hook (*quere*, sickle); dress as before described, and characters on the margin decypherable—as, ONIKIKOPANO [OHPKI KOPANO]—the rest illegible.

REVERSE.—A sacred personage standing with his hand outstretched in an impressive attitude; his head surrounded with a halo or rather *sun*, as distinguished from the moon on the other coin. The four-pronged symbol occupies a place to the right, and on the left are some indistinct letters, KNIIPO [MIIPO]. The head of the figure is rather out of proportion, but the execution is otherwise very good.

There is also another minute coin of gold, FIG. 25. But the article of chief value in this cylinder is decidedly FIG. 26, a plain disc of silver, upon which have been engraved certain letters, evidently calculated and intended to explain the purport of the whole mystery. The characters are precisely those of the lid of the outer brass cylinder; but their combination is different. There can be little doubt of their affinity to the Sanskrit, but the difficulty of decyphering them is enhanced by the substitution of the written hand for the perfect Nágarí, which is clearly proved, from the coins discovered in the first box, to have been well known at the period. The difference is such as is remarked between the *mahájani* ['commercial writing'], and the printed Nágarí of the present day.

[The comprehensive extract quoted at page 98, will indicate to the reader that Major Cunningham has further essayed the illustration of the Manikyála antiquities, by offering a solution of the enigma involved in the writing on this silver disc. He has three times[1] come before the public as the exponent of this mystery, and has, on this third occasion, admitted, with considerable candour,[2] the untenable nature of his earlier efforts towards its interpretation.

But it is a question with me, whether his latest explanation

[1] [I cite Major Cunningham, *verbatim*, for his two previous interpretations:—

"In the present short inscription the only doubtful letters are in the lower line. The upper line reads simply *gomangasa*, 'of the anointed body (or limb),' from गोम *gom*, to 'anoint,' and अंग *angga*, 'the body (or a member of it).' In the lower line, the first letter on the right hand is certainly *k* (I write with two electro-type fac-similes of the original before me); the second looks more like *n* than any other letter; the third is *t*; the fourth is *tu* or *to* according to my alphabet; and the last is clearly *s*: thus forming *kana ta tu sa*, which is the Páli form of the Sanskrit, *kanayatratrasa*, 'the supporter or cherisher of maidens.'"—'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' No. 152 of 1845, p. 431.

"Of the *Memorial* Topes, but little is at present known. It seems nearly certain, however, that the great Manikyála Tope was of this kind; for the inscription extracted from it, which begins with *Gomangasa*, 'of the abandoned body,' undoubtedly refers to Sákya's abandonment of his body to a hungry lion."—'Bhilsa Topes,' p. 12, (1854).]

[2] ['Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vii. of 1854, p. 701.]

is any more sound than its predecessors. That it is bolder in the liberties it takes with literal forms, there is little doubt; but it is against this very tendency that I am compelled most energetically to protest.

We are told that the Arian legend will answer to the transcription of *Gomangasa Kanarakasa,* which is interpreted '(relics) of the emancipated Kaṇerki'; and on two occasions we have been furnished with new fac-similes, which, however, differ immaterially from Prinsep's engraving. But to refer at once to the original itself, I follow Major Cunningham in the first and second letters, but object to his definition of the third. The character he calls '𑀗 *ng*'[1] is merely the ordinary 𑀡 *n*.

In the verification of the name we differ more decidedly. I concur in the acceptance of the opening letter as 𑀓 *k*, though I am aware that the engravings do not fully bear out such an identification; but the character, though imperfectly fashioned, may be pronounced to represent that sign, on the authority of the outline extant on the silver disc.

The adoption of the second letter as 𑀦 *n*, is, I think, altogether inadmissible, it may be an *r*, a *t*, or any one of the optional values this sign has to answer to. The next character is clearly a 𑀯 *v*, and the succeeding letter has a nearly similar normal outline, but is shortened up in the length of the down-

[1] [It is not a little singular that Major Cunningham should have fallen in with so many of these otherwise rare letters 𑀗: they are infrequent enough in the ordinary language, but we have no single example of their use in the entire Kapurdigiri inscription, and Prinsep was a long time before he detected the sign at all in the Páli lât alphabet ('Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' 1837, p. 475); and, to the last, he does not pretend to have discovered it in the writing of the Western Caves! (pl. xiii., vol. vii.). Neither has Dr. Stevenson since found its equivalent in his more elaborate examination of the 'Satrap' cave alphabet ('Bombay Journal,' 1853). At the same time, I am quite prepared to admit the laxity with which the several nasals were applied in the Arian systems of orthography, as well as to cite, in possible justification of the misuse of this 𑀡, the parallel employment of the letter 𑀜 in the word *vaṇana*, as the equivalent of the Indian Páli *vyanjana*, (Tablet 3, Kapurdigiri).

stroke, which elongation ordinarily constitutes one of the distinguishing marks of the *v*, and has a vowel [o?], or some literal modification, inserted below in the forward line of the writing.[1]

I am aware that, in saying all this, I am disturbing a very plausible theory—and one to which, I admit, I should have been glad to have been able to give my adhesion—without offering a better in its supersession; but my opinion is, that no theory at all is preferable to a bad one:—the negative position is not likely to mislead, the positive converse is.

I feel bound, however, to add, in justification of my apparent shortcoming, that I have not failed to examine all the Tope inscriptions within reach, from the short detached records on the inner caskets[2] to the lengthy legend on the Wardak brass vessel,[3] extending equally to the inscription on the stone slab[4] from the Tope at Manikyála opened by

[1] [I must reiterate, that in all these remarks, my observations are based upon the lines extant upon the veritable antiques themselves—and that in this instance, moreover, Mr. H. T. Prinsep's engraver merely copies James Prinsep's etchings, which originally exhibited the legend on the disc, as well as the rest of the Arian writing in the plate, upside down.]

[2] [In addition to those above adverted to, there are others that arrived too late for insertion in the 'Ariana Antiqua.' I have not been able to discover in the East India House Museum, either the earthen vessel from Tope No. 13. Hidda, or Masson's original fac-simile of its inscription, copied in lithograph at the foot of the plate of alphabets in 'Ariana Antiqua.' The steatite vase (pl. ii., 'Ariana Antiqua'), from Hidda Tope, No. 10, is available for examination.]

[3] [Masson, in 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 118. This vessel, which bears great similitude to an ordinary Indian lotah, is inscribed with three dotted lines of well-formed characters, to the number of nearly three hundred. The inscription commences with a date of three figures, consisting of two threes, and a cypher like the opening symbol in the Manikyála date (arranged thus)33), and seemed to promise an easy solution, both from the clearness of the alphabet and the frequent recurrence of fixed words; but, of course, Professor Wilson's decision has damped my ardour, and I am, therefore, content to leave it much as I found it. I may, however, mention, that it contains the titles of महाराज राजाधिराज with an illegible name following them: I hope to be able to insert a fac-simile of the entire inscription in plate x., for the exercise of the ingenuity of those who many hereafter master the ancient local languages of Afghánistán.]

[4] [The stone itself is fixed in the walls of the Bibliothèque Impériale, upside down! I derived my first transcript from a paper impression, which M. Mohl was obliging enough to forward to Mr. Norris some years ago. The fac-simile given in plate ix. is based upon this transfer, the doubtful letters having been verified and corrected by a personal examination of the original.]

General Court. Of all these I have made accurate fac-similes; those fac-similes I have transcribed, with the utmost care into Devanágarí; but, disappointingly enough, the double texts, on being submitted to Professor Wilson, are alike pronounced to convey neither Sanskrit nor any Indian language with which he is acquainted.—E. T.]

I am unprepared to speak of the nature of the brown liquid, which must therefore furnish matter for a separate notice.

In the same receptacle of stone and lime were deposited, outside the copper box, a collection of forty-four copper coins; all matching with one or other of the five types so carefully preserved within the brown liquid.

On the 2nd June, one more copper coin was extracted, and on the 3rd of the same month, six more of a similar nature.

On the 8th June, the opening perforated from above met that from the side, and reached the earth beneath the foundations. The excavations were, however, pursued to a depth of twenty feet below the level of the structure without making any further discovery, until the setting in of the rains finally obliged the Chevalier to discontinue his operations.

[Prinsep has apparently omitted to notice in this paper the fac-simile he has inserted in the illustrative plate (vi.), and which he notes on the engraving as "scratched around a brass cylinder found in a Tope at Jelalabad." The inscription in reality appears on a steatite vase, discovered by Mr. Masson in Tope No. 2 of Bímarán.[1] It has naturally attracted much attention, and

[1] ["Tope No. 2 of Bímarán. This tope is of the second class, and has a circumference of one hundred and twenty-six feet; it is 360 yards distant from the preceding monument (No. 1), and about half that distance from the superior one in the village of Bímarán. To the preceding tope it has much affinity, is of the same kind of construction, and evidently refers to the same epoch. The dilapidation of both structures is also of similar extent. Its embellishments comprise a succession of arches supported on pilasters, enclosed within double lines of moulding. M. Honigberger opened this monument from the north and abandoned it, having been induced hastily to repair to Kábul. I continued his pursuit, and in the centre of the tope discovered a small apartment, formed, as usual, by squares of slate, from which were procured some valuable and satisfactory relics. They consisted of a good-sized globular vase, of alg or steatite, with a carved cover or lid; both of which were encircled with lines of inscriptions, scratched with a stylet or other sharp-pointed instrument. The characters were Bactro-Páli. On removing the cover, the vase was found to contain a small quantity of fine mould, in which were mingled a number of small burnt pearls, beads of sapphire, crystal, etc. In the centre was standing a casket of pure gold, it had no cover; its exterior was embellished with eight figures, in separate compartments, formed by a series of flat columns supporting finely turned arches, the spaces between which were filled by eagles hovering with extended wings. . . The casket was coated internally with hardened clay. Within the casket and steatite vase, collectively, were contained a small metallic plate—apparently belonging to a seal, and engraved with a

various efforts have been made towards its decipherment, but as yet without any marked success; like the rest of these legends, it is now declared by Professor Wilson to be unintelligible, either in its original form, or in any modern transcript we can derive from it. He himself, in 1841, attempted the phonetic expression of its letters, but confessed himself dissatisfied with both text and his own somewhat vague interpretation.[1] Burnouf[2] first detected the word *sarîrehi* (शरीरं ordinarily applied to relics) and Major Cunningham has since reported progress in the decipherment of other portions of the double legend.[3] Having premised thus much, I abstain from

seated figure; thirty small circular ornaments of gold; sundry beads of burnt coral; numerous burnt pearls; and eighteen beads of sapphire, agate, crystal, etc. Without the steatite vase were also deposited four copper coins, in excellent preservation, having been inserted new (Coins of Azes, etc., 'Ariana Antiqua,' viii., 1, p. 331). . . In this tope it may be observed, there was no interior cupola, and the deposit was found on the line where the cylindrical mass of the structure rested on its basement." Masson, 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 70. Professor Wilson more fully describes the casket as follows:—"The circumference is divided into eight compartments, enshrining four figures represented in duplicate. They are separated by pilasters, terminating in arches, circular below and pointed above, between which are figures of birds (cranes?). . . The third figure from the left is the principal, and is that of the Buddha Sakya Sínha or Gautama, in the attitude of pronouncing a benediction; next to him, on his left, is a lay follower in the garb of a Râjpút Hindú, in the usual attitude of reverential salutation. On his right is a religious follower or ascetic, with his hair twisted, and the water-ewer in one hand, the other is raised as in salutation. Behind him stands a female disciple, perhaps a religious female, such as the nuns still found at Tibet, in the act of prayer. The workmanship of this casket is very remarkable, and exhibits the character of that style which prevailed in the early part of the middle ages." 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 53.]

[1] ['Ariana Antiqua,' 259.

I should not have encumbered these pages with any notice of Dr. Bird's attempt to decipher this writing, had he not introduced it with the following too confident heading:—"On the vase of steatite, which encased the gold cup, there is an inscription not deciphered by Professor Wilson, but which reads," etc. ('Historical Researches,' by J. Bird, Esq: Bombay, 1847, page 63). I spare my readers any further quotation, merely remarking that I am altogether unable to accede to the author's transcription of the original, and equally unwilling to accept his translation, which professes to discover the name of Phra-ates associated with the worship of the Sun, Mitra, and Vishnu! Apart from the incorrect rendering of the majority of the letters, the interpreter has apparently failed to discover the identity of the greater portion of the two legends.]

[2] "J'ai dit qu'avec l'image de Çâkya, ce qu'ils vénèrent exclusivement, ce sont ses reliques. Ils leur donnent le nom expressif de *Çarîra*, qui signifie exactement *corps*. . . C'est le corps même de Çâkya qu'on adore dans les débris qui en restent. . . Je trouve ce terme fort distinctement écrit *çarîrêhi* (forme pâlie de l'instrumental pluriel) dans la courte inscription gravée sur le cylindre trouvé à Hidda; il s'y reproduit deux fois." *Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien*, 348.

[3] ["This important inscription consists of two lines; the upper line, which is

any lengthened commentary on such unpromising materials, and content myself with appending what I consider the preferable correspondents of the several characters as mechanically derived from the original outlines. I have made no reference to Prinsep's fac-simile, which seems to have been a mere copy of a copy, taken at a time when neither Masson nor Prinsep knew much about the alphabet; and which was even inserted in the original plate in an inverted order: this last reproach was, however, removed on Mr. H. T. Prinsep's republication of the engraving in 1844.[1]

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21

On the lid of box,[2] शिव तचित्रस ? ड ? द पुत्रस ? न ? हे

On the box itself, शिव तचित्रस ? डवद पुत्रस दन ? हिनिशचि ?

Possible variants, र ञ न न द

22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37

Lid, भगवत शरिरेहि

Box, भगवत शरिरेहि सकोवुध ? पुशए

Possible variants, क्य

engraved on the lid, being only an abbreviation of the longer one on the body of the vase. Both of these inscriptions ('Ariana Antiqua,' plate ii.,) open with the words *Bhagavána Saririhi*, that is, '(Stupa) containing relics of Bhagwán,' or Buddha. Now the word *Sarira* is the very term that was used by the ancient Buddhists to designate the relics or mortal remains of the founder of their religion, or of some of his principal followers. . . The remaining words, that are common to both lines of the inscription, contain the names of the builder of the tope and of his father. Unfortunately, some of the letters of these names are of unusual form, but the concluding word, 'putrasa,' proves that the preceding letters must contain two names. I read this part of the inscriptions as follows:—*Sri Tabachitrasa Khamaspada putrasa*, '(Gift) of Sri Tabachitra, the son of Khamaspada.' The shorter inscription ends with four letters, of which the first two appear to be *d* and *n*, for *dan* 'a gift.' The other two letters are doubtful. I read this inscription as follows:—*Bhagawána-sarirahi Sri Tabachitrasa Khamaspada putrasa dana*, '(Casket) containing relics of Bhagwán, the gift of Sri Tabachitra, the son of Khamaspada.' Two similar instances of relic *gifts* occur in the Bhilsa tope deposits. . . The date of this tope may, I believe, be safely ascribed to the close of the reign of Azas, or about 90 B.C.; for the relic-chamber, which had evidently not been disturbed since the day on which it was first closed, contained,—along with the usual quantity of gold ornaments and gems,—four copper coins, all of which are of a well-known type of the great Scythian King Azas." 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vii. of 1854, p. 707.]

[1] ['Note on the Historical Results deducible from recent discoveries in Afghanistan.' London: Allen and Co.]

[2] [As the Bactrian alphabet does not discriminate between the long and the

The characters, whose equivalents are omitted under Nos. 7, 16, and 21 are new to us. Nos. 7 and 16 seem to typify the same normal letter; but the former has an additional curve at the foot. The outline 16 is common enough in the later inscriptions, though it does not occur in the full Edict of Kapurdigiri. Its use on the Wardak brass vessel, concurrently with a well-ascertained ख prevents us from assigning to it the value of that consonant, which its outline would otherwise have recommended. The true form of No. 21 is uncertain, I therefore refrain from any speculations on its functions. Nos. 14 and 15 require notice, as they differ in the associate writings; and the word they compose, if rightly read, advances us somewhat in the interpretation of the entire inscription. The द् may be doubtful, but the definition of the न on the body of the vase, as such, in contradistinction to the convertible द्, is borne out by the fact that the corresponding न on the lid is given in a varied but optional form of that character, and shaped like the letter previously adverted to, which Major Cunningham desires to read as ङ.

Whatever else there may be in the inscription, whether recording the gift of so and so, the son of so and so, or not, one portion seems satisfactorily established, the two words *Bhagavatra sarirehi*, which of themselves supply a legitimate inference as to the general reference involved; in the allusion to the relics, supposed or real, of Sákya Buddha enclosed in the golden box, so creditably ornamented with his image in duplicate, supported in each case by those of his followers. Whether the subjoined सको or सक्य (for शाक्य?) and the succeeding बुध define more exactly the individual alluded to, we need not stop to inquire.

The accompanying wood-cut of the gold casket in question,

short *i*'s (ृ ी), I have throughout adhered, for uniformity's sake, to the short vowel. It may be needful to intimate that the initial letter of the legend on the vase, corresponding with No. 1 above, is to be found, in the engraving, nearly over the parallel commencement of the inscription on the lid.]

for the use of which I am indebted to Mrs. Speir,[1] but imperfectly represents the elegance and almost classic freedom of the treatment of the figures. The design has unfortunately been taken from the faulty engraving in the 'Ariana Antiqua,' to supply the place of a new copy from the antique itself.—E.T.]

EXTRACTS FROM A MEMOIR ON THE TOPES AND ANTIQUITIES OF AFGHÁNISTÁN.

By J. G. GERARD, *Surgeon, Bengal Establishment.*

Addressed to the President of the Bengal Asiatic Society, from Jalálábád, 4th December, 1833.

"The topes, or edifices, of which Manikyála is already familiar to us by the enterprising researches of General Ventura, had appealed to our curiosity in the journey to Turkistán, but three only were visited *en passant;* viz., Manikyála itself, one at Usmán Khátir in the basin of the Indus, and another at Peshâwar. On my return to Kábul, in November last, ample gratification awaited me, through the exertions of Messrs. Martin Honigberger and Masson, whom I met in that city.

"The interest excited by the labours of these travellers (as might be supposed) was not limited to the mere inspection of their collections, which were displayed to me with an open candour that leaves me their debtor. I followed up the inquiry to which they had unfolded to me the clue; and though unproductive of similar results to those which have crowned their exertions, I am enabled to speak to some points from actual experience, and hope to have it in my power to add more hereafter.

"The monuments now about to be considered, which were first introduced to our notice by Mr. Elphinstone, are calculated to rouse the attention of the antiquarian and the philosopher, when he surveys the relics they disclose in connection with dynasties, of which all our knowledge is scarcely more than the faintest lineaments,

[1] ['Life in Ancient India.' by Mrs. Speir. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1856.]

and of the events to which they yielded and ceased to exist, history gives us little or no account.

"These ancient edifices may perhaps present to us the sepulchral remains of the Bactrian kings, and others who succeeded to their sway; but whether we view them as cotemporary with the Grecian dynasty of Balkh in Turkistán, or of those subsequent satrapies which emanated from the remains of that kingdom, the same thoughts recur, the same suggestions rise, Who were those kings? and what was the extent of their individual sway in these and other regions? for there is no doubt that the whole of the Panjáb, and even a great part of the Gangetic territory and Sind, were the seat of their dominion, whether this was Indo-Scythic or Indo-Grecian;—by what revolutions their reign terminated, and they themselves become extinct? and who were their successors till the period when the frenzy of the Muhammadan religion overturned the whole institutions of the country? These questions, which involve many others, may yet be answered by these memorials. . . . .

"The topes or tombs which appear in the environs of Kábul are planted along the skirts of the mountain ridges, which support that elevated plain, and this peculiarity is common to almost all of them: the adjacent level has obviously been the basin of a lake or sheet of standing water, till drained away by the course of rivers, and it still continues more or less a quaggy marsh. The first settlers seem to have chosen the rising ground at the roots of the hills for their locations; the ancient city of Kábul (still visible in the remains of mound or heaps), also occupying that basal line.

"The position of the monuments, if not influenced by natural causes, or selected from motives of religious veneration, is rather fanciful; those which I have seen being either situate close under the cliff of the mountains, or secluded within recesses, wherever a running stream had its course; and it would appear that a rill of water nourishing a few trees, or patches of cultivation and verdure, was a conjunctive feature of every spot. The most usual site of those structures is an isolated rising ground, washed by a perennial current. Trophies of such magnitude, serving merely as receptacles for the dead, and often devoid of any traces either of them or of the living, sequestered and almost shut out from sight, will not be sufficiently intelligible to our ideas, except by comparing them with edifices in other regions of the world, the object of which is known: if they had been smaller they must have fallen to ruins in a few centuries. The masses of Manikyála in the Khyber Pass and at Peshâwar, almost forbid the idea of identifying them as tombs, except some more decided proofs are forthcomiug than have yet appeared, though we are not without analogies in the size of some of the Muhammadan cemeteries, not to speak of the pyramids of Egypt themselves, while the absence of any inscriptions to denote another purpose, leaves us in the former belief.

"Of the sepulchres excavated by M. Martin Honigberger, amounting to more than thirty, the greater part have their sites at Jalálábád and the adjacent territories, and it is this spot particularly that commands our notice, since it may be assumed to have formed the seat of one of the Bactrian sovereignties, as Balkh did of another; the more readily, as it would seem to answer in its *locale* and conformation to the spot which Alexander consecrated with Bacchanalian revels; and it is certainly from physical position fully eligible for the capital of a kingdom, uniting, as if by a band, the temperature and even some of the productions of an intertropical climate. with zones chilled by perpetual frost, having a considerable expanse of level, and a soil irrigated by perennial streams. Here we behold the tombs of a long race of kings (as I suppose them to be) which have survived in obscurity the lapse of many centuries: a large proportion of them, indeed the

majority, have crumbled into mere tumuli; but, except those opened by M. Honigberger, they appear to have been hitherto untouched by the hand of man.

"But to return to Jalálábád. The topes are here very thickly planted on both sides of the river, which washes the northern limit of the valley; the declivity of the soil being from the snowy ridge of Saffed Koh, has thrown the stream quite to their base; and here the tombs appear, black with age, extending from Bálá Bágh to the conflux of the Kábul river at Dronta, about ten miles downward, and four from Jalálábád. As we passed along, several were noticed, which did not appear to be delapsed; but they had no doubt been excavated at their base, since it is in this immediate vicinity that recent discoveries have been chiefly directed. In the plain were seen the ruins of others which had subsided into mere heaps like cairns: these were standing in the midst of green fields, but this is rare; and upon a shelf of conglomerate rock, and diluvial accretions continuous from the roots of Saffed Koh, and here forming the cultivable limit of the valley on the south, extends a long line of tumuli or ruined sepulchres, insulated upon natural eminences; though often upon raised platforms, a dozen of these may be recognized, not as mere visible heaps, but mounds of great size, and which until lately had been undisturbed by man: several have been opened by M. Martin Honigberger with sufficient recompense. Their position is strange enough, upon a bare rugged surface of attrited stones, furrowed by the intersections of watercourses, the cliff of which, formed of agglutinated pebbles, or pudding-stone, is hollowed into recesses which were represented to me as the caves of the Káfirs, or 'unbelievers:' they are still inhabited by the pastoral tribes, who migrate with their flocks, according to the season of the year, and take up their winter quarters in these Troglodyte abodes. The site of the topes commands the whole landscape, which is limited to a narrow slip of luxuriant cultivation, sloping to the cavity of the valley; the interval southward, of ten or twelve miles, being a high plain of gravel, pebbles, and rolled stones, all sterile and arid to the foot of Saffed Koh, where again villages and horticultural productions abound, ramifying within the flexures of the mountains, or rising upon the acclivities, till checked by the rigor of climate. . . . . .

"The decay, and most commonly total wreck, of all the edifices planted upon the southern margin of the dell at Jalálábád is easily explained in the nature of the materials that have composed them, which are pebbles of vast size, or blocks of stone, attrited by water to smoothness, conjoined by a cement of mud. They have consequently been easily delapsed, and have crumbled away into mere heaps, like gigantic mole-hills. Where these have been excavated at their base, a small hollow square or cavity is disclosed, formed of hewn stones, wherein was deposited whatever remains were designed. These topes differ very materially from that of Manikyála, and Usmán Khâtir, where the square is continued from the top in the form of a shaft. In none of those which I have seen, or which have been opened by M. Honigberger, does this conformation occur, and we may at once note it as a distinguishing feature in these fabrics, which has no doubt a local import. There are indeed few exactly similar; for they vary in size, in external decorations, or in their structure; though the contour has a generic type, as we should expect, if the mausolea represented the offspring of a single and original dynasty; however much its character might be altered by the interchange of successive generations, deriving new ties of consanguinity, in the same manner as Alexander did, intermarrying with the conquered, which he considered a link of union in a government that was to become dependent upon its natural resources, though perhaps the only apology that he could offer for the sudden transport of love which wedded him to Roxana.

"The contents of the thirty or more topes excavated by M. Honigberger are of the highest interest. Many of them were indeed unproductive of any insignia by which we can identify their original design, or connect them with their founders: a circumstance the less remarkable, when we consider the surreptitious interests of the workmen, often employed remote from any control; but even where control embraced the entire operations, the labour often ended in inanity. Many of the sepulchres (perhaps most of them) are comparatively small; from 30 to 45 or 50 feet high, with a circumference of 80 to 110 feet; and not one of them presented the structure of Manikyâla, or a hollow shaft penetrating from the top, filled up, however, with the materials of the building, and discovering deposits of coins at various intervals, which continued beyond the limit of the shaft or 25 feet, to the base where the excavated stone reservoir was found, that proved so fruitful in reliquiæ. Nothing except a single gold coin, I believe of Sotermegas, which was found in one tope lodged within a silver cup; but a similar cup, yet unopened, would seem to argue the prototype of that acquired by General Ventura. The exterior is a hard metal, containing a fluid which is perhaps inclosed within a golden casket like that of Manikyâla; on perceiving which, M. Honigberger with provisionary care cemented the whole cylinder, till he should lay it before his countrymen at Vienna. With the above solitary exception, I do not think any coins were elicited from the tombs, nor any other device indicative of the object of their erection, though it would be an extreme supposition to entertain, that such fabrics should be raised as mementos to posterity without a single trait to connect them with the individuals whose existence they commemorate. The relics which have accrued to M. Honigberger are, however, extremely curious, consisting of very minute bones, or their dust, pearls, pieces of amber and rubies, and different kinds of sedimentary remains, the nature of which can only become known by chemical analysis. These were found reposing within excavated (turned) cylinders, of a soft striated stone. These cups, both in their size and form, correspond to a model which is frequent enough in India: they have a lid surmounted by a small knob. A roll of paper, apparently the back of the Bújpatra, containing written characters, occurred in one instance; this precious fragment may unfold some satisfactory evidence of the origin and design of the edifice which enclosed it. Small burnt clay lamps, and occasionally square or oblong clay receptacles, filled with osseous remains, gems, and thread, are among the collection."

NOTE ON TWO COINS, OF THE SAME SPECIES AS THOSE FOUND AT BEHAT, HAVING GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.

By Major D. L. Stacy.

[PLATE VII.]

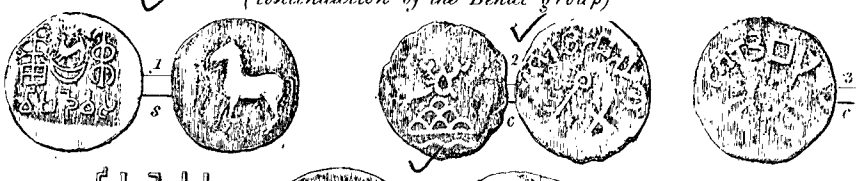
In a letter to the Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, read at the Meeting of the 2nd July.

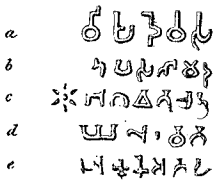
"I have the honor to enclose a fac-simile of a copper coin purchased by me at Chittore Gurh.

"It was my intention to reserve any notice of this coin, till I ascertained if my good fortune would send me others, more distinct, and consequently more satisfactory; but on reading the description of the famous stone pillar at Allahábád,

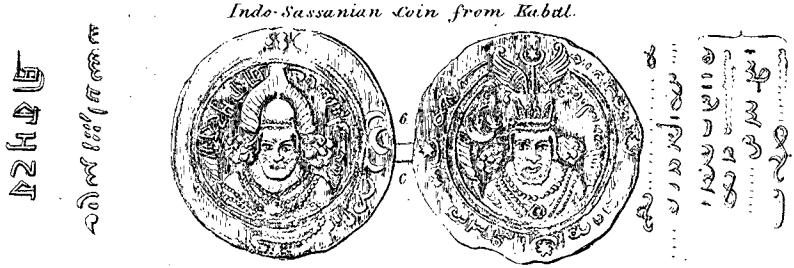
HINDU COINS.

(continuation of the Behat group)





Indo-Sassanian Coin from Kabul.



Mithraic Coins connected with the Afghan Topes.

Kanerkos

ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΔΚΟΥ

Reverses.

(figure same as ΗΛΙΟC*)*

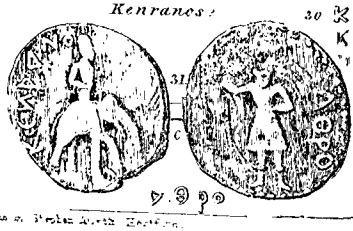
12 ΗΙΟΡΟ
13 ΝΙΙΡΟ
14 ΜΙΟΘΟ
15 ΜΙΟΡΟ
16 ΝΙΙΡΟ
17 ΜΔΡΟ
18 ΜΑΘ
19 ΗΑΟ
20 ΜΑ
21 ...ΘΡΟ
22 ...ΔΘΡΟ
23 ΗΔΘΡΟ
24 ...ΜΡΟ

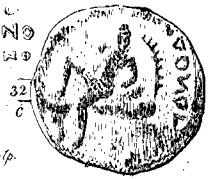
Variations.

obverse of Manikyala Gold Coins.

25 ...ΑΟΝΑΝΟΡΑ ... ΟΗΡΚΙΚΟΡΑ
26 ...ΟΝΑΝ ... ΟΗΡΚΙΚΟΡΑΝΟ
27 ...ΟΝΔΝΟΡ...
28 ΒΑΩΝΔΝ ...
29 ΚΕΝΡΑΝΟ ...
30 ΚΕΝΟ ...
ΚΟΝΟ ...
ΕΝΟΡΑΝΟ
ΕΝΟΡΑΝΟ

Kenranos.





Prinsep sculp.

given in the number for March, 1834, (No. 27), I am induced to submit a few remarks with a copy of the coin.[1]

"The style of the Greek character would, alone, be sufficient to stamp this coin as provincial, were the 'chungahs' or symbols on the obverse, and monogram on the reverse, less distinct, or even obliterated. The suggestions of Lieutenant Burt and Mr. Stirling, viz., that the characters on the Allahábád Pillar No. 1, resembled the Greek, drew my attention to the plate, when it immediately occurred to me, *vice versâ*, that these provincial Greek characters, on my coin, might have taken their style or fashion from the writing of the dynasty, or descendants of the dynasty, which owned this pillar.

"That the Greeks did send a subsidiary force to the assistance of Chandragupta, son of Nanda, Rájá of the Prachi, I believe no one doubts; and contrasting all circumstances on the subject within our knowledge, we may fairly presume, that the services of this subsidiary were paid by a grant of land (Jaêdad).

"In Conder's 'Modern Traveller,' speaking of these times, after relating the death of the aged Nanda by poison (given by his minister Sacatara), he proceeds, (vol. vii., page 123). 'The crime did not, however, go unpunished; Sacatara and all his sons, except one, were put to death; and to secure himself against hostile claimants to the crown, Upadhanwa gave orders for the massacre of all his half-brothers, the children of Nanda by different mothers. Chandragupta alone escaped, and fled to the court of Parvateswara, 'Lord of the Mountains' or King of Nepál; to whom he offered one-half of his kingdom if he would assist him in taking the field against his enemy. In conjunction with this powerful ally aided by a body of Greek auxiliaries, Chandragupta defeated Upadhanwa, with great slaughter, under the walls of his capital, the monarch himself being among the slain, and took possession of the throne of his father. His promise to Parvateswara was now disregarded. He retained a large body of Yavans or Greeks in his pay, and, fortifying his capital, set his enemies at defiance.'

"Concluding the Greek auxiliaries were paid by a grant of land, as by agreement the Nepálís were to have been, (and at the period Chandragupta sought Greek assistance, he could have had no other means of paying them:) considering also, that the high estimation they were held in, caused them to be retained after the object, which brought them to Pryág, was accomplished; we may naturally conclude that the 'Jaêdad' granted to this subsidiary was very considerable.

"The value of the services of the Greeks had been shown,—first, in the aid lent in placing Chandragupta on the throne of his ancestors; secondly, in enabling the newly-made king to retain that half of his territory, which he had pledged in case of success as a recompense to the 'Lord of the Hills.'

"These were the services already performed: and to people who had proved themselves so useful in his recently-acquired kingdom, Chandragupta must, for every reason, have given a substantial proof of his consideration. The marriage of Chandragupta to the daughter of Seleucus,[2] must have added strength to the position of the Greeks amongst the Prachi, and the appointment by Seleucus of the celebrated Megasthenes as resident at the court of his Rájá son-in-law, went as far as human wisdom could do in adding stability to their footing.

[1] The original coins were subsequently sent, and are depicted as figs. 2 and 3 of plate vii.

[2] Tod, in his 'Annals of Rajasthan' vol. i. p. 671, makes Seleucus marry the daughter of Chandragupta, instead of Chandragupta marrying a daughter of Seleucus. This is evidently an oversight.

"It requires more experience in numismatic lore than I can boast to explain the meaning of the different symbols or 'chungahs' on this coin. The obverse has the word 'Soter' very distinct: what letters follow I cannot say; they certainly are not the same character, but what they are, must perhaps remain a secret till further research gives us a more complete coin by which to determine. The jhár, or 'branch,' is distinct (can this be the olive branch?), the other 'chungahs' I cannot decipher. The monogram on the reverse is the same as that on some coins in my possession, having an elephant on the obverse.

"The Greek 'Jaêdad,' or territories, we may suppose grew into consideration much the same as did the Honorable Company's after their first footing: and, like the infant Company too, we may suppose the Greeks established a currency of their own, though more perhaps with a view of handing down their achievement to posterity than as a necessary medium of barter, and I think the coin (the subject of this communication) bears every mark of being of those times, of the Chandragupta dynasty."

NOTE ON ANOTHER COIN, OF THE SAME TYPE AS THAT PROCURED BY LIEUT. A. CONOLLY AT KANAUJ.

At the moment of perusing Major Stacy's remarks on the indications of a Greek inscription on the Behat type of coin, (as it may continue to be designated until its origin be better determined) and with his two coins before me (pl. vii., figs. 2, 3,) corroborating his reading [1]; I am most opportunely put in possession of another scion of the same stock, speaking a totally different language!

Lieutenant Conolly has already had the good fortune to make known a valuable Kanauj coin, with a legible inscription, in the language and character of the Allahábád column, (inscription No. 2). His zealous exertions have again conducted him to a brilliant discovery at the same place, of the very nature we could have desired at this moment—a coin of the Behat type,

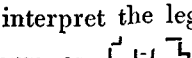
[1] It should be remarked, however, that the apparently Greek letters, when inverted, resemble closely the Dihlí character; it will be wrong, therefore, to assume positively that they are Greek. [June, 1837,—"Col. Stacy's supposed Greek legends may be read, as I anticipated, invertedly, *Vagá bíjana puta* (sa?)"—J. P.]

bearing a clear and distinct inscription; and that inscription in the unknown character, No. 1 of the Allahábád column! Two of Mr. Masson's coins, it will be remembered, bore characters which were pronounced to be of this alphabet. They were of Agathocles and Pantaleon, of rude fabrication, and connected, through the device of a lion, with another singular coin having the Chaitya symbol. These are now again brought into a double alliance with the coins of Behat and Kanauj, by the character in which the inscription is cut.

On the present silver coin there are five distinct letters. I cannot attempt as yet to transcribe these mysterious symbols in any more familiar character; but it is not too much to hope that, ere long, another prize from Kanauj may put us in possession of an inscription in two languages, one of which may be known, and may serve as a key to the whole: meantime, I proceed to describe the peculiarities of the present coin.

OBVERSE.—A horse standing unattended and naked. In front appears a line of double curvature, which from analogy may be a faint trace of the lotus stalk held by the female in the Behat coin (fig. 1, plate iv.).

REVERSE.—On the left, the tree symbol with its chequered frame: on the right, a new form composed of two circles touching, traversed by a common diameter, which continues above, and supports an inverted crescent. Below comes the inscription before mentioned, in large and clear letters: in the centre of the field is a crescent, or new moon. Above the recumbent moon is a small animal, which resembles very closely that depicted on the reverse of the coin from Behat, fig. 1, pl. iv.

[I have omitted certain vague conjectures of Prinsep's regarding the possible bearing of the symbols on the reverse of this coin. I interpret the legend on the original, now in the British Museum, as  , *Vishnu*

devasa. When Prinsep engraved this plate, his eye was not so well experienced in the outlines of the Páli alphabet, as it afterwards became; hence he altogether failed to detect the णु which is, however, sufficiently palpable below the second letter of the inscription.]

After I had engraved the figures of the three coins just described, Dr. Swiney arrived in Calcutta with his rich cabinet of ancient coins. In it I discovered several connected with the same group, which he was kind enough to place in my hands. I had, however, reserved only room for one or two (figs. 4 and 5), and have been obliged to content myself with the legends of the others (*b*, *c*, *d*, *e*,) to show the resemblance of the character to the Kanauj Nágarí alphabet. I cannot describe these coins better than in Dr. Swiney's own words.

"Several of them are rare, particularly the two larger, with the antelope goat on one side and the warrior on the other; smaller ones of this description are not uncommon in the neighbourhood of Sahâranpur; I mean in the smaller towns, and certainly not all brought from the newly-discovered deposit at Behat. The first of the kind that I met with was stated to be brought from Hardwâr; and there was so marked a character of the hill-goat upon it, that it was natural to connect it with some long forgotten dynasty in the Sewâlic range. There is an account to be met with somewhere, of a certain Rájá of Kemaon, by name Sakwanta, whose domain was invaded by a certain Rájpál of Indraprastha. It seems that in this case the aggressor was defeated, aud Sakwanta obtained and kept possession of the regal abode for fourteen years.

"But perhaps mythology is a better key to the true interpretation of old coins. Here we have a series of coins, more or less connected one with another by some common symbol of a Jain type: on one coin the horse, on another the antelope or goat, on another the hieroglyphic called Swastika, on another the *śankh*, or sacred shell; the character of the reverse or obverse bearing some common *jantra*, sufficient to indicate the series.

"Then we possess Colonel Tod's testimony to the existence of such a series; for he says he has in his possession a full series of Jain coins. I do confess, however, that my belief in these coins being Jain was shaken by the discovery of the two larger coins (figs. 4 and 5): on the obverse of these we have the warrior figure of Siva, or his son, Skanda Kumára, with the huge Sivian spear alluded to in Moor's 'Hindú Pantheon.' On comparing this figure with the obverse of Nos. 37 and 38 of Wilson's plates, it will be difficult to admit one, and not the other, among Jain coins. If rejected as a Jain coin, it may be worth while to read Wilford's story of

Siva's rusticating himself on the banks of the Bágmati; hence called, as writes the same authority, in some volume of the 'Asiatic Researches,' 'Mriga-sringo:' the tradition is that, once upon a time, Siva appeared in the shape of an antelope, whence he took the name of Hariniswara, or, in other words, Harinisá, or 'lord of the antelope.'

"Perhaps, as we progress to perfection in the newly-discovered Sanskrit letters, the inscription upon at least three of the coins now sent, will throw some light upon the subject."

[The legend on Dr. Swiney's coin, 4 *c*, may be transcribed into modern Sanskrit as भगवत चत्र *Bhagavata chatra*. I have not yet had an opportunity of examining the other specimens. Prinsep, in his paper of June, 1837, Art. xvii., read this as 'Bhagavata cha (*or* sa).']

Figs. 12, 13, 14, and 15 of plate viii. are four coins dug up in the Doáb, near Allahábád, and presented to the Society by Mr. Spiers. They appear to belong to the same class as the preceding, having a rudely executed bull on one side, and the Jhár, or 'branch,' on the other, with some ill-defined letters in strong relief and a straight chequered border below. The jhár in the present day, it should be remembered, is the symbol distinctive of the Jaipúr and Chitor coins; the trisúl, of those of Srínagar and Ságar. In due course of time we may be able, by means of these marks, to trace each species to its original locality. ['Rájá Dhana devasya.' See Art. xvii.]

Fig. 9 is a copper coin among Dr. Gerard's series, bearing a bull on one side, and the well-defined Kanauj Nágarí letters राज श्री, *rája srí*, on the reverse. There are two or three of the same kind in his collection.

[A similar coin is engraved and further commented on in Art. x., plate xxiii., fig. 33.]

VII.—ON THE COINS AND RELICS DISCOVERED BY GENERAL VENTURA.—*Continued.*

It is with some diffidence that I now proceed to offer a few remarks in illustration of the Manikyála treasures, knowing the great disadvantages under which any attempt to investigate even what may be thought so simple a matter as the antiquity of the monument must labour, when unassisted by the previous knowledge of the history, mythology, or current languages of the period, and of the locality to which it belongs. My object, however, is to place all the circumstances which the collateral discoveries of Messrs. Masson, Martin Honigberger, Burnes, Gerard, and Karámat Alí, have brought to light, before the antiquaries of Europe, and then to await their decision on the facts: it being my own duty to act as a faithful witness before this superior tribunal, nothing exaggerating, and nothing extenuating, in the delineation of figures and inscriptions, such as they appear in the originals now in my possession.

The subject which I propose to elucidate on the present occasion is that of the coins connected with the tope of Manikyála; as they naturally stand forward most prominently in offering materials for fixing the date of the building.

We learn from the *État des travaux*, that forty-four copper medals were found buried along with the principal cylinder, and several others in different parts of the masonry, besides the gold and silver coins enclosed in the cylinders themselves. On attempting a classification, as far as their mutilated condition would allow, these were all (with the exception of two) found to be referable to the five species depicted at the foot of plate vi.: being in the following proportion:—

Of figure 31 (shewn hereafter to belong to the Kanerkos group), large	20
Of the same type, but smaller, (fig. 9, pl. vii.)	17
Of the elephant type, (fig. 28, pl. vi.)	15
Of the figure sitting with one foot up, (fig. 29, pl. vi.)	12
Of the figure sitting cross-legged, (fig. 32, pl. vi.)	4
Of the bull and rájá, or Kadphises coin, (fig. 4, pl. viii.)	2

With ten others which are too much defaced to admit of classification.

Although, among these coins, very few have legible inscriptions, the collections of Dr. Gerard and of Sayyid Karámat 'Alí, in conjunction with the specimens depicted by Mr. Masson, have furnished materials for decyphering them in considerable abundance; indeed, of the several groups specified above, I have before me upwards of three hundred coins, of which thirty-two exhibit more or less of the bull and rájá inscription; twenty that of the elephant coin; as many more that of the Kanerkos legend; and half a dozen that of the seated figures.

But, before entering upon the description of these coins, of which it must be remarked that we do not know the date *à priori*, although, from their possessing

Greek inscriptions, we necessarily refer them to an age not very distant from the Bactrian dynasty, it will be more satisfactory to bestow a little further attention upon the silver coins found in the first gold box (see page 95), which I have already stated generally to belong to the known dynasty of the Sassanidæ, without, however, venturing to contract their date within narrower limits than the duration of that dynasty, namely, from the third to the seventh century of the Christian era.

SASSANIAN COINS OF MANIKYÁLA.

THE characters on the obverse of the Sassanian coin (fig. 8, pl. v.,) are not sufficiently distinct to enable us to decypher the name, even by placing it in juxtaposition with others of the same kind, which Sir R. Ker Porter states to have been read by himself 'on the principles laid down by the Baron De Sacy.'

There is one peculiarity, however, which (supposing his reading to be correct) will serve our purpose equally well in identifying it. I allude to the very curious ornament, of two wings embracing a crescent and star, on the cap of the monarch. The same ornament is visible on a coin depicted by the author just mentioned, in fig. 8, plate lviii., of his 'Travels in Georgia and Persia,' and the following is the account given of it in page 130, vol. ii., of the same work:—

"This piece of money is more frequently met with than any other of the Sassanian dynasty. It is larger than most of the ancient currency, and on the whole very slightly executed. The diadem of the king has the singularity of being more in the shape of a helmet than a crown; it is winged, but surmounted by a crescent and star, instead of the customary globular form. The bust is encircled by a triple

range of pearls, marked in equi-distant divisions by a star and crescent. The letters which compose the legend are very complicated, running into each other like rapid writing. On the face of the medal they produce 'shapúrí mezdezn,' etc., and on the reverse, 'shapúrí,' with other letters too defaced to decypher. This Shapúr must be the second of that name, (the seventh in descent from the first, who was the the conqueror of Valerian), and he also was a great man, being surnamed Zúlaktaf, and renowned for his victories over the Roman emperors Julian, Constantius, etc."

It must be remarked, however, that the head-dress of the coin differs from that of the sculpture of this monarch at Takht-i Rustam, where his names and titles are inscribed in legible Pehlví.[1]

Sapor II. came to the throne at the hour of his birth, in A.D. 310, and reigned nearly seventy years, which is itself a strong reason in favor of his coins being more numerous than those of other Sassanian princes, and so far corroborates the appropriation of the winged head-dress to him. He was more than once engaged in repelling the Tartar and Arab invaders of his territories. It was from his clemency to the Arabs that he obtained the name of Zú-l-aktáf, which D'Herbelot explains to signify 'aux épaules.' Other Persian historians, however, according to D'Herbelot, make the title of this monarch, Zú-l-aknáf, 'aux ailes,' or 'with the wings,' interpreting it as an allusion to his clemency towards his Arab enemies, whom he, on some occasion, spared from massacre. Taking it in its literal sense, it may have applied to his usual head-dress; or, metaphorically, the title may have perhaps been typified by the device of wings upon his cap, in the coins and effigies of the monarch. Assuming it to be

[1] I was not aware, until seeing it in Ker Porter that this character had been satisfactorily decyphered; unfortunately, the Bengal Asiatic Society's library does not contain a copy of De Sacy's 'Mémoire sur les divers Antiquités de la Perse,' which furnished Ker Porter with the key to its alphabet.

satisfactorily proved, at any rate, that the silver coin in question belongs to this sovereign, we have at once a limit to the antiquity of the tope of Manikyála, in the reign of Sapor II.,—that is, between the years of the Christian era 310-380; for it is natural to suppose that the coins deposited were of the species current at the time, as it has always been customary in the nations of the west so to deposit the current coins of the place on laying the foundations of temples, bridges, and other public works. Thus, then, we contract the date of the erection within the narrow space of these seventy years, which may be esteemed a sufficient approximation, in the absence of more positive information on the subject.

Before quitting the subject of the Sassanian coin, I must notice the other two coins already stated to assimilate with the Sassanian type, namely, figs. 10 and 11 of plate v. The head-dress in these is also remarkable for the wings; although the absence of bushy hair and beard, attended with a difference of feature, forbid their being ascribed to the same prince, or at any rate, to the same year of his reign. The chief peculiarity of these coins is their Devanágarí legend, which, however illegible it may be in parts, contains the initial title of respect, 'Srí,' repeated twice and in the same relative position—before the title and before the name itself—as is customary with Indian monarchs; for instance, Srí Mahárájádhi Rájá Srí Chandra Gupta, etc. The name itself may probably be foreign.

The reverse of these coins, no longer a fire-altar

with its attendant priests, bears a rudely executed front face with a head-dress of a peculiar form. Fortunately among the coins procured at Kábul by Sayyid Karámat 'Alí, there is one which serves, in a great measure, to clear up the mystery of this ornament. I have depicted it as fig. 6 of plate vii. On one side of it we see the front face and winged crown of Zú-l-aktáf, Shápúr II., with the precise ornaments on the margin of the obverse described by Ker Porter, and no Sanskrit epigraphe; while on the reverse we have the mysterious head-dress of figs. 10 and 11, and the legible Devanágarí inscription, 'Srí Vásudeva,' which is the patronymic appellation of Krishna, the Indian Apollo.

[These coins will be more fully considered under Art. XV.]

At the epoch now established as the date of the tope, the ancient religion of Persia—the worship of the sun, or Mithras—had not only been restored to its former splendour among the Persians themselves, but it is acknowledged to have exercised a powerful influence on all other religions prevailing at the same time; even the Christian religion was tinctured with many of the mysteries of the Mithraic worship,[1] and an attempt had been made by Scythien, Terebinthus,[2]

[1] "La fête nommée celle de 'la naissance du soleil invincible' (natalis solis invicti) tombait au VIIIe des calendes de Janvier, ou au 25 Décembre. Environ à la même époque, quelques jours après le solstice d'hiver, se célébrait la grande fête des Perses, appelée Mirrhagan *(mihira*, soleil; *gâhan*, fête), mot qui exprime une idée analogue. L'une et l'autre de ces deux solennités avaient également rapport à Mithras. Les chefs de l'église d'occident fixèrent au même jour la célébration de la naissance du Christ, dont l'époque était demeurée inconnue jusques là."—*Religions de l'Antiquité*, traduit de l'Allemand du D. F. Creuzer, par J. D. Guigniant.

[2] The assumed name of Terebinthus (Buddas) has given rise to conjectures of his connection with the Hindú sacred personages of the same name, and the ancient fathers actually ascribed many of the traditions of the Buddhists to this heretic. Hyde, however, shows the origin of their mistake. 'Buddas' in Chaldaic has the same signification as 'Terebinthus' in Greek, and this was the cause of his changing his name. See Wilford's speculations on the subject, 'Asiatic Researches,' ix., 215.

and lastly by Manes, in the latter part of the third century, and in the very court of the Persian monarch, to incorporate the doctrines of Christ with the mysteries of Zoroaster, in a system of his own, known to the Alexandrine Church as the Manichæan heresy.

It is not surprising, therefore, that on the Indian side of the Persian monarch's dominions, in a part probably under his influence, if not directly under his sway, we should find the fire-altar, or the image of the sun, replaced by Krishna among the Hindús, or Buddha among the Buddhists; both of them personating the sun in their respective mythologies.

Whatever forms of the Hindú religion were prevalent at the time, the adoption of the Sun as the ostensible representation of divine power, either in accordance with the commands of the ruling prince, or from a natural tendency towards an union of the Bráhmanical and Magian faith could not present many difficulties. 'We must not be surprised,' says Sir William Jones, 'at finding that the characters of all the pagan deities, male and female, melt into each other, and at last into one or two; for it seems a well-founded opinion, that the whole crowd of gods and goddesses, in ancient Rome and modern Varánes (Benáres), mean only the powers of nature, *and principally those of the sun*, expressed in a variety of ways, and by a multitude of fanciful names.'[1]

The kind of radiated 'coma' which surrounds the head-dress of Vásu Deva in our coin (fig. 6, plate vii.,) may be readily imagined to represent the glory or

[1] 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. i., p. 267.

brilliant effulgence of the sun; it resembles somewhat the glory round the head of Súrya, in Moor's 'Pantheon,' plate lxxxvii. The same ornament appears on the reverse of the two coins from Manikyála (figs. 10 and 11, plate v.), but the name Vásu Deva is wanting in these, and the Sanskrit legend is confined to the obverse, where it evidently marks the name of the young king with the winged helmet.

If the winged head-dress be considered, then, the exclusive mark of Shápúr II., we may suppose him to have possessed provinces in India, wherein he struck money, with his name and titles in the Nágarí character; and where, to avoid offending the prejudices of the people, he omitted the altar of Mithras, and adopted the Hindú divinity which coincided nearest with the object of his own worship.

While we have this evidence of Indo-Sassanian rule in some quarter of the Panjáb, another of our coins, though but one, would seem to point out a similar connection with the Bactrian provinces. Among the coins of the Kadphises group sent down by Karámat 'Alí, are two gold ones of very inferior fabrication, thin like the Sassanian coins, and differing in many respects from the class of coins to which they are otherwise allied. One of these is depicted as fig. 10 of plate viii. The other is similar, except that the head-dress of the prince is surmounted by a *pair of wings and a globe*, as separately shown in fig. 11. I thought at first that the coin might be spurious, being of gold and so vastly inferior in execution to its fellows, but it will be seen hereafter that its authenticity is well estab-

lished: it is sufficient in this place to point out the above curious fact, and I therefore now proceed to review the other coins of the Manikyála[1] tumulus, with the hope rather of applying the epoch already found from the Sassanian coin to the history of these, than to draw from the latter any additional light regarding the age of the monument.

OBVERSES OF THE COINS OF KANERKOS.

Beginning, then, with the two gold coins preserved in the cylinders of the same metal, the first remark which occurs on their inspection is, that Greek characters were still in use in the provinces of Kábul and the Panjáb in the fourth century, corrupted to be sure, but still retaining more of their original form than those of the latter Arsacidæ, or of the first Sassanidæ of Persia, a century anterior to them in date.

The next observation which offers is, that none of the words of the inscription are Greek; neither the titles of the Indo-Scythic sovereigns of Bactria, 'BACIΛEΥC BACIΛEΩN,' nor even Greek terminations to the words, being any longer apparent (with the exception of two Kadphises coins upon which the Greek legend was barely perceptible). It was not until I had carefully analysed all that was legible of the fresh supply of coins of the same nature, that I was able to distinguish the direct *consanguinity* of the whole of these barbaric descendants with their comparatively pure progenitors above mentioned.

Nearly the whole of the Bactrian series of coins is now known to us.

Those of pure Grecian fabrication, such as the beautiful silver medal of Euthydemus brought down by Lieut. Burnes, of which Dr. Gerard has recently favored me with a duplicate, simply bear the head of the sovereign on the obverse, and his name, along with a figure of Jupiter, Hercules, or some other god, on the reverse, after the fashion of their Syrian prototypes.[2]

The coins of Menander, Apollodotus, and Eucratides, as well as those of Antilakides, Hermæus, Unadpherros, and other princes made known through Mr. Masson's successful researches, have invariably an inscription in Pehlví or some unknown character on the reverse, while the name and titles of the sovereign, instead of running straight across the field as in the Macedonian coins, encircle the device on the obverse, in the manner of the Roman coins of the same period, which were then no doubt, current extensively in the east.

The Pehlví inscription continues on the coins of Kadphises, which we may conclude, from their comparative rarity in the Manikyála collection, to have belonged to a different province from those of Kanerkos, or to have been antecedent to them by a period sufficient to render them scarce in the district.

[1] The Sanskrit legends on the two Manikyála coins have resisted the attempts of all the pandits to whom I could refer, even with the aid of a conjecture that they might refer to Shápúr II. of Persia, or, though less likely, to Krishna.

[2] See 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. ii. plate xi, [plate ii. *suprá*].

The fortunate discovery by Dr. Martin Honigberger of one of the coins of this prince in a tope near Kâbul, corroborates the idea of a separate seat of government; and the device of the bull (and Siva?) points to a different creed from that of the Kanerkos series, which bear an image, as will presently be shown, of the sun; and thus appear more nearly allied to the Persian creed.

At the period, however, of the erection of the Manikyâla monument, a considerable change had taken place in the designation of the princes of both countries: at least, we find a similar alteration in the inscription of the coins of both; the devices in other respects remaining unaltered, or only deteriorated in execution.

The alteration to which I allude, is the omission of the Greek title BAϹIΛEYϹ BAϹIΛEΩN, and the substitution of PAO NANO PAO, or simply PAO. That such was the case may be proved from numerous coins in Mr. Masson's plates; I have, however, endeavoured to make the transition still plainer by placing together in plate vii. drawings of the coins which I imagine to be thus allied. Figures 7 and 8 are from very perfect specimens of the genuine Kanerkos coin in copper, the first sent me by Karâmat 'Alí, the second by Dr. Gerard: while figures 10 and 11[1] are from other equally well preserved coins in my own enriched cabinet. The devices will at once be pronounced to be identical.

Of the legend on the first two coins I need add nothing to what has been before said: of the others, I have collected, to the right hand of fig. 10, the various readings extant; and, beginning on the right hand, we find, as before stated, PAOKA . . . . NHPKI, which I suppose to be equivalent to *βασιλευς Κανηρκου*;[2] the break between KA and NHPKI seeming to have been merely caused by the want of space below the device, while the dots between the A and the N may be intended to denote their immediate connection.

If we now turn to the Kadphises group in plate viii. we find precisely the same change of designation, at the foot of the plate on the right-hand side, where, for the sake of saving space, the terminating words only of the Greek inscription are engraved.

The first part of the full inscription on the elder type of these coins, both the large and the small, is correctly given by Mr. Masson, as BAϹIΛEVϹ BAϹIΛEωN CωTHP MEΓAC.[3] The name KAΔΦICHC is itself not very distinct in any of the ten coins whence my inscriptions are copied, but, coupled with Mr. Masson's authority, it may be fully relied on. The intervening letters are more uncertain: the various readings are OOX, OKMO, OOKMO, OOHN, OOMO. The two *omicrons* cannot

[1] ['Ariana Antiqua,' xiii. 1, p. 363. 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' iv. 162, 1845, p. 438, 9.]

[2] We have no authority for writing it *κανηρκος*, since it always occurs with the genitive termination *ου*, although united to *βασιλευς* in the nominative.

[3] Mr. Masson's 'Memoir' is so full on the subject of the Kadphises coins, that I have not thought it necessary to add anything thereto. I may here, however, point out that the portion of Colonel Tod's 'bull and râjá' coin, which Schlegel could make nothing of ('Asiatic Researches,' xvii. 579), has been successfully developed by the more perfect specimens now obtained. What the Professor deciphered as IHPNIϹIC and ϵΔOBIΓPIC are evidently (supplying the two first letters of 'saviour') *σωTHP MEΓAC KAΔΦICHC*. Schlegel considered the name to be that of a Tartar Khan, or Indo-Scythian prince. Colonel Tod, however, leaned to a Parthian origin, whilst the Bactrian kingdom was subject to Parthian kings; this view seems the most probable from several considerations, such as the fire-altar, the costume, and the Pehlví inscriptions.

well be intended as stops to denote the termination of the inscription, to which purpose they would be applied in the Zend, or Pehlvi; nor can the intervening word be an epithet, coupled with *μεγας*, for the same word occurs on the gold medal found by Dr. Martin Honigberger,[1] with the simpler form BACIΛ€VC OOHMO KAΔΦICHC. The only probable conjecture is this, that *Ookmo* or *öhemo* may be a part or an adjunct of the name of the prince.

Quitting this dubious ground, and descending to the inferior coins of the bull type, we find legends 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15, expressing more or less legibly the same term PAO NANO observed on the Kanerkou group.

In the same manner, fifteen of the elephant coins afford, some entire, and some in part, the legend PAO NANO PAO in place of the title, and some few, as that depicted in fig. 31 of plate vii. have the word K€NPANO, which, until contradicted by more satisfactory testimony, we may assume to be the prince's name on this coin. In some coins this name seems written K€NOPANO.

The two copper coins having seated figures, 29 and 32 of the Manikyála plate vi.; also 32 of plate vii. and 3 of plate viii. have, though in fewer examples, furnished unequivocal fragments of the same legend or title, PAO NANO. . . . .

The coin with the running figure, on the contrary, has only (in the three legible samples of our collection) yielded portions of PAO KA . . . . . NHPKI, and is therefore in all respects similar to the secondary form of the Kanerkou medals. The above includes all of the Indo-Scythic type yet known: Mr. Masson restricts them to four distinct sets, and, in fact, so judicious had been his survey of the group, that we have not been able to add one new type to his list.

We now turn to the two gold coins of the Manikyála cabinet, having, from the above cursory survey of the more numerous copper coins, became possessed, as it were, of a key to their solution.

It was some little time before I discovered that the inscriptions on the larger gold coin of the first Manikyála deposit, (Plate V. fig. 2,) and the little gold coin of the lower cylinder (plate vi. fig. 24,) bore precisely the same legend on the obverse. The first half of the writing on the small coin was not legible; and it was only after perceiving the analogy of the latter half with the second part of the larger coin, that I was led, by careful examination, to trace and recognise the rudiments of each letter of the first part of the obliterated coin. I have in the present plate, vii., placed the two in juxtaposition, (figs. 25 and 26,) to show their identity, and the whole line thus restored becomes very evidently PAO NANO PAO . . . OOHPKI KOPANO.

There is some indistinctness, and perhaps an omission, about the central portion of this inscription, where portions of the letters are cut off, or entangled with the ornamental head-dress of the prince; but we are fortunately able to clear up this uncertainty from a coin depicted as No. 2 of Professor Wilson's plates, in the seventeenth volume of the 'Researches,' and stated by my predecessor to have been discovered in a field near Comitla in Tipera. The inscription on this coin is now rendered legible by our acquired knowledge of its associates. The corrected reading is PAONANOPAOKA NHPKIKOPANO, and it at once enables us to supply the omission in the centre of the Manikyála gold coins by the name already so familiar to our ears, as 'Kanerki' or 'Kanerkou'

Are these various coins then all the production of one sovereign? or was the

[1] See the drawing of this coin by Masson, in plate xiii. of his memoir, 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. iii.

superscription of that prince maintained by his successors, and gradually lost by the corruption of the Greek characters, in which it was endeavoured to be conveyed? To these questions a satisfactory answer cannot be given in the present state of our knowledge: but we cannot avoid remarking that the . . KENOPANO of the Elephant coin may, by a very trifling alteration, be read as . . . . . KI KOPANO, which will bring it to coincide with the other coins of this extensive family.

The degeneration of individual letters is sufficiently visible in the various forms of the P, the A, the K, and the M, in the specimens engraved, but a more wholesale abandonment of the primitive form may, I think, be pointed out in the third gold coin of Mr. Wilson's plates, being one of what we have called the Bull and Rájá, or Kadphises, coins. The legend on this is very prominent, and contains, under a trifling disguise, the very letters of the same sentence; the first letter, P, is wanting, and the three final letters of the last word, (ρ) AONANOPAO OOHOKOP (αvo).

The collection received from Karámat 'Alí has put me in possession of two gold coins of this curious species; (which was indeed held to be of doubtful origin, from Colonel Mackenzie having apparently multiplied fac-similes of his in silver:) they are thin, and of exceedingly clumsy manufacture, but the legends in both are plain, though much more transformed than the specimen just given. Fig. 10 of plate viii. represents one of these coins, and fig. 11, the principal characteristics of the other, namely, the inscription, the king's head, (already alluded to as wearing the winged cap of the Sassanian monarchs,) the fire-altar, and the symbol, all more or less varied. The inscription now possesses but three characters, P, N, and O, the latter having swallowed up all the angular A's and P's; and the N assuming all the functions of M and K. Bearing this in mind, the lower line may be read without any fanciful straining, O PAONANO P . O KOPA. . .

Fig. 10 is equally capable of the same interpretation, for beginning on the left hand, at the bottom, what appears to be POOOPOOBO UUVO VOPOOO is evidently letter for letter a corruption of PAONANOPAO OOHO KOPANO.

The characters of the whole series of these curious relics, of a dynasty entirely unknown from other sources, having been so far developed, as regards the obverse of the medals, it remains, before we proceed to consider the variable motto on the reverse, to offer a few observations on the meaning these enigmatical words *rao nano rao* and *korano* may be intended to convey.

First then, as regards the termination in the short Greek *o*;—we learn from M. Eugène Burnouf's very learned commentary on the 'Yaçna,' in the introductory essay on the Zend alphabet, that the Zend contains a short *o* unknown to the Sanskrit alphabet and used as the equivalent of the short Nágarí inherent *a*, while on the other hand it has precisely the value of the Greek omicron.[1] To express, therefore, any native word so terminating, in the Greek character, the omicron would necessarily be employed. We know from the circumstance of the Zend or rather Pehlví characters on the obverse of the Bactrian coins, that this dialect must have been the

[1] It is, perhaps, unnecessary to state that in the Zend, as in the European alphabets, the vowels are all expressed by distinguishing symbols. M. Burnouf, in speaking of a change of vowel orthography between the Sanskrit and Zend, says, "Ce changement devra peu étonner, sans doute, si l'on pense que dans l'Inde même l'*a* bref Dévanágarí vaut *o*, suivant la prononciation Bengálie, et *e* bref, comme nous l'avons déjà remarqué plus haut. Dans ce cas l'*ó* Zend n'est pas en réalité l'*ó* Dévanágarí, c'est plutôt l'*omicron* grec, en tant qu'il repond à l'*a* Sanscrit et à l'*e* Latin dans les mots que ces trois langues possédent en commun."—*Commentaire sur le Yaçna*, par Eugène Burnouf, vol. i. p. 59.

prevailing language of the country. Moreover, from the learned authority above quoted we learn, that the termination in *áo* is of very frequent use in the Zend, the final *o* being the regular permutation of *s*, the sign of the Sanskrit nominative in words common to the two languages: thus in *Ahura-mazdâo* (Ormuzd), the latter word is precisely the Sanskrit *mahâ-dâs* 'qui magna dat,' an attribute of the Deity: again "la 'lune' porte, en Zend, le nom de *mâo*: et *máhya*, 'lunaire,' avec le suffixe des adjectifs, *ya*, est derivé de *mâh*, qui est exactement le Sanscrit *mas*, 'lune.'"

The iteration of the term *rão* in the expression *rao nano rao*, contrasted with its single employment in other instances, bears so strong an affinity to the duplication βασιλευς βασιλεων, in Greek; *malkanmalká*, in Pehlví; *rájádhi-rája*, in Sanskrit, etc., that it is hardly possible to resist the assumption of a similar interpretation for the words in question, more especially when it is known that the term *rao* is to this day a common affix to the names of native Maráthí and Rájput princes; such as Mulhar Ráo, Govind Ráo, Trimbak Ráo, etc. The Persian title *ráy*, conferred by the Dihlí emperors on Hindú princes as an inferior grade to *rájá*, had doubtless a similar meaning, and like *rex*, *ré*, *roi*, may be traced to the original Sanskrit root रज्, the quality of 'rule' or 'passion' (both equal privileges of royalty!).

The title *Bala-ráyá*, or *Bala-rão*, is stated by Wilford to have been equivalent, in the spoken language of Gujarát, to *Bala-rája*, 'the great king.' The Bala-ráya dynasty of that country was composed of petty kings, and the title was contradistinguished from *Rájendra* the 'superior' or 'imperial sovereign.'[1] Mr. Wilson in his notes on the ancient inscriptions on Mount Abu[2] enumerates the following titles as denoting progressively decreasing grades of rank:—*Mahárájádhirájá*, *rájá*, *rána*, *rawel*, *rási*, and *rão*. The appellation *rawel*, according to Colonel Tod,[3] was the ancient title of the princes of Mewár. It was only changed to *rána* in the twelfth century. *Raoul* or *rawel* is still the designation of the princes of Dungurpúr and Jesalmér.

That *rao* was an inferior title will not injure its applicability to the princes of the Panjáb and Bactria, at the time in question; for it is known that the country was divided into petty sovereignties, and it is probable that many were tributary to the Persian monarch.

Without a dictionary of the Zend, the right interpretation of the word *náno* can only be attempted in the same hypothetical manner. As a name it is frequently met with among the Párs'is of the west of India, and equally among the Maráthís of Gujarát and the Dakhan; Nána Govind Ráo, Nána Cowasjí, Nána Farnavíz, the Púna minister, and many other familiar names might be adduced in evidence. That it is some title of nobilitude (if I may use the expression) can hardly be doubted, though its precise import be not known. The word *nána* is inserted in Wilson's Sanskrit dictionary as bearing the signification, "(1) without, except; (2) many, various; (3) double, or twofold, as *nánárasa*, many-flavoured; *nánárága*, many-coloured:"—in the same way we might read, knowing the close connection of the Zend with the Sanskrit, *rao nana rao* 'royal doubly royal,' which has, so far, a strict analogy with *rájádhirája*—'rex super rex'. I am unable to offer any more probable conjecture on the meaning of this word.

The final designation *korano*, bears at first sight a strong resemblance to the Greek κοιρανος, 'princeps, dominus:' but as the introduction of a word seldom or never used in this sense upon coins would imply an increasing knowledge of a foreign tongue at the very time when in other palpable instances it was falling into disuse

[1] 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. ix. p. 179. [2] 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xvi. p. 314.
[3] Tod's 'Rájasthán,' vol. i. p. 213.

and oblivion, such an explanation cannot be allowed for a moment. The next analogy which strikes the imagination is to the modern title *Sáhib-i qirán*, borne by three of the Dihlí monarchs, Taimúr, Sháh Jahán, and Muhammad Sháh. The explanation of this epithet has been given in various ways, as 'lord of the fortunate conjunction of the planets;' 'the august hero;' 'the sovereign who has reigned through a certain term or lustrum,' (10, 20, 30, 40, 80, or 120 years,) 'lord of the horns or rays.' In the latter sense it bears an analogy to *Zú-l-ḳarnain*, the common title of Alexander the Great, literally '*aux cornes*,' 'with the horns,' in allusion to the horns of Ammon depicted upon his head in most of his medals. Here again is a connection not to be passed over unobserved with the application of *Ẓú-l-aknáf*, "aux ailes," to the parallel instance of the winged head-dress of Sapor in the Sassanian coin before described.

Ḳirana is Sanskrit as well as Persian: no doubt, therefore, some derivative form of the same root will be found in the Zend: it signifies 'a ray of light, a sun- *or* moon-beam:' *karana* also signifies 'an interval of time.' It is probable, therefore, that the epithet *korano* may have some reference to the designation of the Moghul emperors, who, it may be remarked, brought it into Hindústán, though many centuries afterwards, from the country which was the scene of Kanerki's rule.

Of the word preceding *korano*, the variations in reading on different coins are so great, OOH, OOMO, OMKO, etc., that I cannot venture an opinion on the subject further than, as it appears also in the pure Greek inscription of Kadphises' coin, it must probably form part of a proper name. On the two Manikyála gold coins, however, the reading is distinctly OOMPKI (or OOHPKI, for the H and M are nearly alike), while on Carey's coin, before described, the initial is equally distinct, and the testimony is strong in favour of reading it as KANHPKI, with the same termination as is found on the well-preserved coin, fig. 10 of plate vii. Should this prove to be the right reading, we have thus the full inscription on the obverse PAO NANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO, which may be interpreted 'King of kings, Kanerki the splendid.'

I have not alluded to the hypothesis advanced in my former note, that Kanerkos might be the Kanishka of Kashmírian history, because the discovery of the Sassanian coins, and the consequent modern date of the present monument, at once overthrow that supposition. It may, however, be urged in explanation of the great abundance of the Kanerki coins, that this name may be one of a family or dynasty, like that of Arsaces on the Arsacidan coins, repeated without further distinction than an alteration in the features and dress of the monarch, throughout the whole line from the real Kanerki downwards.

INSCRIPTION ON THE REVERSE OF THE KANERKI COINS.

I now proceed to offer a few remarks touching the inscription and device on the reverse of the Manikyála coins of the Kanerki group.

That the image represented on all these coins is a sacred personage may be gathered from the glory which invariably encircles its head. In this respect these coins resemble their Grecian prototypes, upon which we behold the figures of Jupiter, Hercules, Apollo, and Castor and Pollux.

The costume of our mythological figure, however, differs greatly from the Grecian model, and in the specimens best preserved (as fig. 10, of plate vii.) it resembles the Persian dress with its peculiar turbaned hat, and a thin flowing robe hanging from the shoulders.

There are four varieties of attitude, attended with other peculiarities, which it will be better to couple in description with what we have to say on the epigraphe of each.

The first variety is already well known from Lieut. Burnes' and Masson's specimens: a beautiful coin of this type is engraved in plate vii. from one of Karâmat 'Alí's collection.

The figure is wrapped in a flowing muslin robe, of the Indian character: it faces the right hand, is apparently a female, and bears a lotus. The motto is NANAIA. Portions of the same name are seen on all the copper coins in which the figure faces to the right hand. It is also discoverable in the Tipera gold coin (No. 2 of Wilson's plates).

Mr. Masson has conjectured, very plausibly, that this name is identical with Nání. There are, he says, numerous shrines throughout that country known to the Muhammadans as the Ziárats of Bíbí Nání. The Hindús also resort to them, claiming the lady as one of the numerous forms of the goddess Párvatí.

Col. Wilford mentions in the third and fourth volumes of the 'Researches' a goddess, called by Strabo ANAIA, and equivalent to the Sanskrit Anáyasá-devi, which seems to have a near connection with the object of discussion. 'Even to this day,' says this learned mythologist, 'the Hindús occasionally visit the two *jwálá-mukhís* or "burning springs" (of naphtha) in Cusha-dwipa: the first of which, dedicated to the goddess Devi with the epithet *Anáyasá*, is not far from the Tigris; and Strabo mentions a temple on that very spot, inscribed to the goddess Anaias:' again, '*Anáyasá-devi-sthán* (now Corcur) was the τῆς Ἀναίας ἱερον of Strabo.'[1]

He afterwards alludes to some Hindús who had visited the place: 'I have been fortunate enough to meet with four or five pilgrims who had paid their devotions at this holy temple of the goddess ANAIA or ANAÏAS, with its burning mouth or *jwálá-mukhí*: it is near Kerkook, east of the Tigris.'[2]

The circumstance of the burning fountain is of material importance, as it will be seen by the sequel that it connects *nanaia* with the other devices of the reverse, and with the general and national fire worship to which it is imagined they may all be traced. The inscriptions accompanying this appellation are, generally speaking, of pure Greek; had they been otherwise, it might have been doubted whether *nanaia* were not the adjectival or feminine form of the word *nána* on the obverse.

The goddess Nanaia, or Anaia, again, bears a close analogy in name and character to the Anaïtis of the Greek, and the Anahid of the Persian, mythology; that is, the planet Venus, and one of the seven fires held sacred by the latter people. M. Guigniaut's remarks on the subject may be applied to the figure on our coin:—"Le culte simple et pur du feu, dominant dans les premiers âges, se vit bientôt associer le culte des astres et surtout des planètes. . . . Les feux, les planètes, et les génies qui y président, sont au nombre de sept, nombre le plus sacré de tous chez les Perses; mais trois, surtout, se représentent sans cesse comme les plus anciennement révérés,—le feu des étoiles ou la planète de Vénus, Anahid;—le feu du soleil, ou feu Mihr;—le feu de la foudre, ou feu Bersin, Jupiter. Le culte du feu Guschasp, ou d'Anahid, figure comme un culte fort antique dans les livres Zends et dans le 'Schah Nameh', de même que celui d'Anaïtis dans une foule d'auteurs Grecs depuis Hérodote. . . . Or Mitrá (feminin de Mithras) et Anahid, ou Anaïtis, sont une seule et même déesse, l'étoile du matin, génie femelle qui préside à l'amour, qui donne la lumière, et qui dirige la

[1] 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. iii. p. 297 and 434.
[2] 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. iv. p. 374.

marche harmonieuse des astres avec les sons de sa lyre, dont les rayons du soleil forment les cordes.' [1]

The object in the hand of our Nanaia (fig. 7, plate vii.) is not however a musical instrument, but rather a flower, or perhaps the mirror appertaining to Venus.

The larger gold coin from Manikyâla has apparently an expanded form of the same name: it is read MANAOBAΓO in page 94, but from the similarity of M and N in the corrupted Greek of the period in question, I entertain little doubt that the correct reading is NANAO (for *ναναια*), with some affix or epithet, BA or BAΓO or BAAO, which could only be made out by one acquainted with the Zend language.

On the other hand, the horns of the moon projecting from the shoulders of this figure, assimilate it strongly to a drawing in Hyde's 'Historia Religionis veterum Persarum,' p. 114, of Malach-baal, to which also the last four letters of the inscription bear some resemblance. Malach-baal, or Rex-baal, is only another name for the sun. Those who incline to the latter interpretation will of course class this reverse with those of HAIOC, to which I shall presently advert.

A remarkable variation from the genuine Greek reading occurs in one of the specimens published by Colonel Tod in the 'Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. i. plate xii. fig. 14, on a coin of PAO KA .... (*νηρκι*). The word Nanaia here appears under the disguise of NANAO, and this is an important accession to our knowledge, both as showing that the Greek name corresponded to the vernacular, and as proving, from the Zend termination in *âo*, the link with the Sanskrit *Anâyasâ*.

The second type of the Kanerkou reverse represents a male figure, dressed in a frock, trowsers, and boots: he is in a graceful attitude, facing the left, with the right arm uplifted, and the left a-kimbo. He has a turban, and a 'glory,' which is in some instances radiated.

The designation on the higher class of this type is uniformly HAIOC, 'the sun,' and there can be no doubt, therefore, concerning its nature: moreover in the subsequent series, wherein the Greek language is suspended and the letters only retained, a corresponding change is observed in the title, while the same dress of the 'regent of the sun' is preserved, and enables us to identify him.

The Romans and Greeks, as we learn from Hyde, always dressed Mithra in the costume of a Persian king: thus on various sculptures inscribed 'Deo Mithrâ Persarum,' 'visitur Mithra seu Sol, figurâ humanâ Regis Persici, qui subijit taurum eumque calcat necatque.' [2] This very common attribute, of Mithra slaying the bull, which is supposed to typify the power of the sun subjecting the earth to the purposes of agriculture and vegetation, might lead to the conjecture that the figure on the reverse of the Kadphises coin was also Mithra with his bull: the dress, however, is different; neither is there any appearance of a sacrifice; the reading of the Zend inscription can alone clear up this difficulty, and I will in a future plate collate all the inscriptions which are sufficiently legible for the examination of the secretary of the Paris Asiatic Society, whose researches in this language point him out as the most competent scholar to undertake the solution of the problem.

In plate vii. (figs. 12 to 24). I have engraved such of the substitutes for HAIOC

[1] 'Réligions de l'Antiquité,' du Dr. Creuzer, par Guigniaut, ii. 731.

[2] 'Historia Religionis veterum Persarum,' 112.—The expression of Lucian, 'in deorum consilio,' is also thus rendered by Guigniaut:—'Ce Mithras qui, vêtu de la chlamys et paré de la tiare, ne sait pas dire un mot de Grec au banquet de l'Olympe, et n'a pas même l'air de comprendre que l'on boit le nectar à sa santé.'—'Rél. de l'Ant.,' 738.

as are most distinct in my cabinet, beginning with the well-developed characters of fig. 10. It requires no stretch of imagination to discover in the first six of these, the word MIΘPA, written MIΘPO or MIOPO, according to the Zend pronunciation, *Mihira* being the Sanskrit and Persian name for 'the sun.'

Thus, when the reformation of the mint nomenclature was effected, by the discontinuance of Greek appellations, we perceive that the vernacular words were simultaneously introduced on both sides of the coin: and the fortunate discovery of two coincident terms so familiar as *helios* and *mihira* or *mithra*, adds corroboration to the identity of the titles of the monarch on the obverse, and his names, Kanerki and Kanerkou.

The number of coins on which MIOPO appears is very great: it always accompanies the PAO KA.... NHPKI form: (see Colonel Tod's plate in the 'Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. i. plate xii. fig. 11, in the Third Series: also fig. 12, which belongs to the sitting-figure type.) It is frequently found also on the elephant coin: (see fig. 12 of Tod, and fig. 31 of Wilson: 'Asiatic Researches,' xvii.) Figure 33, of my own plate vii., is a small copper coin from the Manikyála tope in which it is also recognizable. I find it likewise on several of the sitting-figure coins, figs. 29 and 32, of plate vi.; but what is of more consequence in our examination of the Manikyála relics, it is discernible on the reverse of the small gold coin (plate vi. fig. 24), although I did not recognise the individual letters when I penned the description of it in page 102.

As we proceed down lower in the list in plate vii., the purity of expression is altogether lost, and the word MIOPO degenerates into MAO or HAO, and MA or HA, for the M and H are with difficulty distinguished. Many of the coins, containing this form of the word, are complete, and seem to have borne no other letters. We might almost be tempted to discover in this expression another cognomen of the Sun or of Bacchus, IAO and IA, about which so much discussion appears in the works of the Fathers, on the Manichæan heresy and the doctrines of the Magi in the third century.[1] The Greek mode of writing the word, to be sure, is different, but the pronunciation will be nearly alike, and as the word was of barbaric origin, (being taken from the Hebrew Iaho or Jehovah,) some latitude of orthography might be expected in places so distant. This is, however, but a vague hypothesis to account for the presence of a name in connection with a figure, which is known, from its identity with the HAIOC type of figure 8, to represent that deity. A multitude of symbols and names, under which the sun was worshipped or typified at the time that the Christian doctrines were spreading, and the old religions, as it were, breaking up and amalgamating in new groups, will be found enumerated in the learned work of Beausobre. The engraved stones, amulets, and talismans ascribed to the Gnostics and the followers of Basilides, etc., bear the names of Iao, Adonai, Sabaoth, and Abraxas, all of which this author traces to divers attributes of the sun. But it is

[1] "Il faut convenir aussi qu' Iao est un des noms que les Payens donnoient au Soleil. J'ai rapporté l'oracle d'Apollon de Claros, dans lequel Pluton, Jupiter, le Soleil et Iao se partagent les saisons. Ces quatres divinités sont au fond la même: Εις Ζευς, εις Αδης, εις Ηλιος, εις Διονυσος, c'est à dire, 'Jupiter, Pluton, le Soleil et Bacchus sont la même chose.' Celui que est nommé Dionysus dans ce dernier vers est le même qui est nommé Iao dans l'oracle. Macrobius rapporte un autre oracle d'Apollon, qui est conçu en ces termes: *φράζω τὸν παντῶν ὑπατον θεὸν ἔμμεν* 'Ιάω 'je vous declare qu'Iao est le plus grand des dieux.' Macrobe, bien instruit de la théologie payenne, assure qu' Iao est le Soleil."—*Histoire de Manichée*, par De Beausobre, tom. ii. p. 60.

impossible to pursue the subject into the endless labyrinth of cabalistic mythology in which it is involved. That the image on our coins represents the sun or his priest is all I aim to prove.

There are two other forms of the inscription on this series which are more difficult to explain; many of the coins with the elephant obverse have, very legibly, the whole, or a part, of a word ending in AΘPO; in some it is as clearly MAΘPO.

Now, although both these words may be merely ignorant corruptions of the original form, Mithra, it is as well to state that they are both, independently, pure Zend words, and capable of interpretation, albeit more or less strained and unnatural, as epithets or mythological attributes of the sun, or, as we may conjecture, through that resplendent image, of Zoroaster, the son and manifest effulgence of the deity.

Thus, in the last number of the 'Journal Asiatique,' in a learned essay on the origin of the word Africa, the Zend word *athro* is quoted as equivalent to the Greek *αἰθηρ*, the pure subtle spirit, or region of fire, or of the sun, very imperfectly expressed by our derivate *æther*.

Of the word *Mathra*, or MAΘPO, we find a lucid explanation in M. Burnouf's 'Commentary on the *Yaçna*,' a part of the *Vendidad-sadi*. In the passage where he analyses the Zend compound *tanumáthrahé*, 'corps de la parole,' *mathra* is thus shown to be the equivalent of the Sanskrit word *mantra*:—"Il faut reconnaitre que cet adjectif est un composé possessif, et traduire: 'celui qui a la parole pour corps, celui dont la parole est le corps;' et peutêtre par extension: 'parole-faite corps, incarnée.' Cette interprétation ne saurait être douteuse; car le sens de *tanu* est bien fixé en Zend, c'est le Sanscrit *tanu*, et le Persian *tan*, 'corps;' et celui de *máthra* n'est pas moins certain, puisque ce mot Zend ne diffère de Sanskrit *mantra* que par l'adoption de t'á qui aime à précéder *th* et les sifflantes, et par l'aspiration du *t*, laquelle résulte de la rencontre de la dentale et de la liquide *r*."

'La parole' is explained by M. Burnouf to signify 'la parole d'Ormuzd,' 'the word of God, or incarnation of the divinity,' a title frequently used in the 'Zend-avesta,' to designate Zoroaster (*Zarathrusta*).

Thus, I have endeavoured to prove, that all this class of figures refer to the sun, under his various names and attributes:—the only exception I can adduce is in fig. 11 of plate vii., exhibiting the reverse of a copper Kanerki coin in very good preservation. The context of its long inscription has hitherto baffled my attempts at decyphering; but I am inclined to class it along with the NANAIA reverses.

[The reverse of this coin has since been held to present us with the figure of Sákya Muni, as he is conventionally represented in Buddhist sculptures. Professor Wilson has contributed three coins of a similar character in Nos. 1, 2, 3, plate xiii. 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 370. The incomplete state of the reverse legends did not enable him, however, to suggest any interpretation of their meaning. In 1845, Major Cunningham published several coins of a cognate class: on one piece he detects the letters O BOAA ÇAM which he suggests may be intended for OM BOΔA CAMANA, or *Aum Buddha Sramana*.

Another coin supplies the characters O AΔO BOΔ CAMA . . A, while the legend on our specimen, No. 11, is transcribed by him as OATO BOT CAKANA. Major Cunningham concludes, "By a comparison of the two legends, I am inclined to read them either as *Aum Adi Buddha Sramana*, or simply as *Adi Buddha Sramana*."—'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' 1845, p. 439.]

Under the risk of being tedious, I have now gone through the whole series of corrupted Greek coins connected with the Manikyála tope, and I trust that the result of my investigation will serve to throw some new light on the subject. I have ventured to give the appellation of 'Mithraic' to the very numerous coins which have been proved to bear the effigy of the sun, for they afford the strongest evidence of the extension of the religion of Zoroaster in some parts of Bactria and the Panjáb at the time of its reassumption of consequence in Persia; while the appearance of Krishna on the field at the same time proves the effort that was then afloat, as testified by the works of the Christians, to blend the mysteries of Magiism with the current religions of the day. I cannot conclude this branch of the Manikyála investigation better than in the following extract from Moor's 'Hindú Pantheon:'—"So grand a symbol of the deity as the sun 'looking from his sole dominion like the God of this world,' which to ignorant people must be his most glorious and natural type, will of course have attracted the earliest adoration, and where revelation was withheld, will almost necessarily have been the primary fount of idolatry and superstition. The investigators of ancient mythology accordingly trace to its prolific source, wherein they are melted and lost, almost every other mythological personage, who like his own light, diverge and radiate from his most glorious centre."

POSTSCRIPT ON THE IMAGE OF BUDDHA FROM KÁBUL.

The Buddha image represented in figure 1 of plate viii. is described in the proceedings of the Asiatic Society of the 6th of August, 1834, vol. iii., page 363.

It was discovered by Dr. Gerard in the course of some excavations made by him in the ruins of an ancient town about two miles south-east of Kábul, and near a modern village called *Béni-hissár*.

According to the description given by Mohan Lál, the image was not found in an insulated tope, but in a mass of bricks and rubbish, which more resembled the ordinary ruins of a desolated town. After penetrating through a mound of such débris, a chamber of masonry was by accident found in entire preservation, the walls of which were ornamented with coloured stones and gilding; and here the statue was discovered. It was evidently the ruin of some Buddha temple, or oratory in a private dwelling, that had been deserted on the demolition of the town. The sculpture itself has been partially mutilated, as if in a hurried manner, by striking off the heads of the figures with a hammer; one only has escaped: the principal figure has lost the upper part of the head. This mode of desecration points to an irruption of Muhammadans in their first zeal for the destruction of graven idols. The faces at Bamián

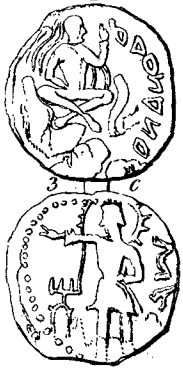
Fig. 1.

Image of Buddha.

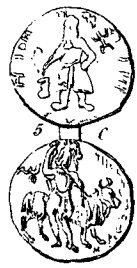
dug up in a ruin 2 miles S.E. of Kabul.

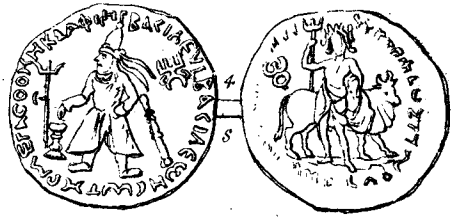
Seated figure with genuine greek inscription.

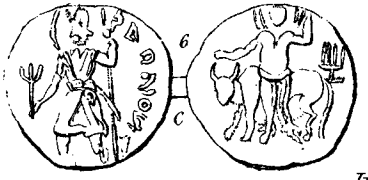
Seated figure with Corrupted greek inscription.



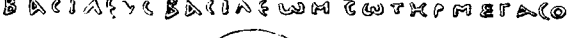
Coins of Kadphises.







Inscriptions on do.



Gold.

Gold. II.

Symbol

Altar

Corrupted Greek

after J. Prinsep.

West & Co. Lith.rs

Published by Stephen Austin, Hertford.

are described by Lieut. Burnes to have been mutilated in a similar way, while the rest of the figures remain tolerably perfect. The town was probably plundered and destroyed, such of the Buddhist inhabitants as escaped taking refuge in the neighbouring hills, or in Tibet, where the religion of Buddha continued to flourish. The age of the image, if this conjecture be well founded, will be about ten centuries, falling far short of the antiquity of the topes themselves, and having no immediate connection with them, unless as proving the continued prevalence of the Buddha doctrines in Kábul to the latter period, a fact well known from other sources.

The lambent flame on the shoulders is a peculiarity not observed in any image or drawing of Buddha that I have seen. It seems to denote a Mithraic tinge in the local faith. The solar disc or 'glory' behind the figure is a common appendage to sacred persons in every creed; and the angels above, as well as the groups on either side, are of frequent occurrence.

VIII.—FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE TOPES OF MANIKYÁLA.

By Gen. Court.

We have to thank Captain Wade for procuring us the favour of the following extract for insertion in the 'Journal.' It continues our history of the opening of these monuments from the period to which it was brought up by Dr. Gerard's notice of Dr. Martin Honigberger's operations. We regret that M. Court had not seen what had already appeared on the subject, as it would necessarily have altered his views of the antiquity of the monument, if not of its origin. We hope to obtain a copy of the inscriptions, which will probably be in the same dialect of the Pehlví as occurs on the cylinders.

"Manikyála is the name of a small village situated on the route leading from Attok to Láhor. It is built on the ruins of a very ancient town of unknown origin. The geographical position of these ruins, and particularly the abundance of coins found among them, afford the presumption that this city must have been the capital of all the country between the Indus and the Hydaspes, a country which the ancients knew by the name of Taxila, and of which frequent mention is made in the history of Alexander.

"There is at Manikyála a vast and massive cupola of great antiquity. It is visible at a considerable distance, having a height of eighty feet, with three hundred and ten or three hundred and twenty of circumference. It is solidly built of quarried stones, with lime cement. The outer layer is of sandstone. In the interior, the masonry is of freestone (pierre de taille), mixed with sandstone (grès) and granite; but principally, with a shelly limestone (pierre de concrétions), which by its porosity resembles stalactite. Age and exposure have so worn away the northern face of the edifice, that it is now easy to ascend to the summit, which could not have been done formerly, because there were no regular steps constructed on the exterior. Its architecture is simple, and offers nothing worthy of much remark. Round the cir-

cumference, near the base, is seen, in bas-relief, a range of small columns, the capitals of which appear to have been ornamented with ram's heads (têtes de béliers). These ornaments are now scarcely perceptible on account of the wearing away of the sand-stone by time. I have remarked similar ornaments at a tank situated between Bimber and Saráí-saidábád, on the road to Kashmír, and I remember observing the same kind of thing on the columns of the towns at Persepolis.

"This monument is in my opinion nothing more than a tomb of some ancient king of the country, or it may be the work of some conqueror from Persia or Bactria, who may have raised it in memory of some battle fought on the spot, intended to cover the remains of the warriors who fell in the combat. This last conjecture appears the more probable, seeing that similar cupolas are equally remarked in the district of Ráwal Pindí, in the country of the Hazáris, which joins the former, at Peshâwar, in the Khaibar hill, at Jalálábád, at Lagmán, at Kábul, and even, they say, at Bâmián:—all of these places situated on the road leading from Persia, or Bactriana, into Hindústán. I have moreover remarked, that the greater part of these cupolas are situated in passes difficult to get through, or at least in places well adapted for a hostile encounter. One thing is certain, at any rate, namely, that they are all sepulchral tumuli; for having myself opened several of these cupolas, I have found in most of them, little urns of bronze, or other metal, or of baked clay, containing funeral ashes, or the débris of human bones; also jewels, and coins for the most part of Græco-Scythic, or Græco-Indian types. . . . . .

"Scattered over the site of the ruins of Manikyála are seen the remains of fifteen other cupolas, smaller than the principal one just described. These I have lately been engaged in digging up, and they have furnished some very interesting discoveries. The excavation of a tope situated about a cannon-shot distant from the present village of Manikáyla to the N.N.E. is particularly calculated to throw light upon these curious monuments of antiquity, since a part of the medals extracted from it bear genuine Latin characters, while others are of the Græco-Scythic or Græco-Indian type. Moreover, the stone which served as a covering to the niche which contained them, is sculptured all over with inscriptions in an unknown character, and altogether different from that of the coins?

"This monument was in a thorough state of dilapidation, so much so as hardly to be distinguished from a natural mound; and it was only after having carefully examined the contour of the foundation that I decided upon penetrating it. Its height might be sixty or seventy feet. I began by piercing it from above in the centre with a hole of twenty feet diameter. The materials extracted were chiefly a coarse concrete, extremely porous. The nature of the stone reminded me forcibly of the pyramids of Egypt, which are constructed of a lime-stone full of shell impressions (nummulitic limestone.)

"In my first operations, I found, at the depth of three feet, a squared stone, on which were deposited four copper coins. Below this point, the work became extremely difficult, from the enormous size of the blocks of stone, which could hardly be removed through the upper opening. At ten feet lower down, or at ten from the level of the ground, we met with a cell in the form of a rectangular parallelogram, built in a solid manner, with well dressed stones, firmly united with mortar. The four sides of the cell corresponded with the four cardinal points, and it was covered with a single massive stone. Having turned this over, I perceived that it was covered with inscriptions. [Pl. ix.]

"In the centre of the hollow cell stood a copper urn, encircling which were placed symmetrically eight medals of the same metal, which were completely corroded with

verdigris. The urn itself was carefully enveloped in a wrapper of white linen, tightly adhering to its surface, and which fell into shreds when I opened the urn.[1] The copper urn enclosed a smaller one of silver: the space between them being filled with a paste of the colour of raw umber (terre d'ombre), in which the verdigris had begun to form. This pasty matter was light, without smell, and still wet. On breaking it, I discovered a thread of cotton gathered up into a knot (ramassé en un seul point), and which was reduced to dust on handling it. When I attempted to remove the silver urn from within the outer cylinder, its bottom remained attached to the brown sediment, and I remarked that the silver was become quite brittle from age, crumbling into bits between the fingers. Within the silver urn was found one much smaller of gold, immersed in the same brown paste, in which were also contained seven silver medals, with Latin characters. The gold vessel enclosed four small coins of gold of the Græco-Scythic or Græco-Indian type;—also two precious stones and four pearls in a decayed state; the holes perforated in them prove them to have been the pendants of earrings.

"From the position in which these several urns were found, an allusion was possibly intended to the ages of the world. The four gold coins were of far inferior fabrication to those of silver. The latter are worn as if they had been a long time in circulation. Whether they are Greek or Roman, I cannot venture to affirm. I would only remark, that if the Greeks before the reign of Philip used the Latin alphabet, it might be probable that they were Greek coins, and that they were brought into the country by the army of Alexander. If, on the contrary, they are Roman, they may be of the epochs when the kings of India sent embassies to the Roman emperors Augustus or Justinian. Or, it is possible that they were brought into the country through the ordinary channel of commerce by the Red Sea.[2] . . . .

"I am surprised that my friend General Ventura did not find an inscription on the stone in the principal deposit of the large tope. On my way to Peshâwar, I lately visited the scene of his operations, and searched carefully among the ruins for any such, but without success. This cupola was penetrated by him from above. When the cap was removed, a square shaft was found of twenty-one feet deep and twelve feet wide, well constructed of squared stones. On the floor of this chamber there were two massive stones, between which was deposited a square box (see page 93). The floor itself was formed of two enormous stones, which were broken to pieces with some trouble before the digging could be continued below. The difficulties were much increased from this point by the frequent occurrence of large blocks of stone locked into the body of the masonry without mortar, which it was necessary to extract by the upper vent. At twenty-seven feet below the first stage, a second was met with, of a less perfect nature, wherein a second discovery was made: below this, again, before reaching the ground, the most interesting discovery occurred. Hence the miners worked a conduit underground, on the side towards the village of Manikyála, which facilitated greatly the extraction of materials. This adit is now nearly closed up with rubbish, and can only be entered on all fours.

"As the relics found in this cupola have been sent by my friend to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, I refrain from any observations on them. I will only remark, that the emblem on the gold medals of Manikyála, as well as on those of my

[1] The exterior of the copper cylinder of M. Ventura's tope has the marks of a cloth wrapper well defined on the corroded surface.—J. P.

[2] While correcting the press of this passage we are put in possession of M. Court's drawings of the coins, which we will make the subject of a postscript.—J. P.

topes, may be observed in Persia with some slight difference, on the sculptures at Bisitún, near Kermanshâh; I think also, the same symbol exists at Persepolis. I can with confidence assert that the monogram exists on the bas-relief of the gate of the ancient castle of Shastar in Susiana.

"I have observed that most of the cupolas of Manikyâla are situated on the ridges of sandstone rock which cross up from the surface of the country.

"The neighbourhood is generally strewed with ruins, and traces of a square building can generally be perceived, in the immediate vicinity, of similar construction to that of a Persian caravanserai. If these monuments are the remains of temples, there can be no doubt that Manikyâla must have been the principal seat of the religion of the country. The ruins of the town itself are of very considerable extent:—everywhere, on digging, massive walls of solid stone and lime are met with." . . . . . .

NOTE ON THE COINS DISCOVERED BY M. COURT.

[The illustrative plates of this article (xxiii. and xxiv., 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' iii.), comprising badly-executed Calcutta lithographs of M. Court's drawings, have been replaced in the present reprint by a new fac-simile of the Manikyâla stone, taken from the original, and reduced copies of other interesting Arian inscriptions. The Indo-Scythian coins figured in the old plates have now become so common that it would be a waste of time to reproduce them, and in regard to the money of the 'Roman families,' their *date* is all that Indian numismatists need concern themselves about.]

Since the above paper went to press, I have received, through M. Meifredy, the drawings made by M. Court, of the several coins, and of the inscription alluded to in his remarks. The original drawings being destined for Paris, I have, with permission, had fac-similes lithographed of the whole, as they are of the highest importance towards the elucidation of the history of the ancient monuments at Manikyâla.

Plate xxxiv., 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Ben-

gal,' iii., figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4, are the four coins found on the top of the large stone which served as a cover to the niche containing the principal deposit. These coins are already well known to us, the first being the common copper coin of Kadphises (in this instance written ΚΑΔΦΙCΤC): the other three being of ΚΑΝΗΡΚΙ. The reverses on the latter coins are, however, different from those described in my paper on the subject (page 131: the running or dancing figure of fig. 2, has occurred but rarely, among the coins heretofore collected, in comparison with the more common device of Mithra or Nanaia; and where it does, the name is less distinct. The reverse of figs. 3 and 4, is evidently the same personage as is represented on Gen. Ventura's gold coin, standing in lieu of being seated; and my conjecture, that this figure had four arms, is now substantially confirmed.

The name is distinctly composed of the four letters ΟΚΡΟ, which I imagine may be the corresponding word in Zend for the Sanskrit अर्क *arka*, a common appellation of Súrya, or the Sun. The Hindú image of this deity is in fact represented with four arms, and is often accompanied with a moon rising behind the shoulders, just as was depicted on the Ventura gold coin.[1] We can have little doubt, therefore, that in this device we behold the substitution of the Hindú form of the solar divinity for the Persian effigy of Mithra.

Plate xxxiii., 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' iii., fig. 5, is stated by M. Court to be a precise

[1] See plate lxxxix. of Moor's 'Pantheon.'

copy of the inscription found on the lower surface of the large slab of stone. This is doubtless the most valuable and important of his discoveries; for it will inform us of the precise nature and object of the monument in question. Although my progress in decyphering the character in which it is written, of which I hope shortly to render an account, does not yet enable me to transcribe the whole, still I see very distinctly in the second line the word *malikão*, 'king,' in the very same characters that occur on the reverse of so many of the Bactrian coins. This so far throws light upon the subject that it connects the monument with royalty, and prepares us to lean more favourably to the hypothesis advanced by all those who have been engaged in opening the topes, and supported by all the traditions of the country, that they are the sepulchral monuments of kings. I shall have to recur to this question presently in speaking of the liquid contents of the metal cylinders.

[James Prinsep subsequently secured a very perfect impression of this inscription, which he seems to have been occupied upon shortly previous to his final departure from India. The study thus left incomplete has been published by his brother, Mr. H. T. Prinsep, in his 'Note on the Historical Results deducible from Recent Discoveries in Afghanistan,'[1] together with a greatly improved copy of the inscription itself. James Prinsep had so far advanced upon his previous reading, as to define correctly the greater part of the name of the monarch, viz., 'Kaneshsm,' and to offer a conjectural interpretation of the date as cxx. = 120?

Major Cunningham, in his book on the Bhilsa Topes,

[1] [Published by W. H. Allen and Co., London, 1844.]

affirms, that he has 'been able to read with certainty the name of Maharaja Kanishka, of the Gushang tribe;'[1] and, in a subsequent paper,[2] he develops his proposed translation still more distinctly to the following effect. 'In the year 446, in the reign of Kanishka, Maharaja of the Gushang (tribe), the Satrap Gandaphuka erected a tope (for what purpose I have not been able to decipher).' I cannot altogether concur in Major Cunningham's readings, though many of them seem good and valid; the titles of both Maharaja and Satrap are clear; the king's name I render कनेष्षस *Kaneshshasa*. I can discover no trace of a second क *k*. The duplication of the ष *sh* is doubtful, but it offers beyond all question the preferable reading. The outline of the final स is also imperfect, and the letter might with equal propriety be restored as र *r* or त *t*. However, there is nothing in these modifications in the Arian orthography of the name that need prevent our recognising its identity with the Greek KANHPKI, the Káshmírí कनिष्क *Kanishka*,[3] the Chinese *Kia-ni-sse-kiu*,[4] or the Arabic كنك.[5] The Satrap's name is clearly different from that on the brass casket from the larger tope. The similarity of the designation गुषण to the (महरयस) गुषनस of the Yúsufzai inscription[6] (pl. x. ii.) is interesting.

The ascertainment of the date would indeed be a gain for history, but, for the present, I must take leave to doubt Major Cunningham's power of interpretation, as well as to distrust his method of applying the figures, even admitting them to be correctly defined.[7]

Plate ix. will, I think, be found to exhibit a fair copy of

[1] ['Bhilsa Topes,' p. 129.]
[2] ['Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' 1854, p. 702.]
[3] [Rájá-Taranginí.]
[4] [Hiouen-Thsang (Julien).]
[5] [Albirúní (Reinaud).]
[6] [See also 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vii. of 1854, p. 705.]
[7] ["The date of the former inscription I have read as 446, on the authority of a stone slab in my own possession, which gives in regular order the nine numerals as early a period as the Sáh coins of the Satraps of Saurashtra. The date I would

Fig. 3.

Fig. 2.

E.T. Published by Stephen Austin, Hertford. W.West Lith.

the writing on the slab discovered in the lesser Manikyála tope by M. Court. The state of the stone itself is not very favourable for the obtainment of an exact fac-simile, as it would seem that the inscription must have been originally engraved on a badly-prepared and uneven surface; and time and circumstances have necessarily still further damaged its legibility. I must frankly add, that my transcript (for it pretends to be nothing else) has been made under other disadvantages; first, of a limited time for the verification of the minor details, and secondly, of the unfavourable position in which the stone is fixed. As respects the transliteration into modern Devanágarí, seeing the scanty aid it affords towards any linguistic explanation, I almost hesitate to make it public; but as it claims to do no more than give conjectural renderings of each letter, it may perchance serve as a basis for future and more successful tentative readings.

TRANSCRIPT OF THE MANIKYÁLA INSCRIPTION.

(Plate ix.)

LINE 1. भत्रतसत्रतुधिस अगप ड अशए

POSSIBLE VARIANTS. स्रर ज

2. सं XX) स्प पुथस्प महरजस कने

शुब

refer to the Buddhist era of the Nirvána of Sákya Sinha, not as now established, in 543 B.C., but as generally believed in by the early Buddhists for a period of several centuries," [*i.e.*, 477 B.C.] p. 704.

Major Cunningham adds, in a note:

"In 1852, I discovered that these numeral figures, from 5 to 9, were the initial letters of their *Pashtu* names *written* in *Ariano-Páli*. Thus 5 is represented by *p* for *pinz;* 6 by *sp* for *spag;* 7 by *a* for *avo;* 8 by *th* for *atha*, the *a* having been already used for 7; and 9 by *n* for *nah*. Even the 4 is a *ch*, but as the *Pashtu* word is *Salor*, this form must have been derived from India. The first four figures are given in two distinct forms, the second set being the older," etc.

I have already stated some of my reasons for objecting to this theory ('Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vii.,' of 1855, p. 556). I now await the publication of further details concerning this singular stone, which has guided the author to the discovery of the enigma of the Bactrian system of numeration. I must add, however, that if the language of these inscriptions proves to be Pashtú—which is more than doubtful—the difficulty of admitting the figures to have a like derivation is, so far, removed!]

LINE 3.	ष्षरगुषणवशसंवध्वकलल
POSSIBLE VARIANTS.	स
4.	णोडनयगवेसशिस चचपस
	दोच
5.	होव थसरस अपणगंविहड
	व त गे ज
6.	होच थो अचननभछवशुध व
	बो ग
7.	पतृफवयेतिसहरहोववेसशि नखडछिएण
	ल त
LEFT SIDE. 1.	तुतिरेनछविहर करफएन
	ख दे
2.	संवेनछपतिववेनसधएतेनक
	ञ
3.	शुल लेणंतु स्त्रदिस्यवकसछ
	र
TOP.	सचसणभवतु
	प
RIGHT SIDE. 1.	सधतुधिलेण वषरथगेण
	द ग्व
2.	कथियसंम दिवस
	वि

The same plate (xxxiii., 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. iii.) represents (reduced one-third) the position of the three cylinders, or urns, of gold, silver, and copper, as they stood in the niche of the under stone, surrounded by eight coins of copper, arranged in the direction of the cardinal points. The coins are mostly corroded, but they can all be recognised as belonging to Kadphises and Kanerkos. Fig. 12, the

one differing from the ordinary coins of this group,—bearing on the obverse the head of a king, with Greek legend, and on the reverse a standing figure of Hercules with his club, surrounded by a Pehlví inscription,—I know from other samples in my possession to belong to a monarch sometimes designated EOZ, while on others of his coins he is distinctly entitled KAΔΦIC. . . I have no hesitation therefore in ascribing this variety also to a monarch of the same family. [Kadaphes, pl. xviii., *infrâ*.]

The contents of the several cylinders of M. Court's tope were, beyond all comparison, the richest and most curious hitherto met with. The large tope gave M. Ventura only two gold coins; that opened by M. Honigberger, presented only one gold medal of Kadphises. Here, on the contrary, we have no less than four native gold coins, (see pl. xxxiv., 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' iii.,) in excellent preservation, in the gold urn; and seven silver coins in the silver envelope: with this further peculiarity in the latter, that they are all of foreign origin.

The four gold coins are of a device familiar to us: they bear the legible inscription, in corrupt Greek, PAO NANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO, which I have described in my former notice. The figures on the reverse of the three first are of the Hindú cast, having four arms, with the epigraphe OKPO (the Sun); they agree with that of the copper coins described in the preceding page. The last, figure 18, bears the title AΘPO, a supposed epithet of the Sun; for an explanation of which see p. 135.[1]

[1] In a pamphlet just received from Paris, entitled "Observations sur la partie de la Grammaire Comparative de M. F. Bopp, qui se rapporte à la langue Zende," par

The silver coins are entitled to a minute and individual examination; for, from the first glance, they are seen to belong to the medallic history of Rome, of which the most ample and elaborate catalogues and designs are at hand to facilitate their exact determination.

FIG. 19 is a silver denarius of Mark Antony, struck while he was a member of the celebrated triumvirate, charged with the eastern portion of the empire. It agrees with the description of a coin in Vaillant, ii., p. 9.

OBVERSE.—M. ANTONIVS, III. VIR. R. P. C. (*Triumvir Reipublicæ constituendæ*). Device, a radiated head of the sun, supposed to be the same as the Egyptian Osiris.

REVERSE.—The head of Antony, behind which the *lituus*, or crook, denoting him to hold the priestly office of augur.

[Antonia family, see Riccio, tab. iv., fig. 25. Raoul-Rochette, 'A.R. (A.U.C.) 711,' *Journal des Savants*, 1836, p. 74.]

FIG. 20.—A silver denarius, recognised to belong to Julius Cæsar, from the features, the inscription, and the peculiar device on the reverse. It corresponds with one described by Vaillant, ii., 1.

OBVERSE.—The head of Cæsar, behind which a star. Medals of this kind were struck by Agrippa, Antony, and others, in honour of Cæsar, after his death; the star alludes to his divine apotheosis: the letters CAESAR... remain distinct.

REVERSE.—The group (of the axe, fasces, etc.) entitled in Latin, 'Orbis, securis, manus junctæ, caduceus, et fasces,' and supposed to designate the extended empire, the religion, concord, peace, and justice of the emperor.

[Julia family, Riccio, xxiii., 31. Raoul-Rochette, 'between A.R. 694 and 704.']

FIG. 21.—This I imagine to be a coin of Augustus Cæsar, although it does not precisely agree with any published medal of that emperor.

M. Eugène Burnouf, p. 7, I find the very two words alluded to in p. 135, fortuitously occurring to rectify my conjectures as to their import—*âthre* is translated '*au feu*,' and is evidently an inflected case of our word *âthro*, which is thus proved to signify simply *feu*, 'fire,' (*âtars*, 'le feu,' P. *âtash*):—while a little further, we find the words "si l'on trouve une fois dans le Vendidad-Sade, *maithra* pour *mithra*, c'est une faute du manuscript, que l'accord des autres copies suffit pour faire apercevoir."—May not the same remark apply to the ignorance of the die-engravers in writing MAΘPO for MIΘPO?

OBVERSE.—..VFVS. IIIVIR. Two juvenile heads, probably of Caius and Lucius. The circumscribing legend may be either of Mescinius Rufus, a magistrate, (Vaill. ii., p. 23,) or of Plotius Rufus, mint master, (Vaill. ii. 4,) the only two persons (being at the same time triumvirs) recorded whose names terminate in . . VFVS.

REVERSE.—A female figure holding probably a spear in the left hand. The few letters legible seem to form part of the usual inscription on the coins of Augustus. CAESAR DIVI F. (*Augustus Cæsar divi Julii filius*).

[Cordia family, Riccio, xiv., 1. Raoul-Rochette, 'A.R. 705.']

FIG. 22.—The helmeted figure on this coin, and the unintelligible inscription on the reverse, lead me to ascribe it to the age of the Emperor Constantine, although I can find none in Bandurius or Vaillant, with which it exactly agrees.

OBVERSE.—A head facing the left, with a handsome helmet.

REVERSE.—Two combatants, one clad as a Roman, the other as a German (?) a fallen warrior between the two. Beneath, the letters QIERMM.

[Minucia family, Riccio, xxxiii., 7. Raoul-Rochette, 'about A.R. 680.']

The remaining three silver coins are in too imperfect a state to be identified: the first, fig. 23, bears the final letters of the word CAESARIS. The last, fig. 25, has a female head with a mural crown, which may belong to a Greek city.

[23. Accoleia family, Riccio i., 1, Raoul-Rochette, 'subsequent to 710 A.R. up to 720.' 24. Julia family, Riccio, xxii., 4; 25. Furia family, Riccio, xxi., 8. Raoul-Rochette, 'A.R. 686.'[1] The exact definition of the dates of some of these coins is not without its difficulties, but it may be sufficient to say, that the

[1] [Lieut. Alexander Cunningham seems to have commenced his numismatic authorship by certain emendations of Prinsep's assignments of these pieces. He can hardly be congratulated on the success of his initial effort at correcting others, if the following criticism of M. Raoul Rochette upon this, his first exercitation, be just.—'Je n'ai pas dû faire mention des prétendues rectifications de M. Cunningham ('Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' iii., 635, 637.) qui n'ont fait qu'ajouter de nouvelles erreurs. 'Journal des Savants,' 1836, p. 74.']

best and most recent authorities[1] limit the issue of the latest of these pieces to B.C. 43.]

How or why these coins came to be selected for burial with the local coins of the Indo-Scythic monarch, it is impossible now to conjecture; and it is certainly a most curious fact, that while in the neighbouring monument, the foreign coins consisted solely of those of the Sassanian dynasty of Persia, these should be entirely wanting here, and should be replaced by coins of Rome, many of which must have been regarded as antiques at the time, if I have been right in attributing the fourth of the list to Constantine. Such an assumption indeed removes all difficulties regarding the date, and brings about a near accordance with the reign of Shápúr II. of Persia, in the middle of the fourth century, the date already assigned to the principal tope from the presence of that sovereign's coins. We may therefore now look upon the epoch of the Hindú or Indo-Scythian Rao Kanerki, as established from these two concurring evidences, and it may serve as a fixed point whence to trace back the line of strange names of other equally unknown and obscure monarchs, whose names are now daily coming to light through the medium of these coins, until they fall in with the well-known kings of the Bactrian provinces.

I insert a postcript to this article for the purpose of noticing a very important paragraph in the second

[1] [Riccio, Naples, 1843; also H. Cohen, 'Monnaies de la République Romaine.' Paris, 1857.]

volume of Marsden's 'Numismata Orientalia,' materially affecting the antiquity of the Manikyála monument.

It will be remembered, that the Sassanian coins deposited there were all of that species distinguished by an ornament of two wings upon the head-dress, and that I assigned them, on the authority of Ker Porter, and for other reasons which appeared conclusive, to Shápúr II., A.D. 310-380. There was also on some of them a curious cypher, (*vide* plate v.) which seemed to defy scrutiny.

It seems that Mr. Marsden, on the authority of Sir William Ouseley, backed by the Baron de Sacy, attributes all this class of coins to Khosrú-parvíz, A.D. 589, the Zend word Hoslui (for Khosrú) being stated to exist on many of them. They have also a cypher somewhat resembling the above.

A multitude of these coins have also been discovered bearing Arabic names, Omar, Saíd, Harír [Háni], etc., in addition to their usual inscription, and the fact had been explained by M. Frœhn of the Petersburg Academy,[1] by extracts from history, proving that the early Muhammadan conquerors of Persia retained the national coinage until 75-76, A.H., when the Khalífs 'Abd-ul Malik, and Hajjáj substituted their Cufik coin. Makrizi, in particular, makes the following decisive assertion: 'Omar caused dirhams to be struck with the same impressions as were in use under the Khosroes, and of the same form, with the addition only of certain Arabic sentences upon some, and upon others the name of the

[1] This circumstance was pointed out to me by Capt. Jenkins, as noticed on the cover of the last 'Journal.'

Khalif.' The curious cypher above alluded to, is accordingly set down by the Baron de Sacy as Arabic, and he reads it, حجاج بن يوسف. The form in the original is a little different from our Manikyála type, the termination of the first cypher having an opposite curvature [. . *afzúd*]. In this form it might possibly be read *Hajáj*, although, as Mr. Marsden remarks, it is difficult to discover *bin Yúsuf* in the context:—but if the flourish upon the Manikyála coin is supposed to be identical with this, the interpretation is at once overturned; for it is no longer possible to construe even the first cypher into *Hajáj* in accordance with the Baron de Sacy's reading.

Be this as it may, the undoubted Arabic names and sentences upon so many of the winged-cap Sassanian coins, tend strongly to unsettle the date I had assumed, on the authority of these coins alone, for the Manikyála tope; and to bring their construction down into the seventh century. But here again an additional difficulty arises with regard to the Roman coins just discovered by M. Court. Is it likely that, in a distant and semi-barbarous country, coins seven hundred years old, should have been preserved and selected for burial in a shrine or tomb then erected?

The more we endeavour to examine the subject, the more difficulties and perplexities seem to arise around us; but it is only by bringing every circumstance forward that we can hope to arrive at last at any satisfactory conclusion. The two coins published in plate vi. will doubtless be considered of great interest by the illustrators of the Sassanian dynasty in Europe—they may

destroy a favourite theory with them, as their evidence of the Arabic names tends to shake our deductions here; but we shall both be the gainers in the end, and a section of history at present obscure will be materially enlightened by the collation of independent interpretations.

NOTE ON THE BROWN LIQUID CONTAINED IN THE CYLINDERS FROM MANIKYÁLA.

The important discovery made known by M. Court, in the memoir just read, of another metallic vessel or urn filled with brown liquid evidently analogous to that found by Gen. Ventura in the great tope of Manikyála, reminds me that I have not yet communicated the results of my examination of this curious liquid. I will now proceed to supply this omission, referring to p. 92 of the present volume, and to plate vi., for the particulars of its preservation, and of the vessels containing it. It now appears certain that the liquid was originally deposited in these receptacles, for had it permeated from the superincumbent structure, it would have filled the stone recess as well as the urn, whereas M. Court particularly describes the former as empty and dry.

When the Manikyála relics reached Calcutta, the liquid in the outer copper vessel was nearly dried up, and the sediment had the form of a dark brown pulverulent crust, adhering to the inner surface of the vessels. It was washed out with distilled water, and preserved in glass stoppered bottles, in which, after several months, the greater part fell to the bottom, but the liquid remained still of a deep brown, and passed the filter of the same colour.

The liquid of the inner, or brass cylinder, having the consistence of wet mud, was bottled off separately.

1. In the innermost or gold cylinder, which rested in an oblique position in the brass case, a deposit of the brown matter had in the course of ages consolidated in the lowermost corner, differing from that formed by the rapid drying, in being very hard and of a shining vitreous or resinous lustre on fracture. It enclosed fragments of the glass (or *ambre brisé*, of M. Ventura) (fig. 22, a, b, c, d,) and when detached from the larger pieces of them, possessed the following properties:—

Specific gravity, 1.92.

100 parts heated in a test tube gave off moisture, and a minute portion of empyreumatic oil	20.0
The residue, heated red, lost of carbonaceous matter	4.0
It then fused under the blow-pipe into a parti-coloured slag, which, pounded and divested in nitric acid, yielded of phosphate of lime (?) tainted slightly by oxide of copper	12.0
The silicious or glassy residue, unexamined, weighed	64.6
	100.0

2. The brown paste itself was next submitted to examination. . . . Without entering into details, the results of the analysis were as follows:

Empyreumatic oil, passed off through acid	22.0
Ammonia and water	19.0
Carbon, burnt off	18.0
Silicious insoluble portion of ash	9.0
Phosphate of lime	10.0
Oxide of copper, and what remained in the ammonia	22.0
	100.0

3. A separate examination of a few of the numerous yellow transparent fragments, which filled the inner cylinder, was then undertaken, principally with a view to determine whether they were of a crystalline nature, or simply glass; their behaviour under ignition having already convinced me that they were not "ambre brisé," as supposed by M. Ventura. . . . . .

From the preceding rough analysis it is clear that the fragments are of a virtreous nature, and it seems probable that pieces of glass were fraudulently introduced into the cylinder, in lieu of some precious stones, which the pious founder may have intended to deposit with the other contents of the monument.

It remains to offer a few remarks upon the nature of these curious monuments, of which two opposite theories seem to have been broached. The opinion of the inhabitants of the country, as reported by all our observers, is, that they are the tombs of ancient kings:—that of Professor Wilson, Mr. Hodgson, and other orientalists, that they are Déhgopes or Buddha mausolea, containing relics of, or offerings to, Buddha or Sákya.

These two theories however may, I think, be reconciled in a very simple manner.

Are not Déhgopes, or Chaityas, in many instances at least, shrines built over the remains of persons of the Buddha faith, and consecrated to their saint? If so, we have but to suppose the rulers of the Panjáb, at the period of the erection of the topes before us, to have been of this religion, and the desired amalgamation of opinions is effected. My friend M. Csoma de Körös, in reply to my interrogation on the subject, expressly treats them as mausolea of the dead, and thus describes the objects contained in the modern Déhgopes of Tibet:—

"The ashes of the burnt bones of the deceased person being mixed with clay, and with some other things, (sometimes with powdered jewels or other precious things,) worked into a sort of dough, being put into moulds, are formed into little images, called *tsha, tsha*, and then deposited in small pyramidal buildings, or shrines, (s. *chaitya*, TIB. *mchhod-rten*, vulg. *chorten*,) without any great ceremony, and without anything precious in addition."

Such being the custom with the remains of ordinary persons at the present day, we can easily conceive that the quality of the caskets intended to contain the ashes of princes or priests in the flourishing era of their faith, would be of a superior description, and that coins and other precious substances would in some instances be added. In the Manikyála cylinder, the pounded gritty substance contained in the brown paste was evidently such as M. Csoma describes: the larger fragments of glass were, as before surmised, substitutes for precious stones, and the brown paste itself is to all appearance compounded of various vegetable matters now decomposed and carbonized, mixed up with a portion of the ashes of the deceased, as evinced from the presence of ammonia and phosphate of lime.

There is much similarity between these mounds, sometimes of masonry and some-

times of rough stones and earth, and the remains described by Mr. J. Babington, under the name of 'Pandor Kulis,' in the third volume of the Bombay Transactions. Those erections are also of two kinds: one a mere enclosure of stones, surmounted by a circular stone of an umbrella-shape, and thence called a 'Topi Kul'; the other, formed of a pit below the surface, in which a large jar is placed: the mouth of the pit being covered over with a large circular stone, the earth and grass of which give it the appearance of a tumulus or barrow: this species is denominated 'Kodey Kul,' and it always contains human bones in a more or less perfect state, besides urns, arms, implements, and beads of various shapes, colours, and materials.[1] Mr. Wilson attributes these monuments to a very ancient Hindú practice of collecting and burying the ashes and bones of their dead, in places where no sacred stream was at hand, into which they might be committed. He quotes in support of this hypothesis, the following passage from Mr. H. T. Colebrooke's 'Essay on the Funeral Ceremonies of the Hindús,' in the seventh volume of the 'Asiatic Researches.'

"Using a branch of Sami, and another of Palasa, instead of tongs, the son or the nearest relation first draws out from the ashes the bones of the head, and afterwards the other bones successively, sprinkles them with perfumed liquids, and with clarified butter, made of cow's milk, and puts them into a casket made of the leaves of the Palasa. This he places in a new earthen vessel, covers it with a lid, and ties it up with a thread. Choosing some clear spot, where encroachments of the river are not to be apprehended, he digs a very deep hole, and spreads the Cusa grass at the bottom of it, and over the grass a piece of yellow cloth. He places thereon the earthen vessel containing the bones of the deceased, covers it with a lump of mud, moss, and thorns, and plants a tree in the excavation, or raises a mound of masonry."

This is precisely the Kodey Kul; and the same authority helps us to an explanation of the Topi Kul, in which no bones are found.

"To cover the spot where the funeral pile stood, a tree should be planted or a mound of masonry be raised."

"The one," says Prof. Wilson, "commemorates the cremation, and is consequently nothing more than a pile of stones: the other inurns the ashes of the dead, and consequently contains the frail and crumbling reliques of mortality."

The curious circumstance noticed by M. Court of the eight coins symmetrically arranged around the central casket, calls to mind that part of the ceremony described in the passage immediately preceding the foregoing extract from Mr. Colebrooke's 'Essay.'

"The son or nearest relation repairs to the cemetery, carrying eight vessels filled with various flowers, roots, and similar things. He walks round the enclosure containing the funeral pile, with his right side towards it, successively depositing at the four gates or entrances of it, beginning with the north gate, two vessels containing each eight different things, with this prayer, 'May the adorable and eternal gods, who are present in the cemetery, accept from us this eight-fold unperishable oblation: may they convey the deceased to pleasing and eternal abodes, and grant to us life, health, and perfect ease. This eight-fold oblation is offered to Siva and other deities: salutation to them.'"[2]

Although the foregoing extracts refer to the ceremonial of the orthodox Hindús, they may probably represent the general features also of a Buddha funeral; for the

[1] 'Oriental Magazine,' i. p. 25.
[2] 'Asiatic Researches,' vii. 255.

Buddhists agree with them in burning their dead; and in afterwards consigning the ashes and bones to some durable mausoleum. Dr. Hamilton informs us that the remains of priests in Ava, after cremation, are preserved in monuments,[1] and Mr. Duncan describes a marble urn dug up among the Buddhist ruins at Sarnáth, near Benáres, which contains 'a few human bones, together with some decayed pearls, gold leaves, and other jewels of no value,' just of the same nature as those discovered in the Panjáb. There was also a similar precaution of enclosing the more precious urn in one of coarser material, (in this case of stone,) in order more effectually to insure its preservation. That the bones at Sarnáth, belonged to a votary of Buddha was confirmed by a small image of Buddha discovered close by, and by the purport of the inscription accompanying it.[2]

From consideration of these circumstances, therefore, in conjunction with the decided opinion of all those who have recently been engaged in the examination of the Panjáb and Kábul topes, the hypothesis of their being the consecrated tombs of a race of princes, or of persons of distinction, rather than mere shrines erected as objects of worship, or for the deposit of some holy relic; seems both natural and probable; or rather the two objects, of a memorial to the dead, and honour to the deity, seem to have been combined in the meritorious erection of these curious monuments.

I cannot omit noticing in this place, one of those singular coincidences which often serve to throw light upon one's studies. While our enterprising friends have been engaged in opening the ancient topes of Upper India, the antiquaries of England have been at work at some ancient Roman tumuli or barrows in Essex. Without intending to draw any conclusions from the facts elicited in the course of their labours, it is impossible to read the pages of the 'Archæologia' (1834, vol. xxv.) without being struck with the similarity of customs prevailing in such distant localities, pointing as they do towards a confirmation of the many other proofs of the identity of origin of the Roman and the Hindú systems.

The sepulchral tumuli of Essex contained, like those of the Panjáb, various bronze urns, enclosing fragments of burnt bones, glass, coins, and even the brown liquid itself! The liquid is described as being in some cases 'of a light yellow, in others of a dark brown,' of which colour was also an incrustation about the exterior of the vessels. Professor Faraday, who examined the liquids, supposes that the water was not originally placed in the urns; but that it came over by a species of distillation into the empty space of the vases, on the alternate heating and cooling of the air contained in them. The researches of MM. Ventura and Court may give reasons for thinking the contrary.

"The deposit on the side of the large vase was a dry flea-brown powder, containing a few white specks. It was combustible with a very feeble flame, burning like ill-made tinder or charred matter. It left a little pale light ash, containing carbonated alkali, carbonate of lime, and a little insoluble earth. This substance gave no trace of ammonia by heat. It is probably the result left upon the decay of organic matter, but of what nature, or in what situation that may have been, I cannot say.

"The liquor was a dilute solution of the same kind of matter, (4.2 grains to a

[1] 'Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society,' ii., p. 46.

[2] The square chamber without door or other opening discovered in digging the ruins at Buddha Gaya, and supposed by Dr. Hamilton to be a tomb, resembles the square ornamented chamber penetrated by Dr. Gerard near Kábul, where he found the image of Buddha, described at page 136 of the present volume.

fluid ounce:) this when dried and heated, did yield a little ammonia; it blackened, but did not burn visibly.

"A third bottle was found to contain a fatty substance like stearic acid, melting under 212°, burning with a bright flame, and leaving little ash. It was dark-brown on the exterior, and yellowish and semi-transparent in the middle: the brown colouring matter was separated by dissolving the fat in alcohol—it was supposed to be the residue of albuminous or gelatinous matter, but it yielded no trace of ammonia."

Mr. Gage, the author of this description, imagines the liquid to have been lustral water, poured in at the time of depositing the bones and funeral ashes. The pieces of fused glass adhering to the burnt bones, and the liquid, recalled to him Virgil's description of the funeral pile of Misenus.

—— Congesta cremantur
Thurea dona, dapes, fuso crateres olivo.
Postquam collapsi cineres et flamma quievit,
Reliquias vino et bibulam lavêre favillam:
Ossaque lecta cado texit Chorinæus aheno.

The dark-brown incrusted powder of the outside of the urn was in the same manner referred to a decayed wreath of yew, or other dark vegetable, depicted in the lines—

—— Cui frondibus atris
Intexunt latera et ferales ante cupressos
Constituunt. *Æneid*, vi. 215.

The offerings at funeral sacrifices among the Romans consisted of milk, wine, blood, and such other *munera* as were supposed to be grateful to the deceased:—money was usually added to defray the charges of Charon's ferry.

The reader may compare this description with the extracts from Colebrooke, before given, and draw his own conclusions.

As the opinions of all those who have visited the countries where these monuments lie, are particularly deserving of attention, I cannot resist the temptation of extracting a paragraph concerning them from the 'Manuscript Journal' of Mr. Trebeck, the companion of Mr. Moorcroft, now in my hands for transmission to Europe. These travellers, it will be seen, visited the spot where Mr. Masson has lately been so actively engaged. They procured some of the coins now so common to us, and they had received from native tradition the same account of the contents of the topes which has now been confirmed by direct examination.

"On the evening when we were encamped at Sultánpúr, Mr. Moorcroft, in the course of some inquiries learnt that there were in the neighbourhood a number of what the people called Búrjs or towers, which, according to their accounts of them, were exactly of the same form as that seen by us in the Khurbur country. In consequence of our stay at Bálá Bágh, we had sufficient leisure to return in search of them, and in the forenoon of the 8th, taking along with us a person in the service of Sultán Mahmud Khán, we set off towards the place where they were said to be. Our road lay between Sultánpúr and the Súrkháh, and taking a guide from that village, we were conducted to the bank of the latter rivulet which we were obliged to ford. The water was so deep and rapid that a man on foot could not have got across it, and its colour was quite red, from the quantity of red earth washed along by it. Having

passed it, and ridden over some fields, belonging to a small Garhí, or walled hamlet, and over a piece of clayey land, much cut and broken by water-courses, we reached a narrow gravelly slope, joining at a few hundred yards to the left, the base of the mountains bounding this side of the valley. Here we found a Búrj, but were a good deal disappointed by its appearance. It differed considerably from those we had before met with, and though certainly antique, was built much less substantially: its exterior being for the most part of small irregularly-sized slate, connected without mortar. A good deal of one side of it had fallen down, and there were others before us; we did not stay long to examine it. We counted several whilst proceeding, the number of them amounting, as well as I can recollect, to eleven, and seeing one more to the westward, and better than the rest, we advanced towards it. It was situated on a stony eminence at the base of the hills near where the main river of Kábul issues from behind them, and nearly on a line with the garden of Chahár Bágh.

"We ascended to it, and found it to be of about the same size as the one near Lalla Bágh, but, as just observed, of a different form. It was in a more perfect state than any of the rest in the same vicinity, but varied little from them either in style or figure. It was built upon a square structure, which was ornamented by pilasters with simple basements; but with rather curious capitals. Were it a tomb, one might suppose the centre of the latter coarsely to represent a skull supported by two bones, placed side by side, and upright, or rather a bolster or half cylinder with its lower part divided into two. On each side of this were two large pointed leaves, and the whole supported two slabs, of which the lower was smaller than the upper one. The most curious circumstance in this ornamental work was, that though it had considerable effect, it was constructed of small pieces of thin slate, cleverly disposed, and had more the appearance of the substitute of an able architect, who was pressed for time, and had a scarcity of material, than the work of one who had abundance of the latter, plenty of leisure, and a number of workmen at command. A flight of steps had formerly led up the southern side of this platform, but nothing remained of them except a projecting heap of ruins. On the centre of the platform was the principal building, called by the country people the Búrj, the sides of which had been erected on a perpendicular to half its present height. This lower portion of it was headed by a cornice, and was greater in diameter than the upper part of the structure, its top forming a sort of shelf round the base of the latter. Its centre was marked by a semicircular moulding, and the space between the moulding and the cornice was ornamented by a band of superficial niches, like false windows, in miniature, arched to a point at the top, and only separated by the imitation of a pillar formed, as before noticed, of slate. The upper part of the tower was a little curved inwards, or conical above; but a great deal of its top had fallen off. The effect given to its exterior by a disposition of material was rather curious. From a distance it seemed checked a good deal like a chess-board—an appearance occasioned by moderately large-sized pieces of quartz, or stone of a whitish colour, being imbedded in rows at regular distances in the thin brown slate before spoken of. I had just time, though hurried, to take an outline of its formation on a piece of drawing-paper.

"The use of these erections next became a matter of speculation, and Mr. Moorcroft, having heard that coins were frequently picked up in various places near them, instructed a man the day after our return to proceed to the neighbourhood of them, and try if some ancient pieces of money were not to be found. The inhabitants of the Ummur Khail, a small village near them, said, that they learnt from tradition that there had formerly been a large city in this part of the valley, and pointed to some excavations across the Kábul river, which they told us had been a part of it. Of the

coins they stated that several had been found of copper, but as they were of no value to them, they had been taken to some of the nearest *baniyas*, or shopkeepers, and exchanged for common pice. This information gave a clue to the person in search of them, and he succeeded at two or three visits to some Hindús of Chahár Bágh, Sultánpúr, etc., in procuring several. He was also sent back to Jalálábád, but brought with him from thence only two pieces of Russian money, which were useless. The former were, however, very valuable and curious, and had on each side of them for the most part impressions of human figures; but from the frequency with which they were combined with representations of the elephant and the bull, it may be conjectured that they were struck at the command of a monarch of the Hindú, or Buddhist persuasion. The variety was considerable, and there were certainly two or three kinds which might have been Grecian, particularly one that had upon one side of it a bust, with the right arm and hand raised before the face with an authoritative air. Of this coin there were eight or ten, they were of about the same size as English farthings, and the figure spoken of was executed with a correctness and freedom of style foreign to Asia, at least in the latter ages. The rust upon them, and the decayed state of the surfaces of two or three, as well as the situation in which they were found, proved that they were not modern. There were several more of the same size, merely with inscriptions in letters not unlike Sanskrit; and some other inscriptions, on the larger pieces of money, were so legible that a person, acquainted with oriental letters and antiquities, might discover much from them. With regard to the Búrjs, or buildings previously mentioned, Mr. Moorcroft's opinion is probably correct. He conjectures that they are the tombs of some persons of great rank, among the ancient inhabitants or aborigines of the country; and as the religion of the Hindús seems to have been prevalent here in the earliest ages, that they have been erected as records of the sacrifices of Satís. But the question cannot be satisfactorily set at rest till one of them is opened. It is odd that they should have escaped destruction, situated as they are in the full front of Musalmán bigotry and avarice; and, notwithstanding what some individuals assert, their present decayed state seems to be occasioned by age, rather than any attempt to discover whether they contain anything valuable. A few people say that one of them was opened, and that a small hollow place was covered near its base, in which there were some ashes as of the human body."

NOTE EXPLANATORY OF THE CONTENTS OF PLATES IX. AND X.

[I have taken advantage of the vacant space in plate ix. to insert a reduced fac-simile (fig. 2) of the bi-literal inscription discovered by Mr. E. C. Bayley in the Kangra Hills. These counterpart legends are stated to be "cut on two granite boulders, about thirty yards apart," in a field half-way between the village of Khunniara and the station of Dhurumsála, "on the edge of the high bank of a mountain torrent."

Transcribed into modern characters, these inscriptions may be reproduced as follows:—

Arian, क्रषंयशस अरमा

"The garden of Krishnayasa (or he who glories in Krishna)."

Indian Pálí, क्रष्णयशस्स अरम मदंतस्स [1]

"The garden of the happy Krishnayaśa."

The chief palæographic value of these brief records consists in the proof they afford of the reception of the Indian Pálí anuswára (or dot above the ordinary line of writing), into the Arian or Bactrian Pálí alphabet. This can scarcely be supposed to be due to anything but mere local usage incident to the concurrent employment of the two sets of characters. The Arian system, in its primitive form, certainly did not admit of any such optional interchange of the nasal sign; for in the Kapurdigiri inscription the anuswára is regularly and uniformly represented by an arrow point *below* the preceding letter; while the numismatic alphabet, and the lapidary series of later days, expressed the same sound by a small semi-circular curve at *the foot* of its leading or introductory character. Mr. Bayley alludes to the supposed discovery by Major Cunningham of this nasal dot on the coins of Menander and Amyntas. Judging from the numerous examples of the coinages of Menander that I am able to refer to, I feel altogether unprepared to support any such inference, or to concede that the isolated dot below the line of writing purports anything beyond the established suffix A. That, in certain cases of faulty die-execution, the small foot-curve constituting the N was degraded into one or even two dots, there is little doubt; but this would in no wise establish that the ordinary symbol of the A *medial* was convertible into an anuswára; and even supposing such a change likely or possible, there would still remain to be justified

[1] [I am not quite satisfied of the accuracy of the assignment of the *t* in *Madantasya*; the fac-simile reads preferably *Madangisya*.]

so radical a change of alphabetical rule as the transposition of the sign from a position *below* to one *above*, the ordinary alignment of the writing; but I will reserve any further remarks upon the palæographic peculiarities of this and the other inscriptions in these plates, till such time as I come to consider the Bactrian alphabet under its various epochal and geographical aspects in the general *résumé*, towards the conclusion of these papers.

Another point of considerable interest connected with this inscription may, however, be momentarily adverted to, that is the distinct mention of Krishna as an object of religious reverence at so early a period as this record necessarily refers to. It is, of course, a hazardous matter to attempt to fix dates from the mere modifications of forms of letters, and one that had better be examined elsewhere, especially as I shall have occasion to show that Prinsep's first theory on the subject attempted far too comprehensive a range, when it proposed to attribute all changes and transitions to the action of time alone, without reference to the many incidental circumstances that necessarily exercise an influence upon the progressive developments of chirography. Still, with every reserve, these inscriptions must be pronounced infinitely anterior to the date certain writers have of late pretended to assign to the introduction of Krishna into the Hindú Pantheon.

Fig. 3, pl. ix., is a copy of an imperfect legend on the lid of a brass casket, which seems to have enclosed the usual silver and gold boxes devoted to the enshrinement of relics. These formed part of Mr. Masson's final despatch from Afghánistán, and reached England too late for notice in the 'Ariana Antiqua.' Prof. Wilson is unable to trace the exact locality whence these objects were procured, and the inscription itself is too much worn and abraded to admit of any consecutive definition of the letters. I have inserted it chiefly on account of the date, which will be seen to be identical with that on the Manikyála stone.

I have devoted plate x. to the exhibition of the inscription

on the brass urn discovered in a tope, about thirty miles west of Kábul, in the district of Wardak.[1] This urn, which in shape and size approximates closely to the ordinary water-vessels in use in India to this day, has originally been thickly gilt, and its surface has in consequence remained so excellently well preserved, that every puncture of the dotted legend may be satisfactorily discriminated; but though it offers this immense advantage over the parallel inscription on the Manikyála stone, it has its corresponding drawbacks in the new and unknown forms of many of its letters, and the little care that has been taken to mark the nicer shades of diversity of outline which, in many cases, constitute the only essential difference between characters of but little varying form. As it shares the present reproach of being unintelligible in its language, we are of course deprived of any data whereupon to found conjectures as to the values of the unknown characters, and, with very limited exceptions, we are equally denied any aid towards supplying, by the tenor of recognised words, the deficiency in the due fashioning of the letters of which they should be composed.[2]

But, as all this incertitude invites a corresponding degree of license in purely tentative readings, I may be permitted to refer to some isolated words that seem independently to convey their own meaning. Such, for instance, as विहर for विहार *vihára*, 'a

[1] [The following comprises all the information Mr. Masson affords us regarding this relic; it seems to have been found in one of the "Topes of Kohwat in the district of Wardak . . . . situated on the course of the river, which, having its source in the Hazáraját, flows through Loghar into the plain east of Kábul, where it unites with the stream passing through the city. They are distant about thirty miles west of Kábul. There are five or six topes, strictly so called, with numerous *tumuli*. . . . . I found that three or four of these structures had been opened at some unknown period. . . . . In the principal tope an internal cupola was enclosed, or rather had been; and one of those unexplained tunnels or passages led from it towards the circumference. I directed certain operations to be pursued, even with the opened topes, and pointed out a number of *tumuli* which I wished to be examined, as they were very substantially constructed: the results proved successful, in a great measure, and comprised seven vases of metal and steatite, with other and various deposits. One of the brass vases was surrounded with a Bactro-Páli inscription. . . . The coins found in these monuments were of the Indo-Scythic class."—'Ariana Antiqua,' pp. 117, 118.]

[2] [In illustration of this difficulty, I have only to refer to the word *Maharaja-rajatiraja* in the fac-simile, plate x.]

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3

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W. West Lith.r

monastery,' a standard term in Buddhist phraseology: and one that may be seen to occur in the side-legend on the Manikyála stone. The title of भगवण *Bhagavan* may also be doubtfully indicated, as likewise the शरिर for शरीर *ṣaríra* 'relic,' which has also been previously met with. The Mahárájrájádhiráj's name I read preferentially as *Hoveshshandra*, but the final compound is altogether an arbitrary assignment, and the rendering of the *ve* is similarly open to correction. However, to spare my readers any further comment upon such doubtful materials, I may add, that though I can offer but little recommendation for my transliteration, I may venture to invite the attention of those who would follow up the study to the copy of the original inserted in the plate, which I have done my utmost to give accuracy to.[1]

TRANSLITERATION OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE WARDAK BRASS VESSEL.

LINE 1. सं)33 | मन्द्रअफ्थमितियसस्तेहि×) | इमेनगत्रिगेनषमगु—

POSSIBLE VARIANTS. ठ्व सि ग्रे

पुत्रअगमतेगद्रइयखअणग्रषण—शिगअगमतिगविहर

व ग्र दमृ द ग्रव ग्र

मृफुस्तिमृभगअणयष्न—शतितपतिधवेति

गठु ग्र दशष्ट्रनं रर रज

LINE 2. इमेनषुय—लेनमहरजरजतिरजहोवेष्षन्द्रअगभगएभवतु

POSSIBLE VARIANTS. द्र ग्र

मणपिदतमेपुशएभवतुभ्रदतमेहष्फुर्नमतेगन्द्रपुयएभवतु

द णर य णर षु ग्रध्र श

[1] [I have not thought it necessary to reproduce the dotted lines of the original; the continuous strokes indicate more readily the real forms of the characters.]

LINE 2. (continued). शोछमेभुयनतिगमिचसंभतिगनपुयएभवतुमहिशछ

कुश य स्स य छ

अगमतेगन्द्र अगभगपचियथम

व य्र य श

LINE 3. भवतुसथसरेनअतोगद्गोणएभवतुअवियनतगपथ्यरशअभ

POSSIBLE VARIANTS. व ? ण ? ति यु यव

वगशोअचअतरअडजस शुगशश्रेतिगअतुपुतसधिन

य ज र यु शे पु बि

पुशएभवतुमहिशछतोहनसतसवृनअवर्षचिगनसपतिय

यछरो द

तछअगभगपचियथमभवतुमिपुगन्द्रछअगधगभवतु

य ति ठु द्रछ य

SEPARATE LINE (written in large letters). इषविहरंअसंशथनमहसंघिगनपतिगह

त तं ठंश्ब रय

In order to bring under one view the whole amount of documentary evidence available towards the elucidation of the Bactrian series of numerals, I have inserted in plate x. (figs. 2 and 3) copies of the opening portion of two inscriptions published by Major Cunningham, in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vii., of 1854. The originals are stated to have been found in the Yúsufzái country.

The interpretation offered for the first legend is '*San* 333, *Chitrasa* . . . *Miti* 44.'

The second, it is proposed to render as '*San* 390, *Srávana másu sudi prathame Mahodayasa* (or Maharayasa) *Gushangasa raja.*'

The inscription on the earthen jar from Tope 13, Hidda, given in the plate of alphabets in Wilson's 'Ariana Antiqua,' also seems to commence with a date, but as I am unwilling to rely upon this faulty transcript, and unable to refer to the original itself, or even to Masson's first copy, I abstain from any attempt to define its purport.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON TOPES.

Albeit comparatively new to the subject, I feel called upon by the occasion to comment briefly, in connection with the general inquiry, on the limited additional evidence, illustrative of the purport and object of the topes of Manikyála, that has been developed in the preceding pages.

Professor Wilson dissents from Prinsep's 'compromise,' as he styles it,[1] which would regard Stupas as both sepulchral and enshrinal, and adduces reasons for viewing them exclusively under the latter aspect. Burnouf—so worthily identified with Páli literature—in contrasting the Buddhist and Bráh-

[1] ["Lieut. Burnes, Mr. Masson, and M. Court, adopting the notions that prevail amongst the people of the country, are inclined to regard them as regal sepultures; but I am disposed, with Mr. Erskine and Mr. Hodgson, and I believe with those learned antiquaries who have treated of the subject in Europe, to regard them as dahgopas on a large scale, that is, as shrines enclosing and protecting some sacred relic, attributed, probably with very little truth or verisimilitude, to Sákya Sinha, or Gautama, or to some inferior representative of him, some Bodhisatwa, or some high priest or Lama of local sanctity. Mr. Prinsep has manifested a disposition to effect a kind of compromise between these opinions, and suggests, after examining some of the circumstances calculated to throw light on the question, that the two objects of a memorial to the dead, and a shrine to the divinity, may have been combined in the meritorious erection of these curious monuments. The chief reasons for a contrary opinion, and for believing them to be shrines of supposed relics of Buddha—Gautama or his predecessors—are drawn from the opinions of nations still professing Buddhism, whose sentiments in regard to the origin and purport of their own religious monuments are more entitled to respect, than the careless and loose credence of the Hindús and Mohammedans of the Punjáb and Afghánistán."—'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 45.]

manical systems, adopted, in its general sense, this last opinion, but extended the circle of those supposed to be entitled to such cairn-like honors to kings favourable to Buddhism, in addition to recognising the purely cenotaph form of the dedicatory Stupa.[1] Major Cunningham arranges these monuments under the triple classification of Dedicatory, Funereal, and Memorial;[2] while Mr. Fergusson rejects unconditionally the

[1] ["Prinsep a déjà proposé une conciliation analogue des deux opinions opposées, qui veulent, l'une que les Stûpas soient des édifices purement religieux, l'autre qu'ils soient uniquement des tombeaux de souverains. Il pense que les deux destinations, celle d'un tombeau et celle d'un édifice consacré à la Divinité, ont pu être l'objet commun qu'ont eu en vue les auteurs de ces monuments curieux. M. Wilson a donné de bonnes raisons contre ce sentiment, et il croit, avec Erskine et Hodgson, que les Stûpas, comme les Dagobs de Ceylan, sont destinés à renfermer et à protéger quelque sainte relique, attribuée, probablement sans beaucoup de raison ni de vraisemblance, à Çâkyasimha, ou à quelqu'un des personages qui le représentent, comme un Bôdhisattva ou un grand-prêtre vénéré dans le pays où a été élevé le Stûpa. Je me permets d'ajouter à cette liste les rois favorables au Buddhisme; et je crois, en outre, qu'il faut tenir compte des cénotaphes bâtis à l'intention des Buddhas. Les légendes nous révèlent encore une autre cause de la multiplicité de ces tumulus, c'est l'espérance des mérites que les fidèles croyaient s'assurer en faisant construire des Stûpas à l'intention d'un Buddha. Ces constructions, sortes des cénotaphes solides, doivent avoir été nombreuses; et si les antiquaires, en ouvrant quelques-uns des Topes de l'Afghanistan n'y ont pu trouver aucun débris humain, c'est probablement qu'ils adressoient à des Stûpas du genre de ceux dont je parle, et dont il existe un très grand nombre chez les Burmans."—*Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien*, Paris, 1844, p. 355.

I must not omit to refer to the 'Commandment Tope,' mentioned in the separate tablets at Dhauli ('Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vii. 442). I therefore extract such portions of Burnouf's revision of Prinsep's original translation of those edicts as bear upon the design under which the Stupa Dubalâhi was erected: "Au nom du (roi) chéri des Dêvas, le grand ministre de Tôsalî, gouverneur de la ville, doit s'entendre dire: Quoi que ce soit que je décrète, je désire qu'il en soit l'exécuteur. Voilà ce que je lui fais connaître, et je recommence deux fois, parce que cette répétition est regardée par moi comme capitale. C'est dans ce dessein que ce que ce *Tupha* (Stûpa) [तुफ] a été dressé; ce *Stûpa* de commandement en effet a été destiné aujourd'hui à de nombreux milliers d'êtres vivants .... en effet, ce *Stûpa* regarde[a] ce pays tout entier qui nous est soumis; sur ce *Stûpa* a été promulguée la règle morale. Que, si un homme est soumis, soit à la captivité," etc.—*Le Lotus de la bonne Loi*, p. 672.]

[2] ["The Topes were, therefore, of three distinct kinds: 1st, the Dedicatory, which were consecrated to the supreme Buddha; 2nd, the strictly Funereal, which contained the ashes of the dead; and 3rd, the Memorial, which were built on celebrated spots."]

[a] ["Par le mot *regarde*, il faut vraisemblablement entendre 'commande, gouverne.' .... Ce qui suit est plus clair: *tata itchhitaviyê tuphê hi* doit signifier 'c'est pourquoi ce *stûpa* doit être désiré;' et la raison qu'en donne le roi se trouve dans les deux mots suivants, *nitimadjham paṭipâdayêmâti*, 'puissions-nous faire obtenir la liqueur enivrante de la morale!' C'est manifestement le roi qui parle ici et qui explique comment il a été conduit à dresser le Stûpa de commandement, à cause de l'édit gravé sur les rochers au-dessus desquels, ou dans le voisinage desquels, était construit ce *stûpa*."]

first of these divisions,[1] and reduces the list to Dagobas, designed for the preservation of relics, and Topes 'erected to mark some sacred spot or to commemorate some event in the history of Buddha, or of his religion.'[2] I myself am disposed to infer, alike from the ordinary historical data, as from the Buddhist scriptural testimony itself, that the leading design associated with the erection of topes had its origin in the primitive practice of raising up tumuli to mark the site of cinerary sepulture. To whom this tribute was extended, and whether the size of the superstructure had reference to the wealth or importance of those whose ashes it was designed to cover, need not now detain us; but it is clear that Sákya Muni himself—if his words are faithfully reported—enjoined no more honours for his remains than were accorded to a mundane Chakravartti Rájá,[3] the concluding portion of the

[1] ['Handbook of Architecture,' i. 16.]

[2] ['Handbook of Architecture,' i. 8, 9.]

[3] ["As to his corporeal remains," Bhagawá "replies, that rájas and grandees of the will attend to his funeral obsequies; and that his disciples need not afflict themselves in that respect. He states also that his cremation will be conducted with the same honours as that of a Chakkawatti rája, which he thus describes: They wind a new cloth round the corpse; having wound it with a new cloth, they enclose it in a layer of floss cotton; having encased it in a layer of floss cotton, they bind that with another new cloth. Having in this manner enclosed a Chakkawatti rája's corpse, in five hundred double layers (of cotton and cloth) and deposited it in a metal[a] oil-chaldron, and covered it with another similar vessel, and having formed a funeral pile with every description of fragrant combustibles, they consume the body of a Chakkawatti rája; and for a Chakkawatti rája they build the *thupo* at a spot where four principal roads meet. It is in this manner, Anando, they treat the corpse of a Chakkawatti râja. Whatever the form observed in regard to the corpse of a Chakkawatti rája may be, it is proper, Anando, that the same form should be observed in regard to the corpse of Tathâgato. Bhagawá next dwells on the merits that are acquired by building *thûpâ* over relics of Tathágatá, Pachê-Buddha, Sáwaká and Chakkawatti rájas."—Turnour's Analysis of the Pitakatayan, 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vii., p. 1005.

The *Dulva* has it thus:—"Please to instruct us how we should perform the funeral ceremonies." [Ananda replies]:—Citizens! in like manner with those of an universal monarch (s. *chakravartti*) . . . . Then his bones being put into an urn of gold, and building a Chaitya for the bones, on such a place where four roads meet.—'Asiatic Researches,' xx. p. 312. Csoma Körös, Extracts from Tibetan authorities.

In this also the Páli annals concur. "The Kusinarian Mallians then thus inquired of the venerable Anando: How, lord Anando, should we dispose of the corpse of Bhagawá?—Wasetthians, it is proper that it should be treated in the same manner

[a] ["The *Aṭṭhakatha* requires this word to be rendered gold."]

ceremonial of which consisted in the erection of Chaityas or Topes over the osseous fragments that escaped the combustion of the funeral pile. The leading purport of the sacred texts manifestly being that he should be buried as kings were then buried; the subsequent reference to the Buddhist Hierarchs[1] is so inconsistent with what precedes it, and the detail is given in so inverted an order, that it partakes largely of the appearance of an unauthorised addition to the original version.[2] Sákya equally, as both Burnouf[3] and Wilson[4] have already remarked, seems to have contemplated no reverence for, or worship of, the relics of his mortal body; though it is indubitable that in this instance also, sequent and parallel passages in the Buddhist texts[5] encourage the building of 'stupas'

that the corpse of a Chakkawatti rájá is treated.—And in what manner, lord Anando, should the corpse of a Chakkawatti rája be treated?"—[Anando here repeats the explanation that he himself had received from Buddha.]—'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vii. 1011.]

[1] [I do not consider that the arguments above advocated are at all affected by the reported erection of a tope over the remains of 'Shárihi-bu' during Sákya's lifetime: 'Asiatic Researches,' xx., 88.]

[2] [I need scarcely enlarge upon the possible falsification of texts when I find such an opinion as the following enunciated by Mr. Turnour:—"I profess not to be able to show, either the age in which the first systematic perversion of the Buddhistical records took place, or how often that mystification was repeated; but self-condemnatory evidence more convincing than that which the Pitakattayan and the Atthakathá themselves contain, that such a mystification was adopted at the advent of Sákya, cannot, I conceive, be reasonably expected to exist. In those authorities, (both which are still held by the Buddhists to be inspired writings,) you are, as one of their cardinal points of faith, required to believe, moreover, that a revolution of human affairs, in all respects similar to the one that took place at the advent of Sákya, occurred at the manifestation of every preceding Buddha. The question, therefore, as to whether Sákya was or was not the first disturber of Buddhistical chronology, is dependent on the establishment of the still more important historical fact of whether the preceding Buddha had any existence but in his pretended revelation. For impartial evidence on this interesting question, we must not, of course, search Buddhistical writings; and it is not my design to enter into any speculative discussion at present."]

[3] ['Introduction à l'histoire de Buddhism Indien,' p. 351.]

[4] ['Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' xvi. 249.]

[5] ["Ensuite Bhagavat prononça dans cette occasion les stances suivantes: . . . 'Celui-là m'a rendu un culte, il m'a fait élever des Stûpas pour renfermer mes reliques, des Stûpas faits de substances précieuses, variés, beaux à voir et resplendissants . . . et quand je serai entré dans le Nirvâna complet, ô fils de famille, tu devras rendre de grands honneurs aux Stûpas qui renfermeront mes os; et mes reliques devront être distribuées; et il faudra élever plusieurs milliers de Stûpas.' Je trouve un passage formel dans le *Thûpávamsa* pâli: 'Un Tathâgata vénérable, parfaitement et complétement Buddha a droit à un Stûpa; un Patchtchêkabuddha a droit à un Stûpa; l'auditeur d'un Tathâgata a droit à un Stûpa; un roi Tchakkavati a droit à un Stûpa.'"—*Le Lotus de la bonne Loi.*]

over such relics, yet these exhortations seem altogether inconsistent with Sákya's own exposition of this section of his creed, and as gravely opposed to the simplicity of his instructions regarding the treatment he desired might be extended to his corpse. So that we cannot but view their authenticity with considerable suspicion, even if we do not absolutely designate them as subsequent interpolations.[1] I do not of course contest the fact that, sooner or later, after the decease of Sákya, the worship of the relics of his body became a powerful instrument in the hands of the priesthood; indeed, that its influence increased in the progress of time, the monuments themselves will serve to show!

Thuparamya Tope, erected by Devánanpíyatisso, from Fergusson's 'Handbook of Architecture (copied from an unpublished lithograph by James Prinsep.)

The Mahawanso contributes several details as to the con-

[1] [To illustrate the parallel case, I cite Burnouf's observations on the worship of Buddha's image.—"Il est fort intéressant de voir comment les rédacteurs des légends essaient de faire remonter jusqu'au temps de Çâkya lui-même l'origine de ce culte, qui n'a certainement pris naissance qu'après lui. L'adoration de la personne visible de Çâkya n'est nulle part indiquée; car Çâkya tant qu'il vit, n'est toujours qu'un homme, même pour ses disciples les plus fervents; mais celle de son image se montre déjà dans des légends tout-à-fait caractéristiques, et dont l'intention est manifeste."—'Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhism Indien,' p. 340.]

struction of topes in Ceylon; from these we gather that, in the fourth century B.C., Devánanpíyatisso constructed a 'stupa' for the enshrinement of the collar-bone of Sákya, in which the relic-chamber was placed on the summit of the mound.[1]

In the case of Duthagámini's tope of the second century B.C., we are not expressly informed where the relic-receptacle was situated; but in this instance also it would seem to have been located high up in the general mass, as the monarch is stated to have ascended the outside of the 'stupa,' before descending to deposit the relics;[2] but the most interesting passage on the subject of topes in this work, is that which informs us that the practice obtained of enlarging the structures of previous ages by an outer casing,[3] the extent of the enlargement depending on the

[1] ["The monarch (Dewánanpíyatisso: accession 307 B.C.) in his extreme anxiety to embark in the undertaking of constructing the dágoba for the relic (the collar-bone), having engaged a great number of men to manufacture bricks, re-entered the town with his retinue to prepare for the relic festival... The sovereign, pursuing the directions of the théro (encased it in a dágoba), on the summit of which (sacred edifice), having excavated (a receptacle) as deep as the knee, and having proclaimed that in a few days the relic would be enshrined there, he repaired thither" (p. 107). "Having in the first instance completed the (dágoba) Thúpárámo, the king, erected a wiháro there." (p. 109)]

[2] ["The monarch (Dutthagámini, 161 to 137 B.C.) attended by dewos and men, and bearing on his head the casket containing the relics... marched in procession round the thúpo; and then ascending it on the eastern side, he descended into the relic receptacle" (p. 190). "This chief of victors, together with the théro Indagutto and the band of musicians and choristers, entering the relic receptacle, and moving in procession round the pre-eminent throne, deposited the casket on the golden altar... while within the receptacle he made an offering of all the regal ornaments he had on his person. The band of musicians and choristers, the ministers of state, the people in attendance, and the dewatás did the same" (191-2); "... let the priesthood who are acquainted therewith, proceed to close the receptacle."... Uttaró and Surnano closed the relic receptacle with the stone brought by them. The sanctified ministers of religion moreover formed these aspirations:... 'May these cloud-coloured stones (of the receptacle) for ever continue joined, without showing an interstice.' All this came to pass accordingly. This regardful sovereign then issued this order: 'If the people at large are desirous of enshrining relics, let them do so;' and the populace, according to their means, enshrined thousands of relics on the top of the shrine of the principal relics (before the masonry dome was closed). Inclosing all these, the rája completed (the dome of) the thúpo: at this point (on the crown of the dome), he formed on the chétiyo its square capital, (on which the spire was to be based.)" (p. 192)]

[3] [B.C. 587, B.B. 44.—"The théro Sarabhú, the disciple of the théro Sáriputto, at the demise of the supreme Buddho, receiving at his funeral pile the 'giwatthi' (thorax-bone relic) of the vanquisher, attended by his retinue of priests, by his miraculous powers brought and deposited it in that identical dágoba. This inspired personage; causing a dágoba to be erected of cloud-colored stones, twelve cubits high, and enshrining it therein, he departed. The prince Uddhanchulábhayo, the younger brother of king Dewananpiatisso, discovering this marvellous dágoba, constructed

will and means of the later votary. Hence one tope in Ceylon is amplified from twelve to thirty, and eventually to eighty cubits in height; thus illustrating by historical authority a usage which the existing state of some of the Afghánistán buildings had proved to have prevailed.

The next notice of these constructions is gleaned from Plutarch's incidental mention of the honours paid to the Greek king, Menander, after his decease; in that several cities contended for his ashes, over which they were desirous of erecting monuments.[1] It is true that this same tale is told of Sákya Muni, but if he himself only claimed the cremation of a Chakravartti Rájá, there is no reason why, in like manner, the custom of distributive burial, in the enshrinement of separate portions of the entire ashes, introduced in his case, may not have received parallel extension to the funeral rites of the class with whom alone he arrogated equality.

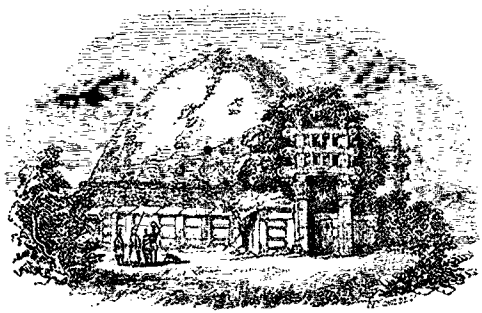
The remainder of our evidence must be drawn from the monuments themelves, and here again I would simplify my argument by premising that I hold that the Great Tope of Manikyála, and many others, which were primarily erected or secondarily made use of for the purposes of sepulture, were subsequently adapted to the new design of enshrinement of sacred relics. This view reconciles the inconsistency apparent in Prinsep's endeavour to associate the double object, but which may be more reasonably explained by the supposition that certain topes were made to serve both ends, but at different times and under altered circumstances.

The Sanchí Topes, like those of Ceylon, seem to have been

(another) encasing it, thirty cubits in height. The king Dutthagámini, while residing there, during his subjugation of the malabars, constructed a dágoba encasing that one, eighty cubits in height. This Mahiyangana dágoba was thus completed." 'Mahawanso,' chap. i., p. 4.]

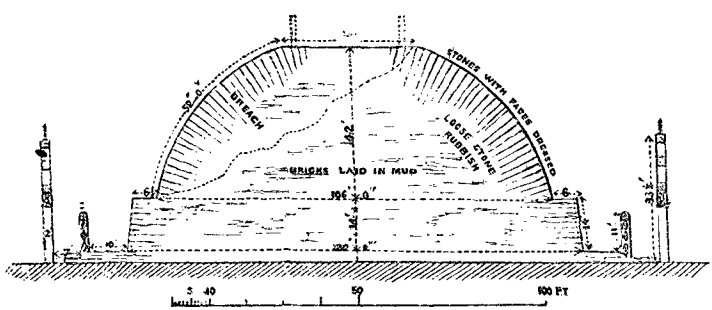
[1] [I omit the original text, and quote merely Bayer's translation: "Menandro cuidam, qui in Bactriis regnum juste moderateque gesserat, deinde in castris defuncto, tum alios exequiarum honores ex communi decreto civitates habuerunt, tum de reliquiis ejus concertarunt, donec vix inter se consenserunt, ut partem cineris illius æqualem pro se unaquæque caperet, istius autem viri apud universas monumenta dedicarentur."—Plutarch, 'Rei-p. gerendæ præceptis.']

employed simply as depositories of objects of religious reverence. The chamber for the reception of these was ordinarily



View of Sanchi Tope, from Fergusson's 'Handbook of Architecture.'

high up in the building, or at all events in such a position as was consistent with access from above.[1]



Section of Sanchi Tope, from Fergusson's 'Handbook of Architecture.'

Mr. Masson in reviewing the results of his experience in the examination of the numerous topes of Afghánistán, after adverting to the various positions occupied by the upper deposits,

[1] [I annex a review of the situation of the deposits in the principal topes compiled from Major Cunningham's work on the subject:—No. 2, Sanchi Topes,—"The bottom of the chamber was exactly seven feet above the terrace or upper surface of the basement, and three-and-a-half feet above the centre of the hemisphere." p. 286. No. 3, Sanchi,—"The position of the relics was on the same level as the terrace outside." p. 297. No. 1, Sonári Topes,—"A shaft was sunk down the centre of this tope, and at a depth of little more than five feet a large slab was reached, which on

concludes, 'We may rest assured that the primary deposit is to be found at the centre of the base of the tope or of its basement.'[1] And this would seem to be the true condition of the great Manikyála structure. I conceive the lower chamber to

being raised disclosed the relic chamber strewn with fragments of stone boxes," p. 331. No. 2, Sonári,—"A shaft was sunk down the centre of the tope, which at seven feet reached the slab forming the lid of the relic chamber," p. 316. No. 1, Satdhára no discovery. Major Cunningham remarks, however,—"My own opinion regarding these large topes is that the relics were always placed near the top so as to be readily accessible for the purpose of showing them to the people on stated festivals. Now, as the great Satdhára tope has certainly lost at least ten feet of its height and probably more, it seemed to me very unlikely that any relics would be found in it," p. 322; see, also, p. 332. No. 2, "At six feet two caskets were discovered, p. 323. No. 7, "At a depth of four feet . . . a large irregular-shaped slab . . . was reached, covering the relic chamber," p. 324. No. 2, Bojpúr,—"A shaft was sunk down the middle, which, at the end of two hours' labour, had reached the relic-chamber at a height of nine-and-three-quarters feet above the terrace," p. 331. No. 4. Bhojpúr,—"Shaft . . reached the relic-chamber at a depth of five-and-a-half feet," p. 333. No. 7,—"A shaft was sunk as usual, down the centre, but at a depth of less than three feet, the edge of the relic-chamber was discovered on the south side of the excavation," p. 334. No. 9,—"The usual shaft was sunk to a depth of nearly seven feet to the relic-chamber," p. 337. No. 1, Andher,—"A shaft was sunk down to the centre of the hemisphere, where we found a chamber . . . . within was a round stone box. . . . Three feet beneath this deposit, and on a level with the terrace, we found a second chamber . . . . containing a red earthenware vessel . . . turned with the mouth downwards. Beneath this was a second vessel of red earthenware . . . containing a black earthenware bowl. . . . Lastly, inside the bowl there was a black earthenware vase . . . . empty," p. 345. No. 2, Andher,—"Relic-chamber found at a depth of three-and-a-half feet from the summit," p. 346.]

[1] ["The relics are generally lodged in the centres of topes, that is, of the superior perpendicular bodies, on the line where they rest on their basements, sometimes at the centre and bottom of the latter, on a level with the soil. They are mostly enclosed within small chambers formed by squares of slate-stone, and frequently are enclosed within internal topes or structures of the same form as the outer mass, only wanting the platform. . . . Very many topes, and even tumuli, have these enclosed structures; they are covered with cement, and their separation from the mass of the monuments is often marked by a line of unburnt bricks, sometimes by stones of a description different to that employed in the mass. . . . From trustworthy evidence, I am inclined to believe that deposits of inferior consideration were originally placed at the very summits of many topes. These, from the decay of the buildings, have become self-exposed, and have been carried away. It is probable that in many of them, from the centre of the apex of the dome to the base of the structure may be continued at intervals deposits of tokens; and that they are placed in other situations, has been proved in the course of our examinations. Still we may rest assured that the primary deposit is to be found at the centre of the base of the tope, or of its basement. In some topes there is a peculiarity of construction observable in the existence of a shaft or chamber at the summits. The purport of these incisions into the masses is not very evident. . . . Their sides were lined by cement; their depth was from six to eight feet," 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 60. Professor Wilson, in his *résumé* of the subject ('Ariana Antiqua,' p. 39), writes as follows:—"The general principle (of the topes of Afghánistán) is the enclosure of a tope within a tope; the larger building being constructed over a smaller—solid as well as the larger—but having a well-defined line of separation: within the smaller edifice is the space or small chamber in which the relics are deposited. The situation of the inner tope is either at the lower part of the building, or where the cylindrical part and basement story meet."

have contained the whole or a portion of the ashes of some monarch, and that the early use of the mound was limited to this object. The subsequent appropriation of its mass for the inhumation of other kings' ashes, or eventually for the devotional purpose of the reception of relics, will not affect this view of its primary employment; nor need the sequent additions even of the seventh century at all unsettle the date of the chief inclosure, which has every appearance of having remained undisturbed. The period to which it should be attributed, though not positively ascertained, may be fairly inferred from the most modern epoch of its contents, as well as approximately from the evidence of the associate tumulus, whose crypt equally seems to have escaped the hand of the spoiler, the eye of the curious, or the intrusion of the Hierarch.[1]

For the present, then, and until we can read and understand the Arian writing, which should illustrate the real history of these monuments, we must be content to refer the dates of the

[1] [The relics of Sákya Muni were early disturbed from their original resting-places, and the history of their travels is instructive on this point; however, it is clear that before long the imagination of the votaries of the creed required to be satisfied by something more exciting than the external worship of the mound covering these sacred deposits; hence, even before our era, we find monarchs admitted to a private view of the inmost contents, though, as thus told in the 'Mahawanso,' the exhibition is of course attributed to miraculous intervention. "Bhátikábhayo (Bhátiko rája, 19 to 9, B.C) . . made offerings to the Mahátthúpo. (During the performance of these ceremonies), he heard the chant of the priesthood hymned in the relic receptacle (within the thúpo); and vowing 'I will not rise till I have witnessed it,' he laid himself down, fasting, on the south-east side (of the dágoba). The théros, causing a passage to develope itself, conducted him to the relic receptacle," (p. 211). In Huen Thsang's time, the practice of the annual exhibition of the relics seems to have been the recognised rule in certain countries. "Dans cette même lune, d'après les usages des royaumes de l'ouest on sort du *Couvent de l'intelligence* (Bôdhivihâra) les *che-li* (*çarîras*) 'reliques' du Bouddha. Les religieux et les laïques des autres royaumes viennent en foule pour les voir et les adorer. Le maître de la loi alla aussitôt avec Ching-kiun (Djayasêna) pour voirles *che-li* osseux de différentes grosseurs. . . . Une multitude innombrable de religieux offrirent des parfums et des fleurs, célébrèrent les reliques et les adorèrent. Après quoi, on les rapporta dans la tour (*Stoûpa*)."—Julien 'Hiouen-Thsang," p. 216. And lastly, I may cite the adits discovered in some of the topes of Afghânistân by Mr. Masson, which, however, may ordinarily have been reserved for the pretended rather than the real exhibition of the tope relics. "In this tope [Gudára] I first met with the novel circumstance of a tunnel running from the centre towards the side; I have since found it in two other instances (No. 4, Chaharbágh, plate vi. and Kohwát in Wardak, p. 118). The object of these is not apparent, yet they must have some meaning. I believe such passages are found in the Pyramids of Egypt, and, what may be more to our purpose, in the Buddhist monuments of Ceylon."]

lower deposits of the two Manikyála topes to some open periods not far removed from the Christian era, and, preferentially, before, rather than after, that epoch. The mixed and discordant numismatic specimens associated in the deposits discovered higher up in the line of the centre of the larger tope,[1] could afford no trustworthy data, unless it were to check the period of the latest exhibition and re-inhumation of whatever composed the leading object of veneration among the contents that were liable to be added to at each inspection.[2]—E. T.]

[1] [I regret that I have been unable to obtain an authentic and exact drawing of the Manikyála tope. The only published representation of this structure is to be found in Elphinstone's 'Caubul,' (London, 1842); but the lithograph is confessed to have been taken "from a drawing made at Poona . . . . . from sketches made by different gentlemen on the day after our visit to Maunicyaula. In such circumstances, minute accuracy cannot be expected; but the general idea conveyed by the drawing is, I think, correct," i. p. 108.]

[2] [I cannot allow these cursory references to the Archæology of Topes to pass from under my hand without placing on record more at large than Prinsep has done at p. 156, the earliest contribution to our modern knowledge of the subject, in an account of the discovery of two urns in the vicinity of Benares, by Jonathan Duncan, [who forwards to the Bengal Asiatic Society at the same time] "a stone and a marble vessel, found the one within the other, in Jan. 1794, by the people employed by Baboo Juggut Sing in digging for stones from the subterraneous materials of some extensive and ancient buildings in the vicinity of a temple called Sarnauth, at the distance of about four miles to the northward of the present city of Benares. In the innermost of these cases (which were discovered after digging to the depth of eighteen *hauts*, or cubits, under the surface, were found a few human bones, that were committed to the Ganges, and some decayed pearls, gold leaves, and other jewels of no value . . . . I am myself inclined [to conclude] that the bones found in these urns must belong to some of the worshippers of Buddha, a set of Indian heretics, who, having no reverence for the Ganges, used to deposit their remains in the earth, instead of committing them to that river; a surmise that seems strongly corroborated by the circumstance of a statute or idol of Buddha having been found in the same place under ground, and on the same occasion with the discovery of the urns in question," *Asiatic Researches*, v., 132; (London Edit. 1790.)—See further remarks, J. Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, x. 131.]

ART. IX.—FURTHER NOTES AND DRAWINGS OF BACTRIAN AND INDO-SCYTHIC COINS.

[On reading over this article preparatory to republication, I have felt some difficulty as to the best method of adapting it to the advanced knowledge exhibited in Prinsep's more recent essays, and equally some reserve in disfiguring it with frequent emendations incident to the progress since achieved by others in this department of palæographic research. At the same time I have been anxious to delay entering on any general review of the subject, till I could concentrate such information as I have to impart under one heading, when following up the thread of my author's latest and most mature revision of the Bactrian alphabet under Art. XXI. I have therefore adopted the compromise of reproducing the paper in its original form, though in reduced type, uncommented upon and uncorrected in its text, except in so far as appeared absolutely necessary for the proper exhibition of the coin legends, which have been reprinted literatim, with the latest accepted readings appended in Roman type and enclosed within the brackets I have throughout employed to mark my own interpolations.[1] An inconvenience, inseparable from this course, however, may be felt from my having to remove the plate of Alphabets, together with the illustrative series of type characters, to their more suitable position in connection with the concluding summary towards the end of this volume.

The publisher of this work—in accordance with my own first impressions on the subject—had designed to illustrate its pages with Bactrian type, corresponding with that originally employed by Prinsep. To this intent, a fount (supposed to be based upon Prinsep's models) was procured from Vienna, but, on examination, was at once seen to be faulty in the forms of its characters, and deficient in most of the requisite simple letters and combinations. To complete the alphabet, and to supply the manifest deficiencies, would have occupied much time, and have led to a greatly enhanced outlay. It became, therefore, a question as to how far any actual necessity existed for the use of these types, and I myself, on re-consideration and more practical and definite understanding of the value of these forms, and the object that existed for their insertion in the text, have come to the conclusion that it will be even better without them. It is true, that, for those who would spell over each medal's legend by its counterpart transcript in the body of the text, some gain might be anticipated from the employment of characters but little modified from the originals; but, on the other hand, it is to be remarked that the complete series of Bactrian coins presents us with many varieties and modifications of one and the same letter, and what might be valuable and an aid in one place, would be detrimental and obstructive in another. Add to this the very limited number of the entire range of titles, which recur in mere mechanical repetition, and the fact that each king's name will have to be considered in detail under its separate orthography, and hence, that both these enquiries might be more effectually and compactly disposed of in one comprehensive note, rather than be left to be developed in comparatively isolated positions, amid the detached comments on particular coins scattered at hazard under the various explanations of the plates in which they are severally figured.

Prinsep's early papers, however meritorous in their first production, and however interesting as a record of his progress, were clearly superseded by his later and more mature investi-

gations; and, necessarily, even those very admirable researches have been improved upon by the writers of mark and extensive learning, who have reviewed his occasional notes during the nineteen years that have elapsed since the last of the suite was put to press. This is especially the case with the Bactrian section of Indian numismatics, which, as I have before remarked, possessed an interest for the classic scholars of the west, which our purely local coins obviously failed to secure. Hence it has been determined to limit the exhibition of Bactrian type in this paper to simple letters or such limited combinations as the due exemplification of orthography may from time to time demand.—E. T.]

Various causes have prevented the continuance of my imperfect notes on the numerous and highly curious coins which have passed under my inspection, since I last ventured my observations on the Kanerkos and Kadphises group, as connected with the Manikyála tope. Want of leisure to attempt the engraving of so many plates, and the desire to profit by a farther collection, of which I had received notice from Shekh Karámat 'Alí, but which has not yet reached me, were among the principal causes of my dilatoriness. Some little deference, however, was also due to many of my subscribers, who complained that I was deluging them with old coins. Having at length found time to engrave the first six plates of my proposed series, in elucidation of the principal new coins of Dr. Gerard's, Karámat 'Alí's, and Gen. Ventura's splendid discoveries, I cannot refrain from putting on record the little I have to say regarding them; the rather as we may soon expect to hear from Paris of the reception Gen. Ventura's collection has met from the *savans* of that city, many of them so eminent in this branch of inquiry: and we are, on the other hand, expecting a fresh memoir from Mr. Masson, which might anticipate some of the discoveries I would fain claim for myself in this fair and highly interesting game of antiquarian research. Little indeed can I claim as my own, save the labour of classifying the coins, as they have come down at successive intervals—two or three hundred from Karámat 'Alí, forwarded through Capt. Wade; then as many more from the late Dr. Gerard, brought down by Mohan Lál, who assisted him in procuring them; and lastly, the rich spoils entrusted by Gen. Ventura to the Chev. Allard for conveyance to Paris. The careful examination of the whole has brought to light the names of several princes unknown to history, and some few not included in the very curious and novel list of Mr. Masson, published in vol. iii. of the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.' It has also enabled me to appropriate to their right owners many of the coins of Lieut. Burnes and other collectors, engraved in former plates: further, it has furnished me a clue to the Bactrian form (if we may so call it) of the Pehlví character, which is found on the reverse of many of these coins; and lastly, it has laid open a perfect link of connection between what we have hitherto called the Indo-Scythic coins, with corrupted Greek inscriptions, and the Hindú coins attributed with reasonable certainty to the Kanauj dynasties immediately anterior to the Muhammadan irruptions of the eleventh century. In a few more years we shall doubtless have the whole series, from the time of Alexander downwards, fully

developed: at present, in these detached notices, we can expect to do no more than hazard fresh conjectures, and wipe out former errors as we advance.

There are but few authors to assist us in our task, and the passages from them have been so often repeated, that it will be unnecessary again to quote them. Neither Bayer's work nor De Sacy's are in our library: but, I have to thank Prof. Wilson for kindly sending me sketches, made by himself, of the Bactrian coins depicted in the former author, and in Sestini and Visconti, several of which I am able to recognise. Of individual friends, who have favoured me with their aid in furnishing specimens and information, I cannot omit mentioning Capt. Wade, Dr. Swiney, and Col. Stacy:[1] the services of the latter numismatologist will be more fully appreciated when we come to talk of Hindú coins. In Bactrian, the field is, of course, less open to collectors on this side the Satlaj; yet not a few very fine coins have been picked up, even within the limits so successfully run over by Col. Tod himself.

The coins of the two first princes of Bactria, by name Theodotus I. and II. are yet unknown; perhaps they never struck money, but were content with the Syrian currency then prevalent.[2] With Euthydemus begins our collection—a purely Grecian coinage, bearing only Greek inscriptions, and, as far as hitherto known, all of silver. The coins of Demetrius are more rare, but equally beautiful with those of his predecessor, and supposed father. Heliocles, the prince introduced on the authority of Visconti, will, I think, turn out to be our Agathocles. With Menander begins the system of native legends on the reverse, which is followed up without intermission throughout the whole series to the barbarous Kadphises. Some only of the coins of Eucratides have a Pehlví legend, as will be hereafter explained.

As the majority of the coins now to be introduced have these native legends on the reverse, it will better enable us to describe them if we begin by explaining what we have been able to make of the alphabet of this native language: which, from its marked difference from other types of the same character, I have ventured to term Bactrian-Pehlví.

Mr. Masson first pointed out, in a note addressed to myself, through the late Dr. Gerard, the Pehlví signs which he had found to stand for the words ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ, ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ, ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, and ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. When a supply of coins came into my own hands, sufficiently legible to pursue the inquiry, I soon verified the accuracy of his observation; found the same signs, with slight variation, constantly to recur; and extended the series of words thus authenticated, to the names of twelve kings, and to six titles or epithets. It immediately struck me that if the genuine Greek names were faithfully expressed in the unknown character, a clue would, through them, be formed to unravel the value of a portion of the alphabet, which might, in its turn, be applied to the translated epithets and titles, and thus lead to a knowledge of the language employed. Incompetent as I felt myself to this investigation, it was too seductive not to lead me to a humble attempt at its solution.

In plate xii. are contained the whole of these corresponding legends, Greek and Pehlví, collated from a very numerous collection, and deemed to be of sufficient authenticity to be assumed as the data of this inquiry. At the risk of being thought tedious, I will proceed to detail, letter by letter, the authority upon which each member of the new alphabet is supported.

[1] Of Indian coins, my list of donors would be considerably swelled; but it would be too like ostentation to enumerate them in this place.

[2] [It will be seen that, since this was written, several coins of Diodotus have been discovered: *ante*, p. 26.]

(1) 𐬀 *a*. No less than four names, viz., Apollodotus, Antimachus, Antilakides, and Azos, commence with the Greek *alpha*, which in all four cases is represented by the Pehlví character 𐬀. To this, therefore, there can be no reasonable hesitation in ascribing the value of the initial *a* or *alif*, although it will be seen presently that there is another *a* more conformable with the ordinary Pehlví. It must be remarked that the present letter only occurs at the beginning of words. [𐬀 = अ *a*.]

(2) 𐬁 *e*. Two names, Ermaios and Eucratides, begin with the *epsilon*, and are found in the Pehlví to have the initial 𐬁; this, on consideration, may be a variation of the initial vowel above given, to endue it with the sound of *e*. Another form of the same letter, 𐬂, occurs in one or two cases, expressing *u*; but the examples of these being too few to inspire certainty, I merely throw out the remark as a conjecture of analogy with the application of the initial *alif* of the Persian. [𐬁 = ए *e*.]

(3) 𐬃 *o*. The next circumstance of note is, that every word, without any exception, ends in the letter 𐬃, sometimes written 𐬃. The latter may perhaps be called the finished or capital character, bearing an analogy to the Devanâgarí letter, which is completed by a stroke on the top, as this is by one below: for we shall find that most of the other letters admit of the same addition. 𐬃, then, I have supposed to represent the terminal ה *h* of the Hebrew; or the short *o-micron* of the Greek, chiefly because I find it upon the later series of coins bearing native words in Greek characters, which I described in my last essay, p. 129; that every word there ended in *o*: and, as I then remarked, M. Burnouf explains that sound, in the Zend, to be the constant representative of the masculine nominative termination of the Sanskrit *as*, or Greek *os*.[1] The letter *o* never occurs in the middle of a word, as far at least as my experience proves. Some resemblance exists between it and the Zend *o*; but no letter in the known Pehlví alphabets can be compared with it. [𐬃 = स *s*.]

(4) 𐬄 or 𐬅 *m*. Of this letter we have three examples; one, initial, in *Menandrou*; two, medial, in *Ermaiou* and *Antimachou*: there can be no doubt therefore of its being equivalent to *m*, although it differs essentially from all the recognised forms of this letter in the Pehlví alphabets of sculptures and coins. It should be remarked, however, that, in the case of *Menandrou*, it is affected with a vowel mark, 𐬄; which, for reasons afterwards to be brought forward, I suppose to be the short *i* or *kasra*. Sometimes a dot is seen under this letter, which may have the power of some other vowel, probably the short *a*. [𐬄 = म *m*.]

(5) 𐬆 *z*, *j*, or *y*. This letter occurs in *Azou*, 𐬃𐬆𐬀, and in *Ermaiou*, 𐬃𐬆𐬄𐬀𐬁: wherein it represents the sound of *z* and of *y*. It is analogous therefore to the Sanskrit य, which is pronounced both as *j* and *y*. The Greek and the Hebrew have only the letter *z* for the former sound. Nothing like this letter is found in the other Pehlví alphabets, in the same position. [𐬆 = य *y*.]

(6) 𐬉 *p*. Of this, two examples are found; one in *Apollodotou*, 𐬃𐬌𐬆𐬌𐬉𐬀; the other in *Philoxenou*, 𐬃𐬌𐬌𐬉𐬉, where it probably stands in lieu of the aspirated *p*. [𐬉 = प *p*.]

(7) 𐬋 *n*. Of this letter we find instances in *Menandrou*, 𐬃𐬋𐬋𐬄 (? Minano), and in the example of *Philoxenou* last cited. There are others less decided, and some uncertainty prevails, through the apparent substitution occasionally of an *l* for an *n*. The Pehlví alphabet of sculptures has nearly the same form of *n*. [𐬋 = ण *n*.]

(8) 𐬌, 𐬍, 𐬎, 𐬏, 𐬐, 𐬑. In the Chaldaic, and its derivative alphabets, so

[1] "Dans les anciens manuscrits Zend, *ô* final représente la syllabe Sancrite *as*; comme en Pâli et en Prácrit, ... l'*ô* long se trouve d'ordinaire à la fin d'un mot." —*Obs. sur la Gramm. de Bopp*, par M. Eug. Burnouf.

much similitude exists between the characters representing *k*, *b*, *d*, and *r*, that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish them. On the earlier and more perfect coins before us, this difficulty is much increased by the circumstance of the dies having been cut by Greek artists, who were in all probability ignorant of the Pehlví tongue, and who therefore must have copied carelessly from imperfect samples furnished by their native underlings. We have, in our own copper coinage, similar and notorious examples of the Nágarí character so badly executed that few even in the present day could certify the letters intended. In the more recent coins, and in proportion as the Greek deteriorates, the Pehlví improves; and our best examples are derived from the coins of the unknown AZOΣ. Guided by these, rather than by the strict analogy of the Chaldaic, I would venture to appropriate ר to *k*; ב and ל to *d*; ן and ∽ to *r*. As far, however, as examples go, ן or ב seems to stand indifferently for the two former, and for *t* likewise! Thus in the two last syllables of *Eucratidou*, we find ירבת . . (. . *tido*?) In the same of *Apollodotou*, we have ברת . . and ברת (. . *dato*?) In *Antilakidou*, (תרת . .) the place of *k* is assumed by a letter different from any hitherto found as such, and more like that which we have on slender grounds set down as an *s*. ת may be the *k* affected by a vowel mark, or with an *r*, as it occurs also in *Eucratidou*. [ת = क *k*.]

It is only conventionally, therefore, that I shall in future reserve

(8) ר for *k* (and perhaps *g*). [ר = त *t*.]

(9) ב or ל for *d* (sometimes misused for *t*?).

(10) ן or ∽ for *r*. [ן = र *r*.]

The same confusion will be perceived in the uppermost of the Naksh-i Rustam inscriptions in Ker Porter's 'Travels,' the most faithful representation of those antiquities which we possess. Many reasons would induce me to suppose this alphabet to be the same as ours, the *k*, *l*, *d*, and *r* are so nearly allied; but the *m* forbids their union.

(11) ן and ר *l*. Here again is a perplexing case: the latter occupies the place of *l*, in *Apollodotou*, *Lysiou*, *Azilisou*, *Antilakidou*: but the former occurs in the word for 'king' ∪ן ן ן ∪ *malakáo*, passim. It might be an *h*, and the latter word ∪ן ן ן ∪ *maharáo*; but of this we shall have to say more anon: at present, I am constrained to preserve both forms under the head of *l*. [ר = ल *l*, ן = ह *h*.]

(12) ϕ *f*. This letter occurs on no coins but those bearing on the reverse the Greek φ; as Kadphises, Pherros, etc. It resembles considerably the common Pehlví form of *p*, and is only seen on the latest groups of coins; but it is common on the inscriptions of the cylinders found in the Topes by Chev. Ventura and M. Court, and has there frequently a foot-stroke, straight or curved, as in the ע above noted. [ע = ग *g*.]

(13) α *p*? Whether this letter, which appears only on the later coins of our series, in connections yet unread, be a mis-shapen variety of the *f*, is hard to say. It is precisely the *p* of the known Pehlví, and if inverted, forms the *m* of the same alphabet.

(14) ך *s*. This letter rests on slight foundation; namely, the penultimate of *Azilisou*. It is, however, very similar to the Arabico-Persic-Pehlví *s* on the Sassanian coins, given in the table of alphabets in Lichtenstein's 'Tentamen Palæographiæ Assyrio-persicæ.' [ף = ष *sh*.]

(15) ע and ע *á*. This letter has so strong a likeness to the Hebrew ע *ain*, that I have been tempted at once to assign it to the sound of broad *a*, without any positive example in any of the Greek names of princes to warrant it. Indeed, the *ain* being unknown in the Greek, it could not naturally express any member of that alphabet in

the names of Greek princes, which may account for its absence there; but in the native words, its use is almost constant, and it frequently precedes ᚹ, forming the diphthong *áo*, so prevalent in Zend words. It is moreover identical in form with the *a* of the sculptured Pehlví inscriptions in Persia. No instance occurs of its beginning a word. [ᛋ = ज *j*.]

Several other letters are met with, for which counterparts in Greek cannot be so easily assigned. Some seem to be mere variations of form; but the knowledge of them will be essential before the writing on the cylinder can be deciphered.

(16) ᛊ seems to terminate words, and may therefore be equivalent to ᚹ. On the coin, pl. xviii., 9, the combination ᛊᚹᛊ occurs, which bears a strong resemblance to the word *malak*, as written in the ordinary form of Pehlví; but if the two languages were exhibited on one coin, the distinction would have been more marked. [ᛊ = ध *dh*.]

(17) ᛋ, in some cases, seems a badly written ᛊ: in others, it takes the place of ᛋ *n*; as in ᚹᛋᛋᛋ *minano*. In some examples it would be best explained as a vowel, as in the first syllable of *Eucratidou* . . . . ᛋᛉ, also found written . . . . ᛋᛉ; and both these forms approach that of the Pehlví vowels *e* and *u*. [ᛊ = द्र ?]

(18) ᛋ. This letter may naturally be supposed to be a variation in writing of ᛋ, which I have imagined to be the letter *k*, or *d*, affected with the vowel-mark *i*; but so many examples may be shewn in which they represent *t* or *ti*, that perhaps both forms should be properly given to that letter. [ᛋ = ति *ti*, and ᛋ = फ *ph*.]

(19) ᚾ. This letter constantly occurs on the *Pherrou* coins, and on them only. It may be the ᛋ inverted; but as the form ᛋ also occurs once on the coins, and very frequently on the cylinders, it can hardly be denied a distinct existence. I have no authority for its value.

(20) ᛊ. This letter is found representing the Greek χ in *Antimachou*; it has a considerable likeness to the *ch* of the common Pehlví. [ᛊ = ख *kh*.]

(21) ᛋ. The curve at the lower end of the second stroke of this letter alone distinguishes it from the ᚹ, or *p*; on the cylinders it generally has the curve: the tail is there extended below the line, and sometimes looped. [पु *pu*.]

(22) ᛋ may be a variation of the supposed *s* ᛋ; or it may be the *k* affected by a vowel-mark: it is a common letter on the cylinders. Sometimes the hook is introduced on the opposite side of the stem, and this form may be a different vowel affection of the ᛋ or *k*. [ᛋ = क *k*.]

(23) ᛋ. This mark, which wears rather the look of an ornament, is found on the coins having Hercules for the reverse, and on them only. I should not have included it among the letters, had it not so closely resembled the Arabico-Persic form of *a*, depicted in Lichtenstein's table. He there states it to belong to the Sassanian coins, but I have not remarked it on any that I have examined, either in books or cabinets. [फि *phi* ?]

(24) ᛊ. This letter may be a variety of ᛋ, or it may be a distinct letter. On the cylinders it has a tall stroke in the centre (ᛋ); taking the appearance of an inverted trident. I should have been inclined to pronounce it *zi* or *ji*, had I not already appropriated ᛋ to this syllabic form. [ᛊ = श *s*.]

I need not say that all the above explanations are open to correction; and I fully expect that, before the end of the year, the learned members of the Asiatic Society of Paris, who have now before their eyes the coins whence most of my data have been derived, with all that I had ventured to guess upon them communicated by letter,

will have developed the whole alphabet with an accuracy not to be attained except through a previous knowledge of the ancient languages of Parthia and Ariana.

The only types of the Pehlví character, which which we can institute a comparison of the above alphabet, are those derived from the imperfectly-deciphered coins of the Sassanian dynasty of Persian monarchs; and the inscriptions on the sculptures at Naksh-i Rustam, Naksh-i Rajab, and the Tâk-i bostân. These are attributed to the same period, on the certain authority of the names of Bâbak, his son Ardashír, and grandson Shápúr, found not only in the Pehlví, but also in the Greek version, which fortunately accompanies some of the inscriptions. The Baron de Sacy, to whose 'Mémoires sur les divers Antiquités de la Perse,' the learned world was indebted for the restoration of these valuable monuments of antiquity, was only able to deal with one form of the Pehlví, namely, that situated below the Greek (see Ker Porter, ii., 552): for the inscriptions are generally trilingual; the version above the Greek being more rude than the other, and having a striking resemblance to the Chaldaic. Ker Porter transcribes one or two portions of the upper inscriptions in Hebrew; and informs us that De Sacy always found this character had the same meaning as the Hebrew, when transcribed letter for letter. This author has given in pl. xv., vol. i. of his 'Travels,' a fine fac-simile in the two languages of the Naksh-i Rustam text, which had not yet been deciphered at the time of the publication of his work. A considerable portion of the members of our alphabet occur precisely in the right hand version of this transcript; such as 𐭩, 𐭫, 𐭭, 𐭮, 𐭯, 𐭰, 𐭱, 𐭲, 𐭴, etc.: but for want of a perfect alphabet, or of a Roman version of the inscription, no comparison can yet be made. The learned Lichtenstein, in his dissertation on the arrow-headed character, has furnished a plate of all the varieties of Pehlví and Zend, as known in his time, from the travels of Niebuhr, etc. By way of exhibiting the analogy which exists between these and our new character, I have carefully set them in comparison, in pl. xi.,[1] taking Lichtenstein's imperfect alphabet of what he designates the Arabico-Persic Zend, as the only available one of this type. The Pehlví inscription alphabet I have taken from Ker Porter's fac-similes; and the Pehlví of coins, from plates of coins in Marsden, Ker Porter, Hyde, etc., and from actual coins; but in most of the latter that I have seen, the letters are so very indistinctly formed, that it is quite impossible to read them; and, indeed, most of the attempts hitherto made have failed to pass the common titles: the names are very obscure. A reflection here forces itself that, if the coins of the Sassanian dynasty were so illegible, we need not be surprised at equal or greater difficulties attending those of the Bactrian princes.

In the sixth column I have inserted, at random, such of the letters on the cylinders, as approach in appearance to the coin types. No reliance, however, must be placed on this allocation, until a reading has been effected of some portion. It is only intended to show that the characters of the cylinders and coins are identical in their nature.

In the last column I have added the Zend alphabet, as restored with so much ability by M. Burnouf. It has a few points of accordance with the Pehlví; but the genius of it follows rather the Sanskrit type; and the constant expression of the

[1] ['Jour. As. Soc. Bengal,' iv., 1835. I have superseded this plate by one more suitable to the present stage of our knowledge of the subject. This engraving, as I have already intimated, will be reserved for the illustration of Art. XXI. The plate numbered xii. is, however, retained to mark its due position in Prinsep's list.]

vowels, long and short, distinguishes it essentially from the alphabets of Semitic origin.[1]

Having thus completed our survey of the characters found on the Bactrian coins, and on the curious inscriptions extracted from the Topes (in which latter, however, we must expect to find such deviations from caligraphy as a written text naturally exhibits), let us now apply our uncertain knowledge, with circumspection, to the various names and titles on the coins themselves, and see how they may be read in Roman characters.

Plate xii. contains them all arranged,—first, according to the full inscriptions; secondly, with the names and titles separated. From what has been said above, I would venture thus to express the names of the Greek sovereigns in Roman letters.

Apollodotou, *Apaladado*; Antilakidou, *Atikalikado*; Antimachou, *Atimacho*; Azou, *Ajo* or *Ayo*; Azilisou, *Ajiliso*; Eucratidou, *Eukratido*; Ermaiou, *Ermayo*; Menandrou, *Minano* or *Midano*; Philoxenou, *Palatino* or *Palakino*; Lysiou, *Lisato*, or *Litato*? Nonou, *Ulalido*? Unadpherrou, *Fareto nanado*?[2]

It must be confessed that many of these are highly unsatisfactory, especially the last three. The name of Kadphises is omitted, as being still more indistinct.

Turning now to the titles and epithets, it does not seem difficult to recognise the same appellation for 'king,' and 'king of kings,' as is read on the sculptured inscriptions at Naksh-i Rustam, and on the Sassanian coins;—*malako* and *malakao-malako* (for *malakán-malaká*). When another epithet is introduced, such as 'the *great* king of kings,' it is found interposed between the words *malakao* and *malako*. The same form of expression exists in the Hebrew, מלכארברבא מלכא דאתור, '*rex maximus rex Assyriæ.*' Every one will remark the close resemblance of this expression with our text; as well as of מלכא מלכאן—the Pehlví title of the Persian sculptures—with שרש שרשן; the terminations only being different, as might be expected in a different dialect. But, if the language of our coins be Zend, the word *melek*, 'king,' should not be expected in it; especially when we afterwards find it replaced by *rao* and *rao nana rao*, on the Kanerkos coins. It was this circumstance that led me to imagine the reading might be *maharáo*; but the combination *maharáo-maharó* is inadmissible, and overthrows the conjecture.

Pass we now to the next title of most common occurrence, זרק, or זרק ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, 'the Saviour.' By our system, this must be rendered either *rakako*, *radako*, or *radado*. Now the first of these three forms is precisely what might be expected to be the Zend reading of the Sanskrit word रक्षक, *rakshaka*, 'saviour,' and that alone is a strong argument in favour of its adoption as the true reading of the term.

The title, ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, first, we are told, assumed by Eucratides, belongs to so many of his successors, that we have no difficulty in finding the exact version of the term in the Pehlví. There are, however, decidedly two readings of it; one, רשרצק, the other רשרצק, with the omission of the duplicated letter in the centre. The obvious rendering of these two expressions would be *kák-káo* and *kákáo*. But I find in M. Burnouf's 'Commentaire,' that the Zend word for 'great' is *maz*, from the Sanskrit *mahá*, to which our term has no resemblance whatever. It has most simi-

[1] [In lieu of complicating the plate with this alphabet, I propose to insert hereafter (Art. XXI.) a type series of the Zend and such other Oriental Alphabets as may be calculated to throw light upon the special question of Bactrian palæography.]

[2] [As these have been, in many instances, rectified by Prinsep himself, I refer the reader to his latest paper on the subject: Art. XXI.]

Inscriptions in Greek and Pehlavi on Bactrian Coins.

1 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ

2 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ

3 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ

4 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ

5 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ

6 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ

7 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ

8 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ

9 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ

10 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ

11 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΛΥΣΙΟΥ

12 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΥΝΔΑΦΕΡΡΟΥ

13 ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ. ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ

14 ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝCΩΤΗΡΜΕΓΑC ΟΟΜΝΚΑΔΦΙCΗC

15 .....ΚΑΔΑΦΕC.....ΧΟΡΑΝΟΥ.....

Titles and Epithets.

16 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ *Maharajasa*

ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ *Mahatasa Maharajasa*

17 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ *Rajatirajasa*

18 ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ *Tradatasa*

19 ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ *Aparajitasa*

20 ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ *Jyadharasa*

Names of Princes

21 ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ

22 ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ

23 ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ

24 ΑΖΟΥ

25 ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ

26 ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ

27 ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ

30 ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ

32 ΣΥ. ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ (ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ)

28 ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ

29 ΛΥΣΙΟΥ

31 ΟΝΩΝΟΥ

33 ΥΝΔΑΦΕΡΡΟΥ

larity to the Tartar appellation *khákán*, common to monarchs of Bactria in later days; and it may not be unreasonable to assume this reading, until one more plausible is discovered. At first I was inclined to read it *ra-rao*, in conjuction with the preceding word *mahardo*, on the strength of the expression before alluded to, of *rao nano rao*, on the Kanerkos coins; but in no example have I found the first letter 𐨪 replaced by 𐨫. The collocation of the letters is, again, exactly similar to those of the Hebrew רברבא *rabreba*, 'maximus'; but for this reading we must suppose 𐨁 to be a *b*, which is contradicted by all other examples.

For ANIKHTOY, 'the unconquered,' we find the terms *apatilo*, and *apatilako*, and for NIKHΦOPOY, 'the conquest-bearing,' *ajalako* or *ajalado*: of neither of these can I attempt a solution, and the examples being few, we cannot be very certain of their correctness.

The inscription cut on the silver disc found in the casket of the Manikyála Tope, [vi.] (fig. 26,) may be read 𐨟𐨪𐨗𐨪𐨟 𐨟𐨫𐨩𐨫, *famaro kanadako*; the second word, without any very great straining, might be conceived to be the native mode of writing *Kanerko*; and if this interpretation be allowed, we may indeed look upon this tope as the monument of that monarch.

The writing on the brass cylinder itself (fig. 20 *b* of the same plate), which was, from my ignorance, inverted in the engraving, seems to consist of Bactro-Pehlví characters, which, rendered in Roman letters, would be *kad . . malapo, far kamana papako*, the purport of which I must leave uninterpreted: nor will I endeavour to forestal the ingenuity of others by any crude attempt to convert into Roman letters the longer inscriptions given by Mr. Masson, from the Jalálábád cylinder [vi.], and by M. Court, from the stone slab of another Manikyála tope (Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vol. iii., pl. xxxiii.) I have already remarked that this latter inscription contains, very legibly, in the second line, the word *malakáo*, identical with the royal designation so common upon the coins.

It is now time to turn our attention to the coins themselves, whence our data for the construction of the Bactro-Pehlví alphabet have been derived. Of these I need do little more than furnish a few notes of reference to the accompanying six plates, in which I have brought down the series of selected specimens from Euthydemus to Kadaphes Choranos, a name so nearly allied to Kadphises, that the latter may be looked upon as its patronymic; while the title that follows it (*choranos*) coincides so closely with what has been already described as existing on the *rao nano rao* group (p. 131), that it would seem to form the link of connection between them and the coins which bear Pehlví legends on the reverse.

COINS WITH GREEK INSCRIPTIONS ONLY.

With Euthydemus of Magnesia, who conquered Theodotus II., B.C. 220, commences our present series: of his coinage I now possess a medal in silver, procured by Mohan Lál, for Dr. Gerard, near Kábul. It is superior in execution to the fine coin taken home by Lieut. Burnes. The exterior surface is of a dark-grey, like that of chloride of silver.

EUTHYDEMUS.

(pl. xiii.)

Fig. 1. Silver tetradrachma, weight 240 grs.

OBVERSE.—Head of the king in high relief.

REVERSE.—Hercules with his club, seated on clouds; inscription, BAΣIΛEΩΣ ETΘYΔHMOY.

Fig. 2. A hemidrachma of Demetrius, silver, in the Ventura collection; a very beautiful coin, similar to one depicted in Sestini.

OBVERSE.—Head of the king, with helmet shaped like an elephant's skin and tusks.

REVERSE.—Hercules standing: inscription, BAΣIΛEΩΣ ΔHMHTPIOY.

AGATHOCLES.

Fig. 3. A silver coin of Agathocles, in the Ventura collection.

OBVERSE.—A well executed head, with the royal fillet: short curly hair.

REVERSE.—Jupiter standing, holding a small female figure, having apparently a flambeau in either hand: on the sides, BAΣIΛEΩΣ AΓAΘOKΛEOYΣ, with a peculiar monogram.

The general appearance of the head, and of the figure on the reverse, resemble the unique coin of Heliocles which Mr. Wilson has sketched for me from Visconti's work. Should there have been any indistinctness in the first two letters of the name of that coin, we may find reason to erase Heliocles from the Bactrian monarchy, and to substitute Agathocles, of whom Mr. Masson has already made known to us ten very peculiar copper coins, (Jour. As. Soc. Beng., iii., pl. ix. fig. 17.) The inscription in Pehlví (?) on the reverse of those coins proves that they belong to a Bactrian prince, and are not to be ascribed to Alexander's general of the same name, who is nowhere asserted to have assumed the regal power. The name is common enough. It was in revenge for a grievous insult offered to his family by one Agathocles, prefect of the provinces beyond the Euphrates, under Antiochus Theos, (B. C. 250,) that the Scythian Arsaces was roused to establish independent dominion in Parthia. The same party may have followed the example of assuming the title of king in some province of Bactria. That the coin does not belong to Agathocles of Syracuse I can now assert with confidence, having before me the most beautiful plates of the coins of that sovereign, (whose name is always written in the Doric genitive *Agathocleos*, or *Agathocleios*) in the '*Trésor de Numismatique*,' now under publication at Paris.

MAYUS.

FIG. 4. One of two copper coins of Mayus, (or, ? Nayus) in the Ventura collection.

OBVERSE.—Head of an elephant, with proboscis elevated; a bell hanging round the neck.

REVERSE.—The Caduceus of Mercury, on the sides of which the words, BAΣIΛE-ΩΣ MAΓOY, and a monogram composed of the letters M and I.

This is an entirely new name, nor can it be read as a Greek word in its present shape, although the characters are perfectly distinct on the coin, and the style of engraving corresponds with the early and pure Greek types. There is no Pehlví inscription. Could the third letter be read as a *gamma*, the name MAΓOY might denote the union of the office of chief priest of the Magi with that of king, and the elephant's head, found on the coins of Menander and of Demetrius, might enable us to appropriate the present medal to one or the other of these princes.

EUCRATIDES.

Figs. 5 to 10. Coins of Eucratides the Great.

Fig. 5. A silver tetradrachma, badly executed. (Ventura.)

OBVERSE.—Head of the king, helmeted.

REVERSE.—Two Bactrian horsemen, (or Castor and Pollux,) with wings on their shoulders, and lances; the two first letters of the legend corrupt, PVΣIΛEΩΣ MEΓAΛOY EYKPATΔOY; monogram, M.

Fig. 6. A beautiful didrachma, of the same prince. (Ventura.)

OBVERSE.—A neat head, without helmet; hair bound with fillet.

REVERSE.—Two horsemen; inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

Fig. 7. A very well preserved copper coin of the same prince, presented to me by Capt. Wade.

Figs. 8, 9, and 10.—Three copper square coins of the same prince, upon the reverse of which is seen, for the first time, the introduction of a Pehlví legend. Several of the same coins are depicted in Mr. Masson's paper; they all agree in having the inscription on three sides only of the square; the plates will shew the variation to which the letters of the name are liable; in Roman characters they may be rendered *malakao kákáo eukratido*. [Máhárajasa Eukratidasa.[1]]

The history of Eucratides is too well known to require repetition here.[2] Bayer fixes his ascent to the Bactrian throne in the year 181 B. C. He was a contemporary of Mithridates I. of Parthia, who assisted him in repelling Demetrius, king of India, as he is termed, beyond the frontier, and finally driving him from his throne at the advanced age of seventy-eight years. On the division of the conquered empire, Mithridates had the provinces between the Hydaspes and Indus asigned to him; and Eucratides, all the remainder, east and south, of his Indian possessions.—'all India' is the term used, but it is uncertain to what limit southward this expression should apply.

It has not yet been remarked by those who are curious in reconciling the names of Indian legend and Grecian history, that the names Eucratides and Vikramáditya bear a close resemblance both in sound and in signification: while the epoch and the scene of their martial exploits are nearly identical. The Hindú accounts of Vikramáditya are not to be found in the regular Paurânic histories, but only in separate legends, such as the 'Vikrama-Charitra' and others, mentioned by Wilford, (As. Res. ix. 117,) all teeming with confusion, contradictions, and absurdities in an unusual degree. The genealogical tables of the solar and lunar lines contain no such name, neither does it occur among the few notices of embassies to and from India to Syria and Rome, in the authors of the west.[3] Eucratides' empire was so extended and matured that he assumed the title of *βασιλευς μεγαλος*: thus the peaceful coin, fig. 6, was doubtless struck before his expeditions; those with the armed head, and the addition of 'the Great,' after his return: and it is remarkable that the latter only have a Pehlví legend on the reverse, being intended for circulation perhaps in his more southern provinces, or imitating in this respect the coins of Menander, whose reign in India had been so glorious. If the date assigned by Bayer (146 B.C.) to Eucratides' death, be thought too far removed from the commencement of the Samvat era of Vikramáditya (56 B.C.) it may be argued that, as Eucratides is acknowledged to be the last but one of the regular Bactrian kings, all the new names recently discovered, Agathocles, Mayus, Philoxenus, Antimachus, etc.—must find their places before him in the list, which may easily bring down his date even a century.

The analogy between the Bactrian and the Indian heroes is, it must be confessed, of very slender texture, just enough to be hazarded as a mere speculation, which more skilful antiquarians may indulge their ingenuity in improving or condemning.

[1] [The insertion of the second title in the Pehlví legend seems to be erroneous.]

[2] See 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. ii., 409, and Maurice's 'Modern Hindostan,' i., 98.

[3] The embassy of 'Porus' to Augustus must have been immediately after Vikramáditya. It is stated that his letters were written in the Greek character. The Scythians were then pressing the country.

KODUS.

Figs. 11, 12, 13. Three small silver coins, inserted in this plate, because their inscriptions are entirely Greek, though they have no other pretension to be counted with Bactrian coins. The appearance of the head-dress in the third is rather Arsacidan, but the names and titles are altogether novel and curious. I have selected the three most legible among several coins in my possession. The first two are of Mohan Lál's, the third of Karámat 'Alí's, collection. The name of ΚΩΔΟΣ is altogether unknown.

The heads on the obverse of all these coins seem to belong to different persons; the standing warrior on the reverse is alike in all, and the inscription on the two first ΚΩΔΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡ . . . . . ΡΑΗΘΡΟΥ. On the third coin, the titles differ, and are illegible, but the name ΚΩΔ. . . . is the same.

MENANDER.

(pl. xiv.)

Although Menander is well-known to have preceded Eucratides in date, I have preferred separating his coins from the genuine Bactrian group, and classifying them with those of Apollodotus, Antilakides, etc., as a distinct series, on account of the essential difference in their style of execution. Their native legends, also, seem to denote a different locality. Menander, before he came to the throne of Bactria proper, had, it is supposed, formed an independent dominion in the more southern provinces on the Indus. This may be the reason of the deviation from the Syrian type of coin, so remarkably preserved by the earlier sovereigns of Bactria.

Figs. 1, 2, 3. One silver and two copper coins of Menander.

Fig. 1. A silver hemidrachma, weighing 37 grains, (one from Karámat 'Alí; a duplicate from Gerard,) differing from those depicted in Masson's plates, and from Swiney's coin described in the 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.' vol. ii., p. 406. [p. 46.]

OBVERSE.—Head facing the left: on the margin, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ: a kind of sceptre, or crook, lying on the shoulder.

REVERSE.—Minerva with Jupiter's thunderbolt, facing the right; Pehlví legend, *malakáo rakako minano*, and monogram (see 'Jour. As. Soc. Bengal,' vol. iii. p. 164.) [Máhárajasa Tradatasa Menadrasa.]

Fig. 2 has already been drawn and described by Masson, vol. ii.

Fig. 3 differs from Masson's fig. 1, in the figure of the Victory on the reverse. (Karámat 'Alí.)

APOLLODOTUS.

Figs. 4, 5. Two silver coins of Apollodotus, both in the Ventura cabinet; of the first the number is considerable; the latter is new, and of very beautiful execution.

Fig. 4 has already been described from Swiney's coin in 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.' vol. ii., p. 406. The legend on the obverse is here quite distinct ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ. The Pehlví inscription on the reverse, however, has no addition for the words *καὶ φιλοπατορος*, being simply [Máhárajasa Tradatasa Apaladátasa.]

Fig. 5 has on the obverse, the Indian elephant, with a monogram, and the usual title; and on the reverse, a Bráhmaní bull, with the same Pehlví legend.

Fig. 6 is a copper coin in Swiney's collection, the precise fellow to that described by Tod, in the 'Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.'

Figs. 7 and 8 are two from among several square copper coins brought down by Mohan Lál. They are nearly the same as the coin in Burnes' collection ('Jour. As. Soc. Bengal,' vol. ii. pl. xi. [ii.] fig. 7,) which, I then supposed to be a Menander, but which I am now able to recognise by its Pehlví legend. The examples on these coins, are decisive of the orthography of *rakako* = ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.

ANTILAKIDES.

Figs. 9, 10, 11, are three selected quadrangular coins of Antilakides, from six in the Ventura collection. The name was first made known by Masson, who supposes,

from the beards (which are not however so clear on the specimens before us), that this prince and the next, ΛΥΣΙΟΣ, belong to a separate dynasty. He detects the conical emblem of the reverse on one coin of Eucratides. I have not, however, found any of the sort. One description will serve for all.

OBVERSE.—Head of the sovereign, with the legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ.

REVERSE.—Two plumes waving over two conical caps, (or ? bee-hives). Monogram below, ⅄Σ, and Pehlví inscription, *malakáo ajalado atilikado*, (or ? *atikalikado* [Máhárajasa jayádharasa Antiálikiḍasa.]

LYSIUS.

Fig. 12. A copper quadrangular coin of Lysius, similar to two in Masson's series of Ausius: the first letter is clearly an *t* in Greek, and this reading is confirmed by the Pehlví 𐬀. The monograms are the same as the last coin.

OBVERSE.—Head of the king, with the legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΛΥΣΙΟΥ.

REVERSE.—An elephant, with a monogram ⅄Σ, and the Pehlví inscription, *malakáo . . . . . lisato.* [Máhárajasa Apaḍihatasa Lisikasa *or* ása ?]

(pl. xv.)

I have designed in this plate, from the Ventura collection, several very interesting coins, of new names and features, for which no locality can as yet be assigned. As almost all of them bear Pehlví inscriptions, they are evidently Bactrian; but to admit them into the regular series of that dynasty, would greatly extend the catalogue of its princes. They rather bear out the fact of there having been several petty independent dynasties, like that at Nysa, for which Masson endeavours to set apart some of the coins to be presently mentioned.

Fig. 1. A fine silver coin of Philoxenus, in the Ventura collection. This name was borne by one of Alexander's generals, to whom Cilicia, west of the Euphrates, was assigned, in the division of his conquests. The coin, therefore, cannot belong to him, though his title of 'unconquered' would argue his power and warlike propensity.

OBVERSE.—Head of the prince, in a helmet similar to that of Eucratides: legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ.

REVERSE.—The prince on horseback; monogram formed of two Λ's: legend in Pehlví, [Máhárajasa Apaḍihatasa Pilasinasa.]

Fig. 2. A square copper coin of the same prince, nearly allied to those of the last plate.

OBVERSE.—A female figure holding the cornucopia. Greek legend, and monogram as before.

REVERSE.—The Bráhmaní bull, with the same Pehlví legend, and the letter ך as a monogram.

ANTIMACHUS.

Fig. 3. A small silver coin of Antimachus, also a new prince. The character of the horseman connects it with the preceding; the portrait of the prince is wanting, nor can I find any record of his name preserved.

OBVERSE.—Victory or Fame: legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.

REVERSE.—Horseman, and Pehlví inscription. [Máhárajasa Jayádharása Antimákhasa.]

Fig. 4. A copper coin recognised to belong to Antimachus, from the Pehlví name. (Ventura.)

NONUS.

Fig. 5. A silver coin of Nonus, in the same style as the last, and without portrait. (Ventura.)

OBVERSE.—Horseman, with couched lance; scarf round the neck, part of the legend visible, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . . . . ΝΩΝΟΥ. [ΟΝΩΝΟΥ.]

REVERSE.—Soldier holding a spear; name in Pehlví, [Spalharasa.]

Fig 10. A square copper coin of the same prince, in which his title of μεγαλου is apparent. The style of the copper coinage, compared with the silver, in all the above, connects them with the Menander and Apollodotus group. [This is also a coin of Vonones and Spalhares. OBV. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ. REV. . . . Dhamikasa Spalhárasa.]

UNCERTAIN NAMES.

Fig. 6. The same as Masson's No. 44. The name is not visible in the Greek, and if restored from the Pehlví, which is quite distinct, it is unintelligible, Ulitizou: the titles are of a paramount sovereign: the Greek letters corrupted.

OBVERSE.—The king holding a sceptre, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. [ΠΑΛΙΡΙΣΟΥ.]

REVERSE.—Jupiter seated in his chair. [Máhárajasa Mahatakasa Spalirisasa.]

Figs. 7, 8. The grandiloquent titles in these are the same as the last, and both, perhaps, on that account, should be classed with the Azos series, in the next two plates, which has invariably the title 'great king of kings.'[1]

Fig. 9. This square copper coin has the precise style of Nonus and the Azilisos device.

OBVERSE.—A horseman with couched lance: letters visible of the legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΡΟΥ? [ΣΠΑΛΥΡΙΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.]

REVERSE.—A seated figure, probably Hercules. Pehlví legend, though sharply cut, not unintelligible. [Spalhára putrása Dhamiasa Spalaganamasa.]

Fig. 11. The title, 'king of kings' is also visible on this coin, with the emblem of an elephant on the obverse. The king, seated on a couch, is placed on the reverse. No native legend is traceable. [Major Cunningham has a coin of this type with the legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ. REVERSE: *Rajadiráj Mahatasa Máyasa.*]

Figs. 12, 13, 14, belong to a series of coins *sui generis*: the two first are of the Ventura collection, the third from Masson's plates. The head fills the obverse, while the title, in corrupt Greek, surrounds a well executed horse on the reverse. It is probable that all the 'horse' coins belong to one locality: Bactria was famous for its fine breed of this noble animal; but he is generally represented mounted by a warrior. This coin, and No. 8, are the only ones on which he appears naked. The extended arm of the prince on the obverse is a point of agreement with the common coin, fig. 25 of pl. xvii.

Azos.

(pl. xvi., xvii.)

We now come to a series of coins exceedingly numerous, and of various device, bearing the name of a prince altogether unknown to history. It was from a coin presented by Mohan Lál, (Gerard's *compagnon-de-voyage,*) to Dr. Grant, that I first recognised the name of this sovereign, many of whose coins had passed through my hands before in Burnes' collection, and in Masson's plates, without presenting a legend sufficiently distinct to be decyphered. Gen. Ventura's collection also possessed many very distinct coins of Azos, and his name, either in Greek or in Pehlví, was then traced through a series of coins that had been given to other monarchs.

The title of Azos is always ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ: in Pehlví, *malakdo kakkdo maldko ajo,* or *ayo.* [Máhárajasa Rajarajasa *or* Rajadhirajasa Mahatasa Ayasa.] The name is generally set upright under the device both in Greek and Pehlvi; but an occasional exception occurs, as in fig. 12, where it runs

[1] [No. 7. is proved, by a more perfect coin in Major Cunningham's unpublished plate x. fig. 14, to belong to Mayus. The same authority confirms the attribution of No. 8 to Azos, pl. xii. 12.]

continuously with the rest of the marginal legend. None of the coins of Azos bear his head, nor in general have they his effigy, unless the seated figure in figs. 12 and 13 represent him, as is probably the case, seated on a cushioned throne, with a sceptre on his lap. The mode of sitting, it should be remarked, is entirely oriental, and the animals depicted are such as belong peculiarly to the East—the elephant, the Bráhmaní bull, the lion, and the Bactrian camel. The cyphers or symbols on the reverse of these coins seem evidently compounded of Pehlví letters, on the same principle as those of the more genuine Greek coins, from Greek letters; they may probably denote dates, but it will require much labour to establish this point, and the same symbol appearing on coins of very different devices, as on figs. 2 and 11, rather militates against the supposition.

It is a peculiarity of the coinage of this period, that the pieces were of a very debased metal, washed over with silver somewhat in the manner of the coins of the Roman emperor, Gallienus, and his successors, and denominated 'billion' by numismatologists. Is it possible that the scarcity of silver to which the origin of this species of coin has been attributed in the West, had extended even to India? if so, it will fix the date to the latter half of the third century. At any rate, it is fair to suppose that the system was copied from the Roman coins, to which many other circumstances of imitation may be traced; among these, the soldier trampling on his vanquished foe in fig. 14; and the radiated heat of fig. 26, the coin without a name, which is connected with the rest of the series by the equestrian reverse, seems an imitation of the radiated crown of the Roman emperors of the same period.

Plate xvi. figs. 1, 2, 3. Three coins of Azos, having, on the obverse, a Bráhmaní bull, and on the reverse, a panther or lion. The monograms on all three differ: legends in Greek and Pehlví as above described.

Figs. 4, 5. On these the bull is placed with the Pehlví on the reverse, while a well-formed elephant occupies the place of honour on the obverse.

Figs. 6, 7, 8. In these the place of the elephant is taken by a Bactrian camel of two humps. No name is visible on any, but the Pehlví word is plain on No. 8, and their general appearance allows us to class them with the foregoing coins of Azos.

Fig. 9. Here a horseman, with couched spear, in a square or frame, occupies the obverse, and the bull again the reverse: the word *Azou* is distinct on both sides. The device and attitude of the horseman will be seen to link this series with the coins of Nonos, Azilios, and others, that are as yet nameless.

Figs. 10, 11. A figure seated on a chair, holding a cornucopia, marks the obverse of this variety; while on the reverse, we perceive a Hercules or Mercury. It was from fig. 11, (a coin presented by Mohan Lál to Dr. Grant,) that I first discovered the name AZOY, afterwards traceable on so many others.

Figs. 12, 13. The obverse of this variety affords important information in the attitude of the seated prince. It plainly proves him to be oriental.

The scarf on the erect figure of the reverse is also peculiar. This coin accords with one depicted in the Manikyála plate, vol. iii. pl. xxvi. [viii.] fig. 2.

Plate xvii., fig. 14 is one of six coins in the Ventura cabinet of the same type. The soldier trampling on a prostrate foe betokens some victory. The female figure on the reverse, enveloped in flowers, seemed to point to some mythological metamorphosis. The name and titles are distinct.

Figs. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, are all closely allied, while they serve to explain figs. 11, 12, and 15, in the plate of Burnes' coins, ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' ii., p. 314,) and figs. 30, 31, 32, 33, 45, of Masson's fourth series, (vol. iii. pl. x.) They are for the most part of copper, plated, or billion, and, in consequence, well preserved; the single Pehlví letters 𐭩, 𐭫, and 𐭯 may be observed as monograms, besides the usual compounds. On 21 and 22 are the first indications of a fire-altar.

Fig. 22. This copper coin is the last on which the name 'Azos' occurs, and although quite distinct in the Pehlví, it is corrupt and illegible in the Greek. The device is similar to the preceding, with the exception of a curious circular monogram,

which will be found also on the coins of Kadaphes hereafter. Masson's fig. 47, is the same coin.

Fig. 23, A very deeply-cut coin, commences a new series, in which the form of the Greek letters is materially changed. The legend is now BACIΛEVC BACIΛEWN, CWTHP MEГAC, without the insertion of any name;[1] and the monogram is the one frequently described as the 'key' symbol, or the trident with a ring below it.

In Pehlví, the first portion corresponds with the Greek; the conclusion is, unfortunately, not visible. The letter ʼn appears on the field of the reverse, which bears the portrait of a priest, extending his hand over a small fire-altar.

Figs. 24 and 25 may be safely called varieties of the above, still retaining the Pehlví on the reverse. A counterpart of fig. 24 will be found in fig. 15 of Burnes' collection.

Fig. 26. This is by far the most common coin discovered in the Panjáb and Afghánistán. Bags-full have been sent down in excellent preservation, and yet nothing can be elicited from them. The present specimen is engraved from a coin in Col. Stacy's cabinet, found in Málwá; but the same coin has been engraved in the 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xvii.; in Burnes' collection, fig. 13; also, 10 of pl. xiv., in the same volume: and in Masson's series, 26, 27, 28. It was the first coin found in India on which Greek characters were discovered or noticed. The 'trident' monogram connects it with the foregoing series; but it is impossible to say to whom they both belong. I have placed them next to Azos, from the similarity of the horseman. They are all copper coins, of high relief, and generally in good preservation.

AZILISUS.

Figs. 27, 28. Were it not that the name of these two coins is distinctly AZIΛIΣOY in the Greek, and [Ayilishasa] in the Pehlví, they might have been classed in the preceding group, especially with fig. 9. The bull of fig. 28 is surmounted by two monograms, like those of the Lysius coins. It is so far singular, that while the name of the prince Azilisus seems compounded of the two names Azos and Lysius, the obverse and reverse of his coins should be counterparts of theirs. The name itself is quite new, and we can only venture to assign his position in proximity to his prototype, Azos.

HERMÆUS.

(pl. xviii.)

Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4. One silver and three copper coins of Hermæus, selected from a considerable number, in order to develop the whole circle of marginal inscription, seldom complete on a single specimen. The description of one will serve for all, since, contrary to usage, the impression on the silver and copper is precisely alike.

Fig. 1. A silver coin in the Gerard collection.

OBVERSE.—The king's head with simple diadem; legend, in corrupted Greek, BAΣIΛEΩΣ ΣΩTHP□Σ EГMAI□V.

REVERSE.—Jupiter seated; his right hand extended. Pehlví legend, *malakáo rakako Ermayo.* [Máhárajasa Tradatasa Hermayasa.]

Masson supposes Hermæus I. to have reigned at Nysa (*hod.* Jalálábád,) because one of the topes opened in that neighbourhood contained several of his coins; they have, however, been found in equal abundance in the Panjáb, and it will be safer in the present paucity of our knowledge to adhere to the general term 'Bactrian,' without attempting to subdivide the Greek dominion into the separate states of which it probably consisted throughout the whole period of their rule.

UNADPHERRUS.

Figs. 5, 6, 7, 8. Four coins of the prince made known to us by Masson under the name of 'Unadpherrus.' They are numerous, of rude fabric, and more clear on the Pehlví than the Greek side. The device on all is the same, namely:

[1] Masson attributed this series to a prince whom he named 'Soterecagas.'

OBVERSE.—A bearded head with diadem: inscription, as made out from the combined specimens, ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC CШΤΗΡΟΣ VNA□ΨΕΓΓ□V: in some, the titles are in the nominative case.

REVERSE.—A winged figure of Victory, holding out a chaplet or bow: Pehlví inscription, [Máhárajasa Godopharasa (here Godaphanisa ?) Tradatasa.] which may be rendered, in roman characters, *malakáo fareto nanado*; or the last word may be for *σωτηρος*. If φ be *p* and ∽ *h*, we might convert the word, letter for letter, into *phero*; making ϝ an *r*. The first half of the name (VNA□ or VNAΔ) seems to be omitted in the Pehlví, unless *nanado* be intended for it; but then the title 'Saviour' will be wanting.

The only recorded name that at all approaches to this barbarous appellation is Phraotes or Phrahates, whom Philostratus asserts to have reigned at Taxiles, south of the Indus, about the commencement of the Christian era. He was visited by Apollonius Tyanæus in his travels, who conversed with him in the Greek language. The execution of the coins before us does not well agree with the magnificence and elegance of Phraotes' court, as described by Philostratus: 'the residence of dignified virtue and sublime philosophy;'[1] but much allowance may be made for exaggeration. The Bactrian sway was already broken, and the country in a disturbed state. 'Whether Parthian or Indian, Phraotes was tributary to the Southern Scythians, whom he gladly subsidized to defend him against the more savage Huns, who finally drove before them the Scythians, who had seized upon the Bactrian kingdom.'[2] Apollonius describes a magnificent temple of the Sun at Taxiles. The fact, frequently mentioned in history, of the native princes of India conversing and writing in Greek, is satisfactorily confirmed by the discovery of the present coins bearing Greek legends with names evidently native.

Figs. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. This very numerous group of copper coins is attributed by Masson to Ermæus the Second, the first three letters of whose name certainly appear on some few specimens (as fig. 10); but his name is not to be found on the reverse in the Pehlví, which is totally distinct from the preceding coins, and yet it is the same on all the specimens I have compared; although great variety exists in the Greek legends, as if they had been copied at random from other coins. The device of all is the same.

OBVERSE.—A head with curly hair, no beard; in general, miserably engraved.

For marginal inscription, fig 9 has . . . . ΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡ□Σ . . . ΣΥΛ□.

Fig. 10, ΒΑΣΙΛΕ . . ΕΓΜ . . .

Fig. 11: . . . ΝΟ ΚΑΔΦΙCΗC: and fig. 12, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . . . . .Ε□Υ.

REVERSE.—A spirited figure of Hercules, standing with his club, and lion-skin cloak. Pehlví inscription, as well as it can be made out from a careful examination of a great many specimens. [Dhamaphidasa KujulaKasasa Kushanyatugasa.]

This text differs so entirely from all we have hitherto seen, that I cannot attempt to decypher it, nor even to distinguish the titles from the name. I have merely placed ∪ at the head, from a faint trace of the initial word *malakáo*, between the letters of which, other characters appear to be introduced. The decided trace of Kadphises' name on several coins of the type, inclines me to place it at the lowest station in the present series, as a link with the series, already fully described, of that Indo-Scythic sovereign: and it will be remarked that the letter or symbol ⁂ is visible on the bull and rájá coins of this prince also; indeed their whole Pehlví inscription much resembles, if it does not coincide entirely, with the present examples.

KADAPHES.

Figs 14, 15, 16. If anything were wanting, however, to connect the two lines,

[1] Maurice's '*Modern Hindostan*,' i., 152. [2] *Ibid*, i., 142.

these coins would supply the gap. One of them was presented by Lieut. Burnes to the Society, and was mistaken for the horseman coin previously described. The name was more fully made out from six coins of Ventura's and three of Karámat 'Alí's collections. The monogram agrees with one of the Azos series, fig. 22, as before remarked.

OBVERSE.—A neatly engraved head with diadem and legend .'. . . , ΚΑΔΑΦΕΣ ΧΟΡΑΝΟΥ.

REVERSE.—Jupiter seated, left hand extended; the 'wheel' monogram, and legend, in nearly the same characters as that of the preceding coins. [Khushanasa-Yánása Kuyála-Kaphasasa sachha dhani phidasa.]

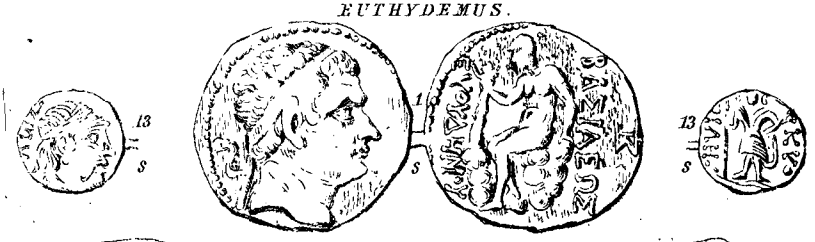
This coin will form an appropriate conclusion to my present notice, which, I believe, has embraced all the specimens properly attributable to the Bactrian group. The fire-altar on the next or Indo-Scythic coinage, forms a convenient mark of distinction, as well as the disuse of the Pehlví character, which extends no further than to the first coinage of the series, namely, that of Kadphises, with the 'bull' reverse; and is quite illegible there, while the Greek is comparatively distinct. This group has, however, been sufficiently described in my former papers.

(Before closing my present notice, I must use my privilege of amending the theory I advanced upon one of the coins from the Manikyála tope (vol. iii., pl. xxv., [vii.] fig. 6, p. 441), a Sassanian coin bearing the distinct Sanskrit name of *Srí Vásu Deva*. This being the patronymic of Krishna, I supposed the figure to represent that god, as the Indian substitute for Mithra or ΗΛΙΟΣ. The face, however, was that of an aged human being, and I think it may be more rationally accounted for as such, on the following grounds.

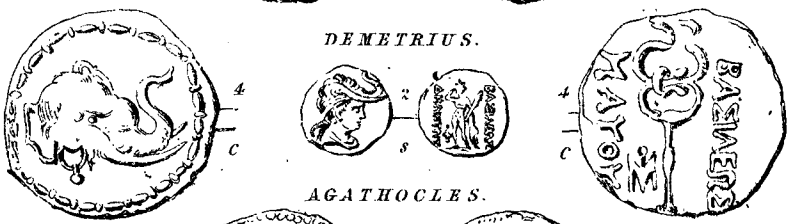
Ferishta asserts that Básdeo had assumed the throne of Kanauj in the year 330, A.D.; that Bahrám, the Persian king, was at his court in disguise, and was recognised by the nobleman who had taken tribute to Persia from the Indian king. Básdeo reigned eighty years, and one of his daughters was married to Bahrám. Now, under these circumstances, it is natural to suppose that the Sassanian monarch, out of compliment, may have affixed his father-in-law's portrait and name on some of his own coins; and the strongest evidence is thus afforded both of the historical fact, and of the date of this individual coin of the Manikyála set.)

Bactrian Coins.

EUTHYDEMUS.



DEMETRIUS.



AGATHOCLES.

EUCRATIDES.

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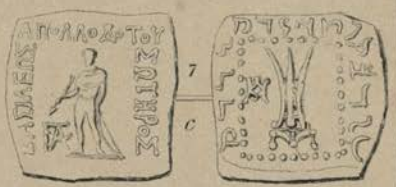
Bactrian Coins

MENANDER

APOLLODOTUS



ANTILAKIDES

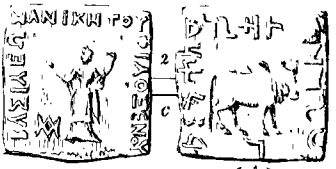
LYSIUS

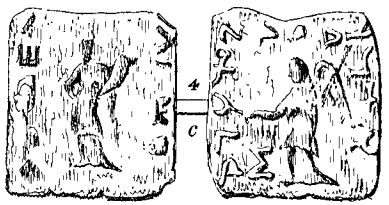
Bactrian Coins

PHILOXENUS

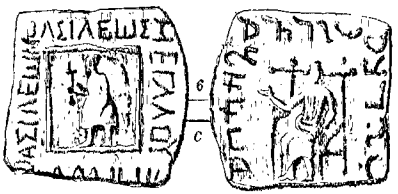
ANTIMACHUS

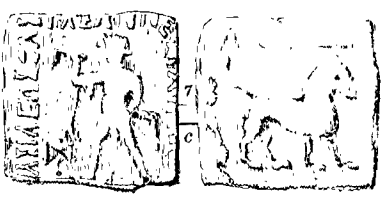
NONUS

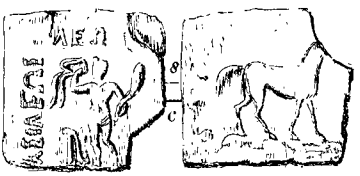


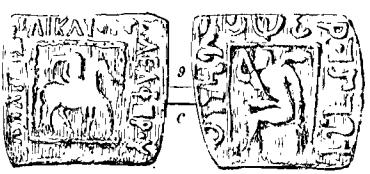


Doubtful Names.

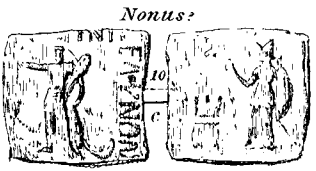


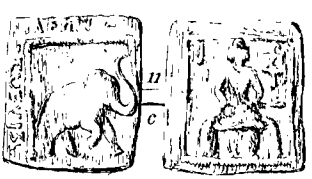


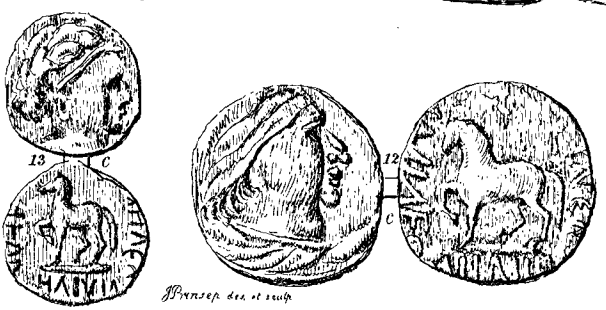


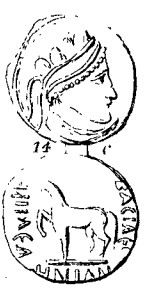


Nonus?









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AZILISES, KING OF KINGS, HD, B.C.

Runsey

Pub. by Stephen Austin. Hertford.

Bactrian Coins.

ERMÆUS.

UNADPHERRUS?

EOS KADPHICES. or ERMÆUS?

KADAPHES CHORANUS

J. Princep. del. et sc.

Lith. by Stephen Arnth, Bost. ed.

X.—ON THE CONNECTION OF VARIOUS ANCIENT HINDÚ COINS WITH THE GRECIAN OR INDO-SCYTHIC SERIES.

In the last article, I promised to bring forward demonstrations of the direct descent of the Hindú coins of Kanauj from what have been denominated the Indo-Scythic series. In attempting to redeem my pledge, I am aware that I run counter to the opinions of those who maintain that Hindús practised the art of coinage, and had a distinct currency of their own, before the Greeks entered India;[1] and especially of my friend Col. Stacy. To him my opposition might appear the more ungracious; since the weapons I am about to use are chiefly those he has himself so generously placed in my hands; but that I well know he is himself only anxious to develop the truth, and will support a cherished theory no longer than it can be maintained, with plausibility at least, if not with proof.

I am not, however, about to contend that the Hindús had no indigenous currency of the precious metals. On the contrary, I think evidence will be found in the collection about to be described, that they circulated small pieces of a given weight; that stamps were

[1] [See ante, p. 53.]

given to these, varying under different circumstances; and that many of these earliest tokens exhibit several stamps consecutively impressed on the same piece, until at last the superposed impressions (not those of a die, but rather of a punch) came to resemble the devices seen on the Indo-Scythic coins, in company with which they have been found buried in various places, particularly in Capt. Cautley's Herculaneum, at Behat near Saháranpúr.

That from this period, in round terms, may be assumed the adoption of a die-device, or of coined money properly so-called, by the Hindús, is all I would venture at present to uphold; and in doing so, I will not again appeal to the assertions of Pausanias, quoted in Robertson's 'Disquisition,' that the Hindús had no coined money of their own; nor to the silence of the Mahábhárata and other ancient works on the subject; but solely to the close family resemblance of four distinct classes of Hindú coins to what may be called their Bactrian prototypes, namely, those of Kanauj; the later class of the Behat, or the Buddhist, group; the coins of Saurásḥtra, found at Ujjain, in Gujarát and Cachhá; and those which Col. Stacy has denominated Rájput coins, having the device of a horseman on one side, and a bull on the other.

Before proceeding to comment upon the first of these classes, my tribute of obligation and praise is due to Col. Stacy, for the persevering labour and true antiquarian zeal, which have alone enabled him to gather together such a rich collection of this peculiar and rare type, and for the disinterested readiness with which he has placed them at my disposal, to select from and publish at once, thus depriving him, as it were, of the

first fruits of his enterprise and toil. It is true that, so far at least as regards the merit of discovery, his title will rather be confirmed than injured by early publicity; but the employment of another hand to illustrate his materials may do injustice to his own careful classification, and modify the opinions and deductions regarding the origin, connection, and antiquity of various groups, which he may have derived from a larger and more intimate study of the subject, and from the actual inspection and handling of thousands of coins, that have been withheld from insertion in his select cabinet.[1]

The home collector who, like myself, but receives contributions from others, may learn, from the superior fulness and novelty of many of the following plates, to appreciate the advantage of personal exertion over second-hand acquirement. In further proof of this, I could produce some of the letters now lying before me, received from Col. Stacy on his several coin excursions. Here he would be seen putting up with every inconvenience, enduring the burning heats of May, or the cold of December, under trees or in common *saráis* in Central India; digging in deserted ruins, or poring over the old stores of village money-changers, after having (the principal difficulty and art) won their confidence, sometimes their interest, in the object of his pursuit: sparing neither money nor time to gain his end, and after a hard search and fatigue, sitting down, while his impressions were still warm and vivid, to communicate the results of his day's campaign.

[1] [Col. Stacy's collection, which I have had full opportunity of examining, contains no less than 373 of these punch-marked coins.—E.T.]

Col. Stacy felt himself for a moment disheartened on beholding the treasures of Gen. Ventura and his followers: but although the character of the Bactrian relics necessarily eclipses all that can be expected from a Hindú source, while their prolific abundance astonishes the gleaner of Hindú relics, a moment's reflection should restore a full or even increased degree of satisfaction. Hindú history is even more in need of elucidation from coins than Bactrian. The two countries are in fact found to be interwoven in their history in a most curious manner, and must be studied together. The alphabetic characters, the symbols, and most especially the 'link' coins, (emphatically named so by Col. Stacy,) are fraught with information on this head, which can only be extracted by multiplying the specimens, and thus completing the chain of evidence. It will be seen shortly, that several of the dynasties to which the coins belong have been identified through the names and legends they bear, and many new princes, hitherto unheard of, have been brought to light. Let not therefore Col. Stacy desert his line for one more engaging, but persevere in it as long as anything remains to be explored.

I cannot resist in this place pointing out the line of search recommended by Col. Tod, (to whom is justly ascribed the paternity of this branch of numismatic study) in a note on the late Panjáb discoveries published by him in the 'Asiatic Journal' for May:

"Let not the antiquary," he writes, "forget the old cities on the east and west of the Jamna, in the desert, and in the Panjáb, of which I have given lists, where his toil will be richly rewarded. I possess bags-full of these Indogetic gentry. . . . . I would suggest the

establishment of branch-committees of the Asiatic Society at several of the large stations, which would have a happy moral result in calling forth the latent talent of many a young officer in every branch of knowledge within the scope of the Society. Ágra, Mathurá, Delhí, Ajmír, Jaipúr, Némuch, Mhow, Ságar, etc. are amongst the most eligible positions for this object. . . . A topographical map, with explanations of ancient Delhí, is yet a desideratum, and of the first interest: this I had nearly accomplished during the four months I resided amidst the tombs of that city." [1]

In thanking Col. Tod for his encouragement and advice, I must be allowed to differ altogether as to the means to be employed. Committees are cumbrous, spiritless, and inactive engines, for such an end; when anything does appear to be effected by them, it is generally the work of one member, whose energy is only diluted and enfeebled by the association. Give me rather the unity of design and quickness of execution of (I will not say an agent, as Col. Tod suggests, but of) an independent pursuer of the object for its own sake,[2] or for his own amusement and instruction. It is by such as these that all the good has hitherto been done; the extension of patronage followed, rather than preceded or prompted, the great discoveries of last year in Kábul.

The plates I have prepared to illustrate my subject have not been numbered in the most convenient order for the purpose; but as it is a matter of indifference

[1] [Such a plan is to be found in the 'Journal of the Archæological Society of Dihlí,' for January, 1853.]

[2] These I may say are already provided at more places than Col. Tod points out: Col. Stacy, at Chitor, Udayapúr, and now at Dihlí; Lieut. Conolly, at Jaipúr; Capt. Wade, at Ludiána; Capt. Cautley, at Saháranpúr; Lieut. Cunningham, at Benáres; Col. Smith, at Patna; Mr. Tregear, at Jaunpúr; and Dr. Swiney (now in Calcutta), for many years a collector in Upper India. And for the exterior line, Lieut. Burnes, at the mouth of the Indus; Messrs. Ventura, Court, Masson, Karámat 'Alí, and Mohan Lál, in the Panjáb; besides whom I must not omit Messrs. H. C. Hamilton, Spiers, Edgeworth, Gubbins, Capt. Jenkins, and other friends who have occasionally sent me coins dug up in their districts.

which line we commence upon, it will be fair to give our first attention to plate xix., containing the so-long postponed continuation of the Coins and Relics dug up by Capt. Cautley at Behat, and noticed in the proceedings of the Asiatic Society on the 14th January, 1835.

The exhumation of this subterranean town has not, perhaps, been followed up with so much vigour as it would have been, had not its discoverer's attention been diverted to other antiquities of more overwhelming interest—the fossil inhabitants of a former world—before which the modern reliques of a couple of thousand years shrink into comparative insignificance. Perhaps, indeed, the notion of a city at the spot indicated by these remains should be modified. Prof. Wilson writes me, that he cannot suggest any ancient city of note so situated; yet if it existed so late as the third or fourth century of our era, it ought surely to be known. It may probably have been the site of a Buddhist monastery, which became deserted during the persecutions of this sect, and was then gradually destroyed and buried by the shifting sands of the hill torrents. Some of the relics now to be noticed forcibly bear out this supposition.

BEHAT GROUP.
(plate xix.)

The upper half of this plate contains a continuation of the Relics dug up at Behat by Capt. Cautley.

Fig. 1 is the object of principal interest, because it stamps the locality as decidedly Buddhist, and leaves us to infer that the coins are the same, although their devices have nothing that can be positively asserted to be discriminative of this sect. The figure represents two fragments of a circular ring of baked clay. In the inner circumference are carved or stamped a succession of small figures of Buddha seated, apparently twelve in number; and, on the upper surface, a circular train of lizards. It is difficult to imagine the purpose to which it

Relics from Behat near Scharanpur.

J. Prinsep sc.

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could have been applied. In some respects it may be compared to the semi-circular sculpture near the *Bo*-tree at Anurádhapúra in Ceylon, depicted in the third volume of the Royal Asiatic Society's 'Transactions;' but, in that, the ring of animals consists of elephants, horses, tigers, and bulls, alternately[1]; four animals, which have a place in the Bauddha mythology; whereas I am not aware that the lizard is regarded in any degree of reverence by the Buddhists.

Fig. 3. An old ring of copper. This, like the more ornamental ring of plate iv., may in some respects be looked upon as a Bauddha relic; for in its metal it accords well with an extract from the 'Dulva' in M. Csoma Körösi's Analysis of the Tibetan Scriptures, containing Sákya's injunctions that his priests should only wear seal-rings of the baser metals. "Priests are prohibited from wearing rings, and from having seal-rings of gold, silver, or precious stones; but they may have seals made of copper, brass, bell-metal, ivory, or horn. A man of the religious order must have on his seal or stamp a circle with two deer on opposite sides; and below, the name of the founder of the Vihára. A layman may have a full length figure, or a head, cut on his signet." (Leaf 11, 12, vol. x. of the 'Dulva') *Asiatic Researches*, xix., 86.

The circular devices of some of these coins (23 of this plate, 31 and 32 of pl. xx.) may, perhaps, also be explained by the rule of this teacher—cited in the same extract—that the priests should use no other impress than that of the circle; and it is remarkable, that the deer is the very animal found on the most prominent silver coins of the group, such as fig. 16 of the present plate, and 48 of pl. xx. (see also p. 82).

Fig. 4. A small image of baked clay, which seems more like a plaything for children than an object of worship.

Figs. 5 to 10 are varieties of the peculiar coins of the Behat series already noticed in pl. iv.

The characters in many are tolerably distinct, and are clearly allied to, if not identical with, those of

[1] "At the foot of the steps to this second building, and let into the ground, is a very remarkable slab of hard blue granite: it is semi-circular, and sculptured in rings or bands of different widths. Some of the patterns are scrolls, equal in beauty to any thing Grecian; one consists of the Hansa or Bráhmana duck, bearing the root of the Lotus in its bill; and the most curious has figures of the elephant, the horse, the lion, and the cow, which are repeated in the same order and sculptured with great spirit and accuracy of outline."—*Trans. of Roy. As. Soc.*, iii., 467.

fig. 22, a true descendant of the Kanerkos series, as is shown in my Indo-Scythic pl. xxi., figs. 16, 17. The emblems, also, on many, a bull and an elephant, may be imitations of the Azos coin. In fig. 7, the symbol is exactly a Chaitya, or Bauddha monument, as I had from the first supposed.

The 'tree' is also satisfactorily made out in fig. 15, and in many of the coins in the following plate. In fig. 23, it is seen at the side of a walking figure; and above it, in a very perfect coin of the same type since sent to me by Lieut. Conolly, the sun shines, as it were, on the saint and his holy tree.

The three most conspicuous letters on all of these coins are [illegible] *y dh y*, and it does not seem any great stretch of imagination to see in them a part of the word Ayodhyá, the seat of one of the earliest Hindú dynasties, and which was, at the commencement of Buddhism, almost as much the resort of its founder Sákya, as Rájgriha, the capital of Magadhá. Still, from the association of these coins with those of the Indo-Scythic dynasty, it would be hazardous to attribute to them any greater antiquity than the early part of the Christian era.

The metal of these coins is a mixture of tin and copper, which retains its figure well, and is white when cut.

Figs. 11, 12, will be recognized as Indo-Scythic coins: being found along with the rest, they serve to settle the point of antiquity.

On fig. 13 are the letters पराजस, *parájasa*. [Subsequently corrected to 'Maharajasa.']

On fig. 16, is a further supply, resembling more the Láṭ alphabet, [illegible] *a mapasáte*. The same combination occurs in fig. 45, otherwise so different a coin: on the reverse, the letters under the symbol

very much resemble the Pehlví 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬯𐬀 *malakáo* [Maharajasa]. This silver coin is of M. Ventura's collection. [Prinsep's revised reading of this legend was 'Amapatasátasa maharája Kunarasa.'—June, 1837.]

[These coins are probably the most important—in their strictly local bearing—of the entire range of the Numismatology of India, that her soil has preserved to reveal—unwittingly—to modern intelligence, the story of its ancient possessors. Our means of testing the precise combinations involved may indeed be defective; but these silver pieces stand forth prominently, as offering intelligible specimens of a very comprehensive class of cognate money of inferior execution; and further, as linked, by identity of symbols, with a still more extended chain of the early and less developed mintages of proximate lands. They associate on their surfaces two dissimilar alphabets, and, as the ordinary sites of their discovery are confined within something like definite limits, they assist, under the latter aspect, in narrowing the debatable point of contact of the two forms of writing. That we are not yet able to fill up the various gaps in this wide circle of connections,—that we cannot discover the names they disclose, amid the defective materials of the written history of the country; or, at the moment, fix an epoch or extemporize an empire for their issuer,—may perhaps savour more of cautious reserve than of deficiency of open data, or poverty of imagination in their application.

With all these drawbacks, however, the coins themselves well fulfil their secondary mission, and contribute direct information by a record of titles, designations, family relationships, and a parallel combination of phonetic signs representing antagonistic systems. Categorically, they exhibit the style and titles of 'Rája' and 'Mahárája,' the names of Kunanda and Amogha—who are shown to be brothers—and their opposing surfaces display nearly counterpart legends, expressive of these details, the one couched in the Arian or Bactro-Páli letters

of Semitic derivation; and the other symbolized in the local alphabet of India Proper of a type but little removed from the earliest Lát, or monumental character, that furnished the exemplar upon which have been based the various styles of writing of so many Eastern nations.

In regard to the places wherein these coins are chiefly found, I should, without hesitation, indicate the country in and around Behat as the most prolific in the reproduction of the special class of money, whether of silver or copper: the latter necessarily offer the best evidence in regard to the question of their own locality, as being more common on the one part, and therefore calculated to indicate a more decisive average; and, on the other, less liable than the more valuable silver money to be removed from the site of their primary circulation. Under this view, but without accepting Behat either as the centre or positive capital of the kingdom for whose currency they were designed to provide, its boundaries might be conjectured as extending down the Doáb of the Ganges and Jamna below Hastinápúra, and westwards beyond the latter river to some extent along the foot of the Himálayas into the Panjáb.[1]

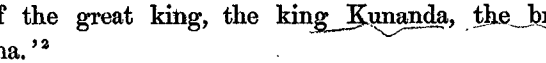
I now proceed to insert the legends.

OBVERSE: (Indian Páli.)

महरजस राज्ञः कुणंदस अमोघ भ्रतस

Maharajasa rájnah Kunandasa Amogha bhratasa.

REVERSE: (Arian.)



Maharajasa raja K . . ndása Amogha bhratisa.

'Of the great king, the king Kunanda, the brother of Amogha.'[2]

[1] [Major Cunningham speaks of them as "coins, both of silver and copper, found chiefly between the Indus and the Jamna," *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 354. Mr. Bayley's experience as a coin collector, like my own, would take their true site more to the eastward.]

[2] [See also Wilson, 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xv., 23, p. 415; Cunningham, 'Bhilsa Topes,' 355.]

The legends, thus transcribed, are derived from three very perfect silver coins in the British Museum, aided by further specimens in my own possession, all of which were originally obtained from localities within the geographical limits above defined. The functions assigned to the several letters demand exact illustration, as not only is the coin engraved in pl. xix. defective in its epigraphs, but it is upon the test of the modifications of the style of writing alone, that any approximate estimate of date can be attempted.

In regard to the obverse legend, I may commence by remarking that the two examples of the म, and the ह which follow the first of these, assimilate to the type of their counterpart letters in the Junágarh Rock-inscription of Western India [XLᴾ]. The outline of the र varies in different specimens of the coinage; in some examples, the character is formed by the single perpendicular down-stroke of early days, which retains its identity in most of the Gupta monumental inscriptions of Hindústán Proper,[1] while on other pieces it is fashioned after the Western model, with the foot curve to the left [J] The ज's are also subject to modifications of shape, at times appearing as the formal square-backed character of the Western Caves [E], and at others exhibiting the similitude of a Greek Σ. The body of the स has occasionally the rounded form of the Western type [U] so immediately derived from the Lát original; while, in other instances, this sibilant is given with the square formation of more recent writings, though in no case can its period be much reduced on this latter ground. The ञ in *rájnah* is of its earliest square form [⊢], and the ण equally follows the oldest known configuration of the representative of that sound [I]. The nasal ∸ (*anuswára*) I have supplemented to the ण, may possibly prove to be either a·आ, or a medial इ; in one specimen the sign is placed above the upper forward limb of the ण, the major portion of it being necessarily

[1] [Allahábád, Kumáon, Bhítári, and Eran.]

lost, from the fact of its touching the edge of the piece. In another example, again, the mark is projected onwards in the line of writing from the lower horizontal stroke of the introductory ण. The succeeding द् is usually imperfectly formed; in some cases, it appears to carry with it an appended आ. The initial अ in *Amogha* is of an early type, and generally uniform in its expression, except in the definition of the 'nail-heads' or *mátrás* of the period, which, at times, however, are altogether wanting. The मो [𑀫𑁄] is, preferably, मा [𑀫𑀸], but there are, occasionally, traces of an elongation of the *mátrá* on the first down-stroke of the consonant, which might justify the concession made to the probabilities of nomenclature. It will be seen that, though the Lát alphabet expressed the full or initial ओ by [𑀑]; in combination, the vowel sign was divided and placed in separate portions on the tops of the two down-strokes of the consonant. The Sáh inscription at Junágarh, on the other hand, inserted the vowel-mark, in composition, in its more natural position in the body of the covering letter [𑀲𑁄].

The घ [𑀖], though stiff and square, is entitled to claim considerable antiquity; but the भ departs notably from the more formal outline of the parent stock, though it does not directly accord with any of the more modern examples we are able to cite. The त is likewise inconsistently fashioned, appearing often as the most ancient rectangular character [𑀢], while, in other instances, its lower strokes are curved, as in the Sáh inscription [𑀢].

The Arian writing on the reverse varies less obviously in the different specimens of these mintages, than the counterpart legend on the obverse. In some instances, however, the entire inexperience of the die-engravers in the use of this alphabet is strikingly exemplified in the distortion of some of the characters, and the complete reversal of others. Thus the Arian ज [𑀚] is transformed into a Páli ञ [𑀜]. The क and the द्, in like manner, would have appeared as such when read from the die, but of course fail to render the requisite characters on the coin

produced by that die. The ऽ's, again, are simply inverted, and will not indicate that letter, either on the negative or positive surface. Further, in one case the Arian ह् in *Kananda* is represented by a palpable ह् of the fellow alphabet. However, as these coins are manifestly emanations from different mints, it is not unnatural that the Arian phonetic system should be better understood in the one place than the other, especially on or near the boundary line, or point of early contact, of the two alphabets.[1]

It remains to remark on the orthography of the name of Amogha. The mark below the म, as in the parallel case in the other legend, may possibly be read as आ, but on the single specimen that retains the compound in decent legibility, it partakes more of the nature of the down-stroke which constitutes the medial ा rather than the appearance of the simple dot, which should express the आ. It is also placed a little to the right, below the म, instead of being located to the left in the forward line of the writing, as is usual with the dot which serves to indicate the आ. The घ *gh*, corresponding with the घ on the obverse, comes in opportunely to settle and determine the true Arian form of this letter of rare occurrence.

With such a heterogeneous array of materials, it would of course be useless to pretend directly to identify the style of Páli writing on these coins with any one of the epochal representatives of that system, which palæographers have hitherto accepted without comment from Prinsep's Chronological Table of Alphabets. I have previously intimated, that I myself do not give in my adhesion to the finality of these data, and if anything were needed to prove the propriety of my dissent, it would be contributed by the mixed and discordant characters on the obverse of these coins, which, tested by simple instances of literal forms, might be made to ascend to close proximity with

[1] [I may note further, in apparent illustration of the more vulgar currency of the Indian, as distinguished from the Bactrian-Páli, that the former alone appears on the copper coinage.]

the Lát alphabet of Aśoka's day, or in the hands of others, who might equally subject them to the same incomplete and limited criterion, they might be reduced to a date but little anterior to the rule of the Guptas. In like manner, I am free to admit that any theory which should propose to confine all progress in alphabetical development to exclusively local action, would similarly prove at fault under the ordeal supplied by these pieces.

With all the above fairly-stated uncertainty, I myself am disposed to attribute to the writing, and inferentially to the coins, a very high antiquity. In the present state of our knowledge, and without much more of cautious sifting than time, opportunity, or ascertained facts admit of, it would be futile for me to enter into arguments to justify my impression; but, on the evidence of the make and character of the coins themselves, I should claim for them a fabrication independent of Greek art,[1] and from the general tenor of the evidence of the forms of letters, I should assume a not greatly retarded, though independently matured, departure from our earliest extant models of the Páli monumental inscriptions.[2]

[1] [I base this inference chiefly on the character and execution of the coin dies; but there is more to be said upon the subject, namely, that unless we fix the issue of these coins before the occupation of Northern India by the Bactrian Greeks, we shall find a difficulty in assigning to their owners any epoch that will not be too modern for all the probabilities of the case. Apollodotus, Menander, and his successors, seem to have fully established their sway over and beyond the section of the country to which I would limit the rule of the princes who put forth this money. The coins of these Greek monarchs are procurable as low down the Ganges as Benáres. Mathurá would almost seem to have been the seat of a Greek mint, if any credit is due to the abundance and apparent uniformity of type of the copper money of the first-named king, found in and around that ancient city. Very lately, an extensive hoard has been discovered near that place (Jour. As. Soc. Beng., 1854, p. 690,) consisting of some hundreds of coins bearing a succession of names with types in various degrees of debasement, but all imitated from the standard model of the hemidrachmas of Strato, whose silver money approximates closely to the style and fabric of Menander's coinage. I myself, in olden days, secured nearly two hundred out of a find (reported at 600 and odd) of Greek hemidrachmas, discovered during the excavation of a canal bed, near Saháranpúr. These were unmixed with any foreign money, or even specimens of other local coinages; and were confined to the mintages of some four or five Bactrian monarchs, Apollodotus, Menander, Strato, Antimachus,—and, if I remember rightly, Antialkides.]

[2] [I have elsewhere had occasion to remark, in reference to the age and currency of these characters, that "Prinsep has himself suggested the inquiry as to how

Ancient Hindu Coins.

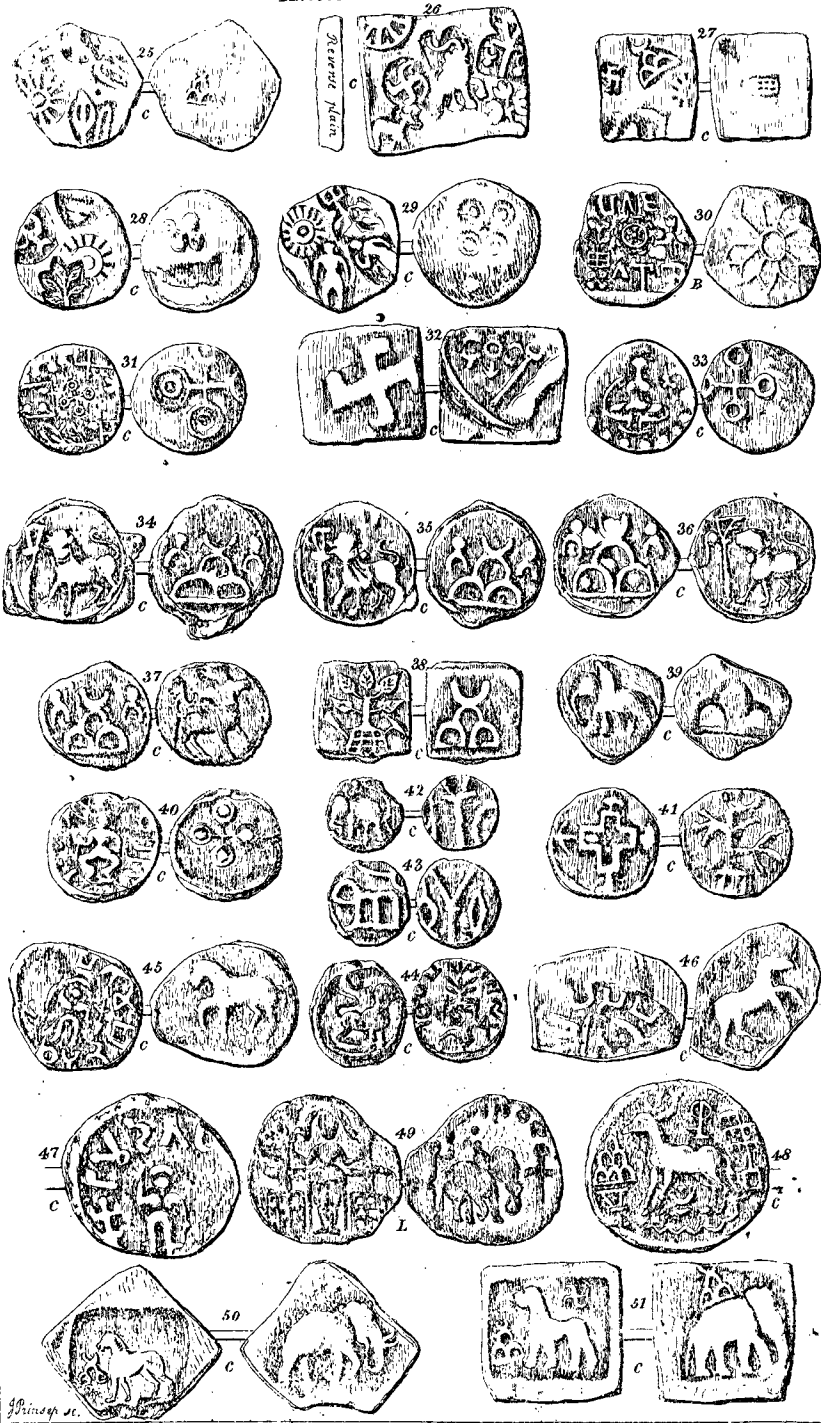


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Fig. 17 is peculiar for its multitude of symbols, most of them known to us by their occurrence on other coins. This specimen is also of the Ventura collection. [See, further, 'Ariana Antiqua,' xv., 28 to 31.]

Fig. 18, a coin in Mr. Tregear's possession. Several of the same kind have been before introduced into my plates, but hitherto the figure under the elephant has been supposed to be a prostrate elephant vanquished by the upper animal. The multiplication of specimens has at length shown us the true character of the doubtful part, and that it merely consists of two of the common symbols of the series.

But we must now turn to plate xx., in which, thanks to Col. Stacy, I have been able to attempt a more methodical classification from his abundant supply of this Buddhist series of coins.

STACY'S EARLIEST HINDÚ COINS.

(plate xx.)

It is an indisputable axiom, that unstamped fragments of silver and gold of a fixed weight must have preceded the use of regular coin in those countries where civilization and commerce had induced the necessity of some convenient representative of value. The antiquarian, therefore, will have little hesitation in ascribing the highest grade of antiquity in Indian numismatology to those small flattened bits of silver or other metal which are occasionally discovered all over the country,

much of change of alphabetical symbols might be incident upon the use of a more perfect language, as compared with the requirements of the local Páli. Another point of important bearing on the main question, is the probable modification the written or cursive literal signs were subjected to as opposed to the stiff and formal outlines of the characters of the rock inscriptions. Up to this time, it has been usual to consider the old Páli writing as the basis of all Sanskrit alphabets: we need not contest this inference, but we may fairly inquire if we have reached the date of the first use of that character in the epoch assigned to the early Buddhist inscriptions? The reply would reasonably be in the negative?' [Prinsep himself, it will be seen, accepted a margin of about two centuries of anterior antiquity, and the estimate might be almost indefinitely extended]. 'This system of writing, in its sufficiency for all purposes of its own linguistic expression, may well have continued for a lengthened period unchanged, as far as inscriptions were concerned, at the same time that there may have been a progressive advance in the cursive hand, of which we have no immediate record."—'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vii. of 1854.]

either quite smooth, or bearing only a few punch-marks on one or both sides; and generally having a corner cut off, as may be conjectured, for the adjustment of their weight.[1] Many instances of this type have been given in Col. Mackenzie's collection (figs. 101 to 108 of Wilson's plates), who describes them as 'of an irregular form, bearing no inscription, occasionally quite plain, and in any case having only a few indistinct and unintelligible symbols: that of the Sun, or a star is most common; and those of the *lingam* (?), the crescent, and figures of animals may be traced.' The Colonel's specimens were chiefly procured in South India: others have been dug up in the Sunderbans: and many were found at Behat (fig. 14).

But the few selected specimens in Col. Stacy's collection, figs. 25—29) yield more food for speculation than the nearly smooth pieces above alluded to. On all these we perceive the symbol of the Sun to be the faintest of those present: in two instances (figs. 28, 29) it is superposed by symbols which may be hence concluded to be more recent. These are, severally, the Chaitya, the tree, the Swastika, and the human figure; besides which, in fig. 26, we have the elephant, the bull, and the peculiar symbols of figs. 34—37. They are all stamped on at random with punches, and may naturally be interpreted as the insignia of successive dynasties authenticating their currency.

In one only, fig. 30, does there appear any approach

[1] Their average weight is fifty grains, or the same as the टंक *ṭaṅk* (= 3 *máshas*) of the ancient Hindú metrology. Indeed the word, टंकशाल *ṭaṅk-śála*, 'mint,' goes far to prove that these are the very pieces fabricated for circulation under that name.

to alphabetic characters, and here the letters resemble those of the Láṭs, or of the Caves in the West of India, the most ancient written form of the Sanskrit language.

[In further illustration of the symbols impressed upon this crude money, I insert copies of some novel emblems that occur on a similar class of primitively-adjusted weights of silver in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. These specimens of the introductory phase of the moneyer's art seem to have been derived from a different section of the continent of India to those that have hitherto been presented to the public; some of their devices probably shadow forth the emblems of a sea-board kingdom; but the varieties are otherwise interesting as showing that the system of this simply-formed currency was as wide-spread, as its products are proved to have been ample.

With a view to test the authoritative issue-weight of these [1]

[1] [This is probably the most fitting place to insert a brief note on ancient Indian weights for gold and silver, condensed from Colebrooke's paper on the subject in the 'Asiatic Researches.' The lowest division of the Hindú scheme is the *trasarenu* or *vansí* defined as a "very small mote which may be discerned in a sun-beam passing

punch-marked pieces of silver, I have examined in detail the extended series of specimens in the British Museum, and selected for trial only those examples that appeared to be un-abraded

through a lattice: it is further described by medical writers as comprising 30 *paramánu* or atoms."

8 *trasarenu*	=	1 *liksha*, or 'minute poppy-seed.'
3 *liksha*	=	1 *rája sher-shapa*, or 'black mustard-seed.'
3 *rája sher-shapa*	=	1 *gaura sher-shapa*, or 'white mustard-seed.'
6 *gaura sher-shapa*	=	1 *yava*, or 'middle-sized barley-corn.'
3 *yava*	=	1 *krishnala*, or 'seed of the ganjá.'

This last is the lowest denomination in general use, and commonly known by the name of *ratti*, *(rattiká)* which denotes the red seed, as *krishnala* indicates the black seed, of the *ganjá* creeper. The jewellers' *ratí* is rated as = $\frac{7}{8}$ths. of a carat. The average, taken from the seeds themselves, according to Sir W. Jones, gives 1 grain and $\frac{5}{16}$ ths.

A *rattiká* is also said to be equal to 4 grains of rice in the husk, and by others is stated to correspond with two large barley-corns. Mr. Colebrooke goes on to remark, "Notwithstanding this apparent uncertainty in the comparison of a seed of the *ganjá* to other productions of nature, the weight of a *raktiká* is well determined by practice, and is the common medium of comparison for other weights."

Weights of gold.

5 *krishnalas* or *raktikás*	=	1 *másha.*
16 *máshas*	=	1 *karsha*, *aksha tolaka*, or *suverna.*
4 *karshas* or *suvernas*	=	1 *pala* or *nishka.*
10 *palas*	=	1 *dharana.*

Some authorities give 5 *suvernas* = 1 *pala.*

Weights of silver.

2 *raktikás*	=	1 *másha.*
16 *máshas*	=	1 *dharana* or *purana.*
10 *dharanas*	=	1 *satamána* or *pala.*

A *karsha*, or 80 *raktikás*, of copper is called a *pana* or *kársha-pana.*

Four varieties of *máshas* are also noticed, three of 5, 4 and 16 *raktikás* respectively, and a fourth (the *másha* of silver) consisting of 2 *raktikás*. The author proceeds to note further modifications of these weights, which need not be cited in detail; but it is important to mark the definition of the *dínár*, as the term will be found to be employed in some of the ancient inscriptions referred to in the body of this work. "108 *suvernas* or *tolakas* of gold are said to constitute an *urubhúshana*, *pala*, or *dínára*." . . . .

"Gopála Bhattá also states other weights, without mentioning by what classes they are used. I suspect an error in the statement, because it reduces the *másha* to a very low denomination, and I suppose it to be the jewellers' weight.

6 *rájikás* (*raktikás*)	=	1 *másha*, *hema* or *vánaka.*
4 *máshas*	=	1 *tanka*, *sala*, or *dharana.*
2 *tankas*	=	1 *kona.*
2 *konas*	=	1 *karsha.*

Probably it should be *raktikás* instead of *rájikás*, which would nearly correspond with the weights subjoined, giving 24 *rettikás* for one *dharana* in both statements. It also corresponds with the Tables in the 'Ayín-i Akberi' (iii., 94,) where a *tánk* of 24 *rettis*, fixed at 10 barley-corns to the *retti*, contains 240 barley-corns; and a *másha* of 8 *rettis*, at 7½ barley-corns each, contains 60 *rettis*; consequently, 4 *máshas* are equal to one *tanka*, as in the preceding table; and 6 jewellers' *rettis* are equal to 8 double *rettis* as used by goldsmiths. The same author (Gopála Bhattá) observes that weights are thus stated in astronomical books:

2 large barley-corns	=	1 seed of the *gunja.*
3 *gunjás*	=	1 *balla.*
8 *ballas*	=	1 *dharana.*
2 *dharanas*	=	1 *alaka.*
1000 *alakas*	=	1 *dhatáka.*"

and un-oxydized; the result of the weighment of ten such samples gives an average of 52·98 grains, the highest total being 54, the lowest 52 grains,—while four specimens out of the ten were exactly balanced at 53 grains. Of the circular, or rounded-off specimens, the average was somewhat lower, but many of these equally came up to the 53 grains; the metal of which they are composed is, however, clearly debased below the standard of their less advanced prototypes.

Next presents itself a series of sections of metal, which may either be of earlier or of later date than the above. They appear more primitive in their crudity of make, but seem more definitively developed in their stamp. They take the shape of mere divisions of a bar of silver, $\frac{3}{10}$ths. by $\frac{4}{10}$ths. of an inch, into lengths of something less than half-an-inch, and are occasionally rounded off at the ends. Unlike the cognate series, they are marked by a single stamp only, which occupies one superficies and represents two connected balls, forming probably such portion of the die, seen in No. 33, as their surfaces were broad enough to receive the impress of. The best specimen of this somewhat rare class weighs 24·5 grains.

And here I would notice a considerable advance in the art of coining, and one that successfully illustrates the independent local progress, reminding us of the parallel incused-square of many of the early Greek medals. In this instance, the square die is driven home upon one surface so as to give the coin a concavo-convex form, while the opposite face remains blank.[1]

The tale of shells, compared to weight of silver, is quoted as follows from the '*Lilavati*:'

20 *kapardakas* (shells, cowries)	=	1 *kákini*.
4 *kákinis*	=	1 *pana*, *kárshapana*, or *kárshika*.
16 *paras* (= 1 *purana* of shells)	=	1 *bherma* of silver.
16 *bhermas*	=	1 *nishka* of silver.

It may be inferred that one shell is valued at 1 *raktiká* of copper; one *pana* of shells at 1 *pana* of copper; and 64 *panas* at one *tolaka* of silver, which is equal in weight to one *pana* of copper. And it seems remarkable that the comparative value of silver, copper, and shells, is nearly the same at this time (1799) "as it was in the days of Bhâskara."—'*Asiatic Researches*,' v., 91.]

[1] [Though, in some instances, it would almost seem as if it had been designed to produce a crude device on the convex surface, as is common in many of the Greek examples.]

The symbol within the square has the appearance of a rude quatrefoil. These coins are, as far as I know, unpublished: I have never met with any in the entire course of my own somewhat comprehensive search after local antiquities, nor am I aware from what section of the country the examples I quote were obtained; they now form part of the late Lord Auckland's collection in the British Museum. They are composed of silver considerably alloyed, and weigh from thirty-five up to forty-one grains.

The other silver varieties of early date seem to be sufficiently illustrated by Prinsep's text, so, without further interruption, I resume the sequel of his observations. [1]]

From the above original seem to have descended two distinct families, of which one was produced by the hammer and die, the other by casting in a mould. Of the latter—easily recognizable by the depth of relief; the projecting keel on the margin, shewing where the moulds were united; and the greater corrosion due to the softness of the cast metal;—we have various groups and sub-divisions, but most of them agree in bearing the Chaitya for their obverse; sometimes—as in figs. 34, 35, 36, 37—with the addition of two smaller symbols, like the sign of Taurus reversed.

On the reverse, we have frequently a dog with a collar (and bell?) guarding a sword or 'flag-staff of victory,' *(jaya-dhwaja?)* figs. 20, 21, 34, 35, 36. At other times an elephant (fig. 39); a bull (37), or the sacred-tree (15, 38); and, in rarer cases, the device on

[1] [I take this opportunity of referring to certain punch-marked gold coins in Prinsep's Collection in the British Museum. These seem to be of a far more modern date than the specimens of the silver series: they are impressed with punch dies, bearing devices of a more recent character and execution, and usually display a superstruck legend consisting of four characters only partially intelligible. The locality of their discovery is not noted; the weights of the four specimens are as follow: 57·5, 58·0, 58·3, and 58·3.]

both sides is changed, as in 40, 41. Figs. 18, 42, and 43, (in the latter of which the elephant might easily be mistaken for a Deva-nágarí letter,) are of the cast species; to which also belongs the multi-symbolic coin, fig. 18 of the last plate, and its fellows of former plates. The leaden coin, 49, is also cast, but it is probably a forgery from some copper original.

[Further examples and varieties of the general series of cast coins have since come to light, to which I refer here merely to exemplify how diversified both the types and fabric of these early pieces were, and the time that, in consequence, must reasonably be conceded to have elapsed between the commencement and the termination of this system of coinage. We have no sufficient data for separating the locality of their issue from the ordinary field of the collateral mintage of die-struck coins; for, as far as can be inferred from the sites of discovery, they would almost appear to have been parallel improvements upon the primitive punch-marked weights of metal: that they progressed in their own independent development, may however be admitted, from the advanced character of the outward form, and the superior treatment of the devices, of the later specimens.

As might be expected, they altogether fail to afford any proximate solution of the intentional standard under which they were put forth, as the weights vary to a marked degree. Well-preserved examples of No. 37, now in the British Museum, range from 49 to 64, 65, and 68 grains, while specimens of No. 34 vary from 64 to 74 grains.

I do not propose at present to enter into any minutiæ in illustration of the various classes of cast coins, but I would refer to a somewhat curious division of the manufacture, in the shape of coins cast in copper or bronze, with the one side left altogether blank. I infer that Nos. 30, 31, pl. xv., 'Ariana Antiqua,' are of this description, though Prof. Wilson does not notice the method of formation.

However, I have a coin of Mr. Bayley's now before me, which leaves little doubt as to the process employed for its production. These pieces are further interesting, though perplexing, in the fact that, though so crude and normal in their fabric, they exhibit legends, in the old Lát character, of excellent execution and some pretension. The piece under reference bears the letters उघगोद्स or उपगोद्स with the 'Taurus' symbol below and a circle with a dot in the centre above the writing. I myself have a coin of this class, the legend of which responds, though unsatifactorily to the modern Sanscrit letters इकाडतश.]

Of the second branch, or die-struck coins, we have also several sub-divisions: I. The peculiar bronze-metal (Ayodhya *?)* coins of Behat in the last plate; to which belongs 44, with the 'tree' symbol, and a sitting dog on the obverse. II. A group, (figs. 45, 46, 47, [*Rámadatasa*]) having a horse on one side, similar to Lieut. Conolly's coin 1, pl. xxv. [vii.] of vol. iii. III. The 'stag' and Chaitya coin, (figs. 16, 48; also, figs. 1, 2, and 6, of pl. xviii., and fig. 4, of pl. xxv. [vii.] vol. iii.): and, IV. Those square rude coins, first pointed out by Masson, having an elephant on one side, and a lion (dog) on the other, with the characteristic Chaitya symbol: figs. 50 and 51 of this kind, are from the Ventura collection.

Upon most of the latter, or die-struck, species are portions of inscriptions in the Lat character, as was first clearly determined from Lieut. Conolly's coin [vii. fig. 1]. The letters, so well defined on that type-coin, may be read विद्राहेवस, *vidáhevasa*; [विष्णुदेवस] the second in the list there given was converted into तपसलचह; the third into भगवतरूप; but such renderings, having nothing, beyond their being real Sanskrit words, to recommend them, are hardly admissible. In the same manner, nothing can be

made of the combination *patama dâsata* of fig. 45; *pasaha* of 46; or *ramahata* of 47: the last coin is curious, from having an alligator or lizard symbol, similar to the sign on the porcelain ring from Behat (fig. 1.)

In explanation of the absence of any of the titles of sovereignty in these legends, the quotation already cited from M. Csoma's Analysis of the '*Dulva*' may be again brought forward—that under the symbols of the 'circle, deer,' etc. the name of the founder of the *vihâra* should be inscribed;—indeed the whole of the above passage is singularly applicable to this group of coins; and, in conjunction with other evidence, suggests the idea that the Buddhist coinage was struck in the monasteries of the priesthood, where the learning, skill, and riches of the country would naturally follow their attainment of influence and ascendancy over princes and people. The same argument may account for the imitation of Bactrian or Indo-Scythic devices in the later coins of the series; since it is well known that Buddhism prevailed through these countries also, and a constant inter-communication must have been consequently kept up. How far the antiquity of the first Buddhist groups of coins may have approached the epoch of Buddha (544 B.C.) it is difficult to determine, but their assimilation to the Indo-Scythic coins must have been posterior to the breaking up of the genuine Bactrian dynasty, perhaps about the commencement of the Christian era.

[In regard to Prinsep's 'second branch,' or die-struck coins, I have also a few observations to offer, as the distinct stages of impulsive progress seem to be susceptible of more accurate classification and separation than they have previously been subjected

to. It is clear that, in this instance, the practical adaptation of a conventional coinage arose out of the introductory definition of fixed weights of metal as the ordinary representatives of value; and the early punch-marked pieces of silver and copper authentically exemplify the transitional phase thus far advanced beyond the primitive system of barter. Whether the consecutive symbols impressed upon their surfaces convey the insignia of different dynasties, or purport to be no more than the trial counter-stamps of subsequent weighments—for the renewed legalization of the pieces either in other kingdoms or during the reigns of succeeding potentates—we need not stop to determine; but it is manifest that, with a people so advanced in civilization as the Hindús of olden time, the division of recognised weights of silver and copper of convenient amount, effectually constituted an introductory circulating medium; and the fact of these measures of value being still referred to as weights, and not as definitive coins, perhaps simply establishes the consistency of the written law[1] with the material evidences those who lived under it have left behind them.

The copper and bronze coins illustrate more completely than their less common associates of the superior metal the successive rudiments of mechanical development. Their earliest examples diverge but slightly from the original crude model;

[1] [The following disconnected extracts from Manu indicate pretty clearly that, even if there were absolutely no determinate coinage, there were, at least, ready means of liquidating both large and small amounts. Gold, it must be remembered, is, to this day, receivable, in Hindústân proper, by weight alone:—Chap. viii. Para. 131: 'Those names of copper, silver, and gold weights, which are commonly used among men, for the purpose of worldly business, I will now comprehensively explain.' The text then goes on to enumerate the weights quoted from Colebrooke, page 211. Para. 138: 'Now 250 *panas* are declared to be the first or lowest amercement, 500 the mean, and 1000 the highest.' Para. 212: 'Should money or goods be given,' etc. Para. 213: 'If the money be delivered,' etc. Para. 318: 'He who steals the rope or the waterpot from a well, and he who breaks down a cistern, shall be fined a másha of gold.' Para. 330: . . . 'The fine shall be 5 racticas of gold or silver.' Para. 402: 'Let the King make a regulation for market prices.' Para. 403: 'Let all weights and measures be well ascertained by him, and once in six months let him re-examine them.' Para. 404: 'The toll at a ferry is 1 *pana* for an empty cart, ½ a *pana* for a man with a load, ¼ *pana* for a beast used in agriculture, or for a woman, and ⅛ of a *pana* for an unloaded man.' Para. 404: 'The King should order each man of the mercantile class to practice trade, or money lending,' etc.—Sir W. Jones: 'Institutes of Hindú Law; or, the Ordinances of Menu,' Works, vol. iii.]

for though the one die continues to shew a gradual improvement upon the ancient contremarques, the lower surface of the coin is still left blank.[1] Next we perceive the incipient indication of a reverse, arising, possibly, out of the necessity for a sort of catch on the smooth anvil which hitherto appears to have been employed. This innovation also may be detected in its various scales of elaboration, from the rough intaglio needed to fix the planchet, up to the nearly complete device of Nos. 45, 46: or otherwise, as in the case of many of the Behat coins, the object in view may be seen to have been more simply attained by the convex surface given to the reverse of the piece. I do not propose to follow out this subject more at large: it is sufficient to say, that for this section of Hindústán its own metallic records efficiently prove the self-instruction of its inhabitants; and the several steps in invention which led to the final production of the excellent silver coins of Amogha.

To the evidence derived from manipulative indications may be added those of the designs and treatment of the die-devices, which in like degree evince independent thought. The Indian figures follow the ideal models of their own land, and bear no trace of the conventionalities of Greek art. The devices, though at times rising far above mediocrity, affect only local associations, and are as free from all symptom of imitation of the favourite subjects of the Greek mint-masters as their details are deficient in the boldness and freedom of the classic dies. On the other hand, the re-productive process can be traced in all its degradations at a subsequent period—when the indigenous races came to supersede the sovereignty of the Bactrian-Greeks; and the contrast shews how very different was the action of the downward course, among the same people, in copying foreign prototypes—in opposition to the free development of their own accepted models. In illustration of this, I have only to refer to the Satrap coins previously noticed as imitated

[1] [Coins found on the Jamná—having a stag device and the legend *Ramatasa*, —with their modifications, etc.]

from the hemidrachmas of Strato;[1] to the Minerva Promachos on the Saurâshtran coins;[2] or to the profile on the Gupta silver money.[3]

Nos. 50, 51, pl. xx., and their cognate series pertaining to a more westerly division of the country, are peculiarly instructive in their approximation to the standard type of the copper coins of Agathocles and Pantaleon (pl. xxvii., figs. 6, 7, 8, 9). Prinsep has elsewhere remarked upon this assimilation, which, however, Prof. Wilson seems somewhat inclined to disavow, when he observes, 'They are both rude lumps of copper, it is true, but they have nothing else in common; and the style of the Greek coins, however barbarous, is very superior to these Buddhist coins.' Whatever the merit of the execution, there remains the more important question whether these so-entitled 'Buddhist coins' are imitations of the Greek mintages, or whether the Greek money of analogous type represents an improvement upon the indigenous currency. I myself should certainly lean towards the latter deduction. I find an example[4] of the earliest form of oblong sections of copper, impressed with the stamp of an elephant, of a character similar to the ordinary reverse of the Buddhist coins, associated with the 'Taurus' symbol so frequent on the Eastern series. Next I would refer to the limited and imperfect mechanical execution of the Buddhist coins; in that they indicate a compromise short of a perfect coin, having the upper face struck inwards with a square die of less superficial extent than the ordinary surface of the piece, which punch is seemingly driven home, with a view to communicate through the metallic texture, a certain degree of convex protrusion, which has the effect of filling in the cavities of the device on the reverse, the die for which, as has been previously shewn in other

[1] ['Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vii. of 1854.]
[2] [Pl. xxvii., fig. 8, 9.]
[3] [Pl. iv., fig. 20, and pl. xxvii., figs. 10, 11, 12.]
[4] [British Museum, weight, 40 grs.]

specimens, partakes more of the nature of an anvil, with an intaglio engraved upon its surface, than that of a second die, in the usual acceptation of the term. The Bactrian-Greek coins, on the other hand, though nearly assimilating in many of their details,[1] take higher ground in the scale of art, not only in technic merit, but more definitively; inasmuch as their obverse and reverse dies, if not uniform and exactly opposed on the two surfaces, are of broader expanse in proportion to the size of the metal to be impressed, and they are equally raised in the gradations of the ordinary advance of coinage, in exhibiting legends, the vernacular transcript of which, at least, there would have been no difficulty in the local mint-masters imitating, had the indigenous coins been derivatives from the Greek stock.

In brief, the simple rule for the test of all these questions would be that, while there may well be retrogression in artistic execution, there will seldom be oblivion of mechanical adaptations when once communicated.

Another argument of no inconsiderable weight against the priority of the Greek examples of these associate mintages is, that the adoption of the square form of piece was opposed to the home practice of the western nations, while it was a natural sequence in the order of local coinages.

I have quoted the opinions of Burnouf and Wilson *à-propos* to Prinsep's first enquiry as to the derivation of the art of coining among the people of India (p. 53), but I have reserved any observations of my own on the subject, till I could illustrate their tenor in direct connexion with the figured exemplars whose fabric and execution should vindicate my deductions.

Prof. Wilson, it will be seen, hesitates to admit the originality or independence of the local development of this art, though, as I have before hinted, he might well have afforded to express a more authoritative judgment in favour of the inventive

[1] [The weights of the two classes assimilate closely,—four good specimens of the 'elephant' and 'lion' coins in the British Museum weigh severally, 181, 191, 193, and 201 grains. Two undamaged coins of Agathocles give 183 and 194 grs.]

claims of the race whose literature he has contributed so largely to make known to the European world of modern days! I, for my part, have no reserve in conceding to the early inhabitants of Hindústán a creative and improving faculty, such as sufficed to produce, without any apparent foreign aid, such specimens of mint workmanship as may fairly be designated complete coins.

The shades and gradations of this progress towards the mechanism of what we understand by coined money, may be exemplified in the collateral efforts of invention the different series display, each in its own order and degree. Had India waited for Greek art to teach it how to fabricate money, India's exhumed produce should have betrayed to us nothing short of coins of full die-struck maturity. As I have before remarked, to whatever point artistic execution might chance to advance, the country so instructed was not likely to have degenerated to the more crude and imperfect processes of undeveloped science. Once learnt, the combination of the two dies was but little more difficult than the application of one; and certainly its simplicity and effectiveness would recommend it far beyond the troublesome and unsatisfactory process of a separate casting for each individual piece, or any other of the initial efforts towards the production of money, eventually so far perfected *in situ*, that modern civilization rests content with pieces but little improved upon the form thus early adopted.

Having disposed so far of the internal evidence bearing on the origin and development of these early coinages, it is needful to examine to what extent the literature of the country contributes material for the determination of the epoch of the initial phase of Indian money. The solution of this question unfortunately depends upon the due definition of a second problem: that is, the age of the work from which we draw the scant testimony immediately available.

Prof. Wilson[1] is of opinion that the Laws of Manu, though

[1] [I annex some remarks with which Prof. Wilson has favored me, in reply to my query as to the date of Manu: "Sir William Jones' estimate of the date of Manu,

disfigured by interpolations, and only cast into their present form in about 200 B.C.—are still entitled to date many authentic portions of their text from 800 B.C. The passages relating to money and fines in the eighth and ninth books,[1] though inconsistently contrasted in the translation, sufficiently accord in the original version, where any absolute equivalent for the term 'money' is altogether wanting. If it be permissible, therefore, to accept these passages as veritable portions of the original, we may infer, that, at or about 800 B.C., the Hindús were already in possession of such a scheme of exchange as recognised the use of fixed and determinate weights of metal, not only as general equivalents and measures of value; but, further, that the system had already advanced so far as to adopt small and convenient sections of metal into the category of current money; and that the punch-marked pieces of the Plates may be taken to exemplify the first germs of improved commercial and fiscal aptitude, expressed by the transitional movement from normal weights to absolute coins.[2]

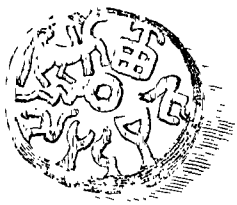
I conclude these digressions from the original text of my

eight centuries before Christ, is based upon a very fanciful and inconclusive analogy, and not entitled to any weight whatever. In fact, the Laws of Manu are a compilation of the laws of very different ages; many are word for word the same as the Sutras of some of the oldest Rishis. There are various unquestionable proofs of high antiquity:—the people of Bengal, Orissa, and the Draviras of the South were not Hindús when one passage was written; and Caldwell places Draviṛa civilisation through the Bráhmans six or seven centuries before Christ;—there is no mention of, or allusion to, Siva or Krishna, which places the work before the 'Mahábhárat';—there is evident familiarity with the Vedas, persons and legends being alluded to not found anywhere else. All such passages I could consent to consider at least as old as 800 B.C. On the other hand, there are many references to the merit of *Ahinsá* 'non-injury of animal life,' and these are probably later than Buddhism—and there is mention of the Chinas, a name that Sinologues say is not older than two centuries before Christ; but this may be an interpolation. However, I should think the work may have been put together about that time, although very much of it is a great deal older."]

[1] [Paras. 120, 140, 151, 159, 166, 169, 212, 213, 215, 220, 284, 298 (307?), 319, 330, 361, 392, 393, and page 399.]

[2] [I abstain from definitively quoting the following passage among my proofs of the existence of coined money in India prior to the advent of the Greeks, as I am aware that, though some translations render χρήματα ἀπηρίθμησαν by '*numeratâ pecuniâ*,' yet other authorities seem to disavow such an interpretation:—Mitford, v., 418; Thirlwall's 'History of Greece,' vii., 53; Arrian, p. 455, (*Ed.* Buchon, 'Panthéon Littéraire').—Ὡς δὲ ἐπελαζεν ἤδη τῇ πόλει Ἀλέξανδρος, ἤντινα μητρόπολιν εἶχεν

author by the exhibition of a wood-cut of an entirely new species of coin discovered in the Himálaya mountains near Almorah, and forwarded by the finder, with two others of nearly similar device, to the late Sir H. M. Elliot.



(No. 2.)

The coin represented in the cut will be seen to bear the Buddhist emblems of the Stag and Bo-Tree, associated with the legend शिवदतस Siva-datasa—a second specimen having the central device figured under No. 2; bears similarly the Stag and Bo-tree insignia on its margin; accompanied with the letters शिवपा . . The imperfectly developed reverses of these coins, the produce, like others previously described, of an engraved anvil, also bear Buddhist devices.]

INDO-SCYTHIC COINS (RESUMED).

(pl. xxi.)

Having disposed, to the best of our knowledge, of the earliest Hindú coins, we must now return to the Indo-Scythic series, for the purpose of conducting the reader through the promised line of connection into the second great field of Hindú imitation.

Enough has been said on former occasions of the two principal families of this type, the Kadphises and the

ἡ τοῦ Σάμβου χώρα (ὄνομα ἦν τῇ πόλει Σινδόμανα) αἱ τε πύλαι αὐτῷ ἀνοίγονται προσάγοντι, καὶ οἱ οἰκεῖοι τοῦ Σάμβου τά τε χρήματα ἀπηρίθμησαν[a] καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας μετὰ σφῶν ἄγοντες ἀπήντων.—Arrian, books vi. and xvi., ed. Amst. 1757.]

[a] Vulcanius legendum conjicit ἀναρίθμητα.

INDOSCYTHIC COINS,-KANERKOS GROUP.

Pub by Stephen Austin Hertford.

Kanerkos groups; but with a view of systematizing a little the information already obtained; and, at the same time, of introducing a few new and very beautiful coins lately added to our list, I have collected in the present plate the principal varieties of the Kanerkos Mithraics, subsequent to the adoption of the vernacular titles of *rao* and *rao nano rao.*

With the most common obverse of the Indo-Scythic family—a rájá clad in the Tartar coat, and inscribed PAO KANHPKI (fig. 3)—I have traced on the copper coins, as well as on the gold ones, the following series of reverses, NANO (for *nanaia*), NANAO, MAO, MIΘPO, MITPO, MIOPO, MIPA, AΘPO, OKPO, and a word not very clearly made out on fig. 8, OAΔO. Of these the explanations have been already attempted (pp. 126, etc.): *mithro, mitro, miro*[1] are but varieties of *mithra*, 'the Sun,' whose effigy on the genuine Greek coins of Kanerkos is plainly entitled HAIOΣ. I have conjectured *okro* to be intended for *arka*, the Sanskrit name of the 'Sun;' and his four-armed effigy in fig. 7,—more beautifully developed on the gold coin fig. 1, an unique obtained by Karámat 'Alí at Kábul,—confirms this opinion. *Athro* has been before stated to be the Zend word for the igneous essence of the Sun; and, accordingly, we find a flame depicted on the shoulders of the figures bearing this epithet, in fig. 6 and in fig. 2,[2] a very pretty little gold coin, for which I am also indebted to Karámat 'Alí. *Nanaia*, remaining feminine in NANA of

[1] Lieut. Cunningham has added this variety from a fine gold coin.

[2] [As notices regarding ancient coinages are rare and infrequent in the Sanskrit authors, I avail myself of this opportunity of extracting an interesting note of Prof. Wilson's, *à-propos* to these Kanerki pieces:—"Although not connected with the history of Kanerki or his innovations, it seems not unlikely that the use of the term *Nana* on his coins may serve to elucidate some points in the history of Sanskrit literature. We find, for example, in the play called 'Mrich-chakati,' in a Prâkrit

fig. 4, has been shewn to be the Persian Diana, or the Moon:—and, in strict accordance with the Bráhmanical mythology, this deity is made masculine in NANAO and MAO—the मास् *más* (*'lunus'*) of the Hindús—and on his effigy in fig. 9, (as in former drawings in vol. iii.,) the horns of the moon are seen to project from behind his shoulders.

The same devices in every respect are continued upon several succeeding coins of the *rao nano rao* series. The chief varieties of the obverse of these are given in figs. 2, and 9 to 14. The order in which they should be placed is necessarily doubtful; but, judging from the comparative perfection of the Grecian letters, the 'couch-lounger,' fig. 9, and the 'elephant-rider,' fig. 10, should have precedence over the rest.

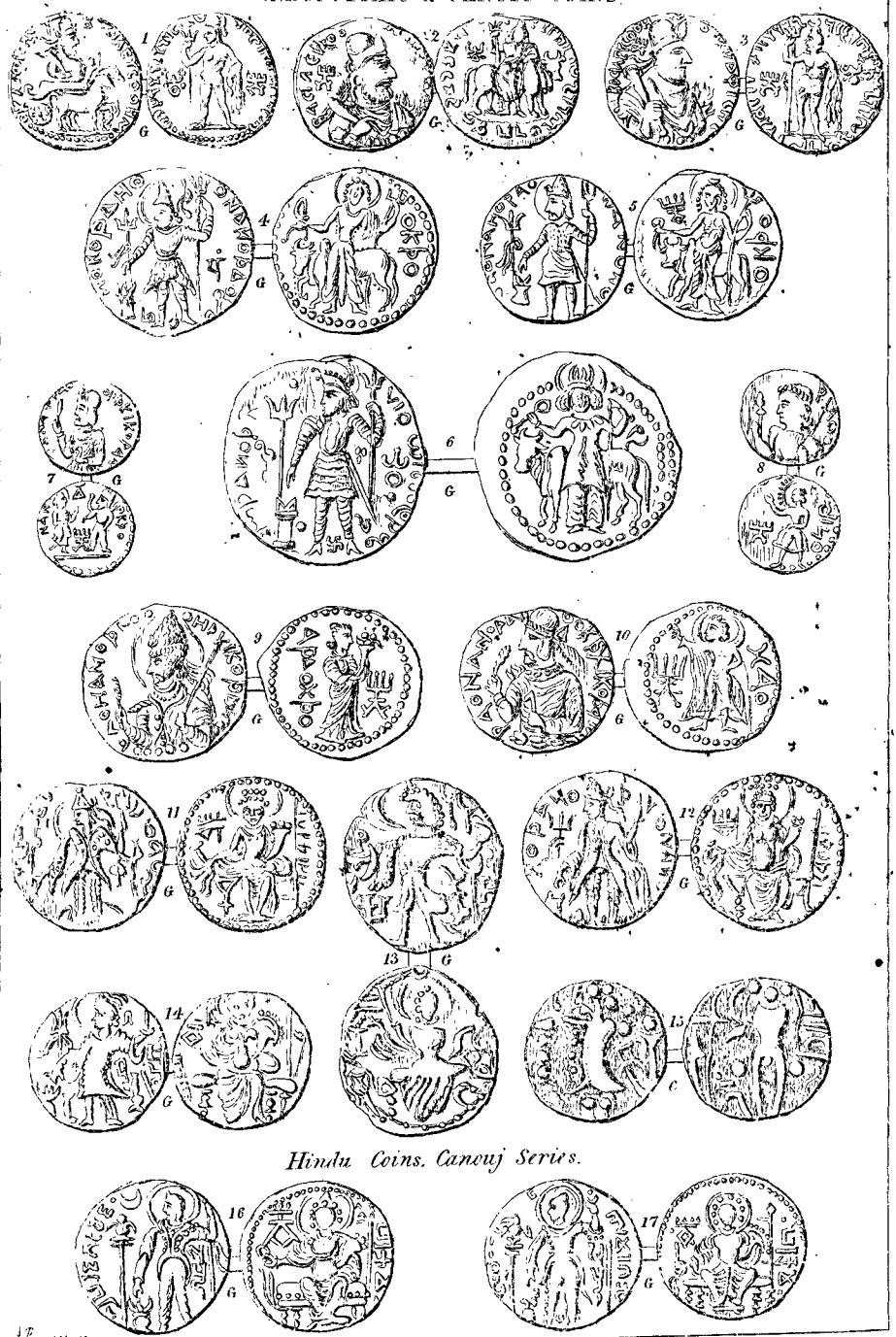
Fig. 9, from the Ventura collection, is a very perfect specimen of the 'couch lounger.' He has a 'glory' extended around his body, as well as his head, and his titles, *rao nano rao* and *korano*, are distinct; but the name is unfortunately missing, no more than OO being visible.

In fig. 10 we are not more fortunate, but from the succession of

passage, and also in the Sanskrit text of the 'Mitakshara,' the word *Nánáka* used to signify a coin.* No satisfactory etymology of this word can be offered, and it is, in all likelihood, not Sanskrit. It is possibly, therefore, derived from the *Náná* of the coins of Kanerki or his successors, from which *Nánáka* would be regularly formed. The commentator on the play describes a *Nánáka* as a coin having upon it the figure of Siva; a description sufficiently warranted by the coins of this period. If this origin of the word be accurately conjectured, the age of Yajnawalkya's legal dicta, and that of the 'Mrich-chakati,' must be subsequent to the æra of Kanerki; and whatever that may be, they will be of a less remote period than the age which popular belief assigns to them."—*Ariana Antiqua*, p. 364.]

* ["*Sakára.* एषा णाणाक मूशिका 'This filcher of broad pieces,' Act 1, s. 1. The comment calls *Nánáka* शिवाङ्कटङ्कः 'a coin with the mark of Siva.' The text of the 'Mitakshara' directs that the fabricators of false coins shall be punished, also the assayer who gives a false valuation. 'The falsifier of weights, copper grants, measures, and also of the *Nánáka*;' and, again, 'the assayer of *Nánákas*, who calls that which is genuine a forgery, or fails to detect a counterfeit, is to be punished in the highest degree, 'Mitakshara:' *Vyavahára*, p. 80. The commentator evidently considers the *Nánáka* to be either a gold or silver coin, as he explains its being false or forged कूट to signify either its bearing an impression different from that legally struck, or its being adulterated with copper and the like."]

INDOSCYTHIC & CANOUJ COINS.



Hindu Coins. Canouj Series.

Pub. by Stephen Austin, Hertford

o's, we may guess the word to be OOHMO or OOHPKI names already known on the gold coins. Some of the Manikyála 'elephant' coins had the name KEN PANO. This family is extremely numerous, and is procurable among the old pice of every bázár in Upper India.

The names on the last series, figs. 11 to 14 are illegible; but the letters are still Greek. The first three specimens are selected from a number in Col. Stacy's cabinet, to exhibit the varieties of the sitting posture, and its gradual transition to the squat position of the Hindús. Tod has supposed the figure in a coin similar to fig. 11 to be Parthian; but what he there took for a bow, was evidently the ornamental contour of the back of the prince's 'throne' or *sinhásan*. Fig. 14 is from a coin in Col. Smith's possession.

In fig. 15 of this plate, drawn from a plaister cast of a bronze embossed *chaprás* or badge, in the Ventura collection, we may conceive the full device of the 'elephant' obverse to be developed. The faulty proportion of the rider still prevails: the flowing fillets to the head-dress; the *ankús* to guide the animal; the 'glory' round the face, are visible in both; but the name is wanting.

Of figs. 16 and 17—the former from Col. Stacy's, the latter from Col. Smith's cabinet—I have already noticed a less perfect specimen while descanting on the earliest Hindú coins. The general style of the figures on both faces so strongly resembles that of the Kanerkos coins, that I feel disposed to look upon them as imitations. The legend has a fourth letter very distinct, besides some less distinct on the left hand *yodhiyala . . tajaya*.

INDO-SCYTHIC AND HINDÚ LINK-COINS.

(pl. xxii.)

It is worthy of remark, that none of the Kanerkos coins have a Pehlví legend; although the collateral series of Kadphises, which possesses so many attributes in common with them, invariably has this accompaniment. Considering that all the Bactrian family have the same, it would perhaps be better to place Kadphises as the last of the Pehlví series, immediately *before* Kanerkos,[1] and he will thus follow most conveniently the *Kadaphes*

[1] They must have been nearly contemporaneous. Lieut. Cunningham tells me, he has just obtained 163 Kanerki and Kadphises copper coins, which were dug up in a village near Benáres. The proportions of each type were as follows: Kadphises and 'bull,' 12; Kanerki, 60; 'elephant-rider,' 48; running or dancing figure on reverse, 13; 'couch-lounger,' 13; cross-legged, 5; squatted figure, 8; and undistinguishable, 4. In the collections from the Panjáb, the ill-executed descendants of the 'bull' reverse predominate.

choranos described in my last paper. Indeed, as the word *Kadphises* never occurs except in conjunction with some other name, as OOHMO, or OOKMO, it may be read as a patronymic appellation of the family—'the descendants of Kadaphes.'

Of the gold coins of Kadphises, two varieties only were hitherto known to us. By singular good fortune, Col. Smith has met with a third, and with duplicates of the former two, in the common bázár of Benáres! His agent purchased the three which are engraved at the top of pl. xxii. from a ṣarráf, who said they were sold to him two years ago by a Maráthí pilgrim to the Holy City, in whose family they must doubtless have been hoarded for many centuries, for their character precludes any suspicion of their genuineness. Of fig. 2, I have since found a duplicate in Karámat 'Alí's last despatch to myself: fig. 3 is a duplicate of the one Dr. Martin[1]

[1] The May number of the 'Asiatic Journal' contains an announcement of the safe arrival of this coin and of the collector himself, in Italy. Col. Tod, on his travels, happily found and translated the following notice from the 'Bulletin' of the Archæological Society of Rome, which our readers will read with avidity, although in fact it adds nothing new to our information:—"Dr. Honigberger has returned from a voyage in the east, laden with an abundant antiquarian harvest of most important medals. Among the more remarkable are a large one of Demetrius; another, very beautiful, and in fine preservation, of Euthydemus; and a third, extremely perfect, of Hormusdas of the Sassanian dynasty: all three, it would appear, hitherto unknown *(inédites)*. But what seems to us to merit still more consideration, is a similar monument, with the name of a king Kadfise written in Greek characters. Dr. Honigberger discovered it in the vicinity of Kábul; where, in a small wooden-case, amongst a quantity of ashes and earth, he found a little silver-box containing the above-mentioned coin, together with a blackish (or dark-coloured) Nerastra (stone in the form of an egg), with some small bones, apparently those of a child. Upon the medal is the bust of an aged man, of no very noble expression, bald-headed, in a simple garb, and holding in his right hand an implement resembling a hammer. Around it is a very distinct inscription, in Greek characters, ΚΑΔΦΙΣΕC ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥC; and, less well preserved, other characters resembling MO. (OOHMO.) On the reverse is a naked youth, on whose head are traces of a turban or cap, (*berretta*,) and an inscription in Persian characters of the ancient Pehlví *(caratteri Persiani dell' antico Pehlví)*. Honigberger states, that he has other medals of this same king, hitherto unknown to history and numismatics. Another medal in gold, which the same traveller left with an amateur of antiquities at St. Petersburgh, shews the entire figure of a similar king, armed from head to foot; and in the inscription,

extracted from the Jalálábád tope, depicted in Masson's pl. xiii., vol. iii.

Fig. 1 is as yet unique, and is of particular interest, from the style of the obverse. The king is here seen in a Grecian or Roman war-chariot, drawn by two horses, and driven by an *auriga* of diminutive proportions. The execution is very perfect, with the exception of the exaggeration of the principal figure. The inscription is quite perfect, BACIAEYC OOHMO KAΔΦICHC, and, on the reverse is a long inscription in Pehlví, which I cannot attempt to interpret, but the commencement seems to be *malakáo kadiapas*. . . . The symbols are the same as usual, and the perfect preservation of this beautiful coin enables us to note the flames playing on the shoulders of the monarch, similar to those on the effigy of *Athro* in the last plate, and to those on the image of Buddha, dug up by Dr. Gerard at Kábul, (see pl. xxvi. [viii.] vol. iii.) The next two figures (4, 5,) of the present plate remove the difficulty I have hitherto felt in determining the meaning of the 'bull' reverse. They are both gold coins of the Ventura collection; on the obverse, the titles *rao nano rao* and *korano* are visible; and in the area of fig. 4, what appears to be the Sanskrit syllable, ध; only we know that the Sanskrit of that ancient period was of a different form. But the reverse of these is what we should particularly notice, because the word OKPO (in one coin written downwards, in the other upwards,) marks the 'bull' and his priest as dedicated to the Solar worship, and not to the Siva of the Bráhmanical creed.

The next gold coin, No. 6, requires no particular notice, nor does fig. 8, on which the simple title PAO seems to designate a young prince; but the three following, also of Gen. Ventura's superb collection, must arrest us for a moment.

The name on the obverse of these is OHPKI, the same as on the Manikyála small gold goins: on the reverse, fig. 7 shews us the two radical emblems, *Nanaia* and *Okro*, united on the same coin, with the four-pronged symbol between them, and a mysterious triangle above. This little coin is unique. The next, fig. 9, is equally curious, though others in copper have been met with by Col. Stacy. The epigraphe borne by these is APΔOXPO which I suppose to mean 'the great Sun;' *arda* or *arta* in *Ardeshir* and *Artaxerxes*, having that acceptation. On the copper coins, the word appears corrupted to OPO OKPO and this is probably the epigraphe of the dancing figure in pl. xxi.

In fig. 10, the name of the Moon, MAO, and the lunar crescent, are satisfactory and conclusive as to that being the correct reading.

And now we come at last to the main object to which

which is well preserved, the Greek characters B and A are legible. On the reverse is a man, clothed, with a horned animal before him. The epigraph on this is likewise in the ancient Pehlví character.

this essay was directed, namely, to discover the prototype of the Kanauj coins in those of Indo-Scythic fabric.

The great majority of what are called the Kanauj gold coins have, on the obverse, a prince standing precisely in the attitude of Kadphises and Kanerkos. The dress alone betrays a slight variation, being, in some instances, almost the coat and trowsers of the present day. On the reverse is a female seated,—sometimes, on a couch, more frequently, in the native fashion,—holding in her left hand a cornucopia, in her right a *pása* or 'noose.' This class of coin has long been known. A brass pot, containing, it is said, two hundred of them, was accidentally discovered by the wearing away of the east bank of the river Huglí, ten miles above Calcutta, some years ago. Twenty-four were presented to the British Museum, an equal number to Dr. Hunter, and a portion to the India House; the remainder were dispersed among private collectors. It was from one of these that Wilson's No. 13 was drawn; and the same store furnished the figures in Marsden's plate. The latter author in his 'Numismata Orientalia,' (ii., 725,) has the following passage, which will serve excellently well as a text to the present section of our essay:

'Some learned antiquaries think they discover in these the evidences of a Greek origin; but on this point I do not see enough to justify an opinion, and shall refrain from conjecture; cherishing the hope that future discoveries of Indian medals may throw a light upon the subject, which is in itself of the higest interest.'

To this challenge we have now the good fortune to be able to respond most satisfactorily:

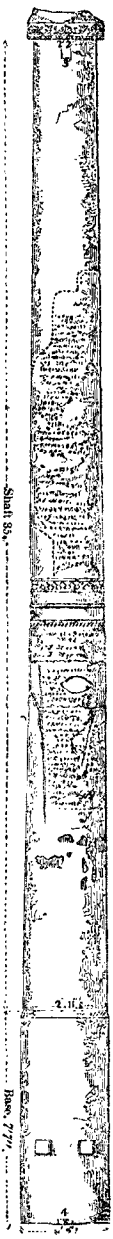
In figs. 11 and 12 (Ventura collection), we find precisely the obverse and reverse above described, with the marginal legend in Greek, *rao nano rao ... korano*, and the superaddition of some incipient rude Nágarí in the position afterwards occupied by legible Sanskrit

names and titles. To set the comparison in the clearest light, the two lowest coins in the page have been inserted, fig. 16 from Gen. Ventura's, fig. 17 from Col. Smith's, cabinet, to shew the identity of the two classes. The description of them in detail belongs to the next plate, where, instead of deteriorating, they will be found to improve, while they become Indianised. An opposite effect is, however, observable in a second branch derived from the same stock, which it is difficult to account for, unless by supposing a divided realm, one portion flourishing and patronising the arts, while the other maintained nought but the shadow of its pristine glory and ancestry. This declining gradation is exemplified in figs. 14 (Ventura); 13 (Stacy); and 15 (Karámat 'Alí); wherein at last it is barely possible to trace the semblance of the sacrificing rája on the obverse, or of the female on the reverse; although, from the insensible gradations in a multitude of specimens, such are undoubtedly the figures. Fig. 15 is a very common coin in silver and copper: one was extracted from the Manikyála tope, and was then supposed to bear the representation of a crab and a dagger! That coin, it will be remembered, bore the obvious Nágarí letters श्रीयग. Many other have been since discovered with the same; and it should be remarked, that the form of Nágarí in these differs essentially from that of the collateral branch.

Here then we have the Indo-Scythic paternity of the Kanauj coinage proved by the best evidence: and now we will proceed to examine, in detail, its Hindú offspring, before entering upon the natural enquiry whether such a fact is borne out by the meagre remnants of history and tradition that are applicable to this obscure period.

[My readers will not have accompanied me thus far without appreciating the difficulty I have experienced in selecting the most suitable position among these miscellaneous essays for the introduction of extraneous information, as pertinent to one or other of a detached series of papers following out any given section of Indian archæology. In no instance has this embarrassment presented itself in more force than in regard to the complicated articles on the Gupta coinage.

In this case I have endeavoured to meet the objection to scattered notes, either historical or numismatic, applicable to each coin in turn, by prefixing to the whole range of articles



devoted to the special subject, a general assemblage of the data for historical illustration; and, leaving Prinsep's text descriptive of coins and legends untouched, I have ventured as a sequel upon the experiment of an entirely new serial arrangement of the gold coinage of the Guptas, which gives me the opportunity of supplying all the latest readings without the unpleasant office of correction, and enables me to insert in the general catalogue such new specimens as have become available since Prinsep wrote: the whole being cast into one concise view, instead of following the somewhat perplexing order of the plates, whose distribution was necessarily faulty, both in the then novelty of the subject and the irregular incoming of specimens!

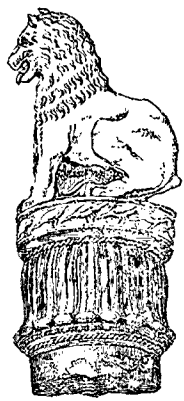
I commence my extracts with a copy of Prinsep's revised translation of the Gupta inscription on the Allahábád Láṭ.[1] The previous decipherment of this record by Dr. Mill, (which appeared in vol. iii. 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.'), had been based upon an imperfect fac-simile of the original. The admirable impressions of the writing on the column taken off on cotton cloth and on paper, by Capt. E. Smith, Bengal Engineers, in 1837, placed at Prinsep's command the full means of checking and correcting the errors of the early copy, while his own more mature experience in the normal forms of these and other Sanskrit characters rendered his lithographed transcript and transliteration more than usually trustworthy.

The wood-cut in the margin represents the style and dimensions of the Allahábád Monolith, upon whose surface this inscription is graven; it may be necessary to note that the more ancient writing on

[1] ['Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vi., 963, (1837).]

this stone, and for whose exhibition we may conclude the pillar to have been expressly fashioned, consists of a counterpart of the Edicts of Aśoka, which appear severally on the Lát at Dihlí, the rocks of Girnár on the western coast, and Dhauli in Cuttack—in addition to the transcript in the Semitic character on the rock at Kapurdigiri.

The capital figured below does not directly belong to this monument, but is taken from the original on the Gandak Lát, of which we have a second similar example. Hence we assume that a figure of a like character once crowned the Allahábád column.]



Capital of a Lát on the Gandak. (From Fergusson's 'Handbook.')

TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE ALLAHÁBÁD LÁT.

(Beginning, at the *fifth* line, with *yasya*, which has reference to a preceding eulogistic epithet in the genitive case. This verse is No. 2 in Dr. Mill's translation.)

(2). . . . In the midst of pleasurable things, happy in body and mind; levying his revenue in strict conformity with the Shástras[1]. . .

(3). . . . Destroying unhappiness, and putting an end to those who cause it; greedy for eulogistic praise, glory and extended rule:—

(4). . . . Whose enemies, amazed at his cavalcade and warlike armament, ask, What manner of man is this? Among his elevated counsellors . . . .

(5). . . . Whose eyes filled with the tears of affection, when, in consequence of his written mandate, (? his son or wife had been re-called).

(6). . . . Having seen his former good acts, delightful as nectar, his wife was much pleased. . . .

[1] Which enjoin that one-sixth of the produce of the land belongs to the king.

(7). . . . Inflamed with vigorous wrath against the presumptuous, but when submissive . . . .

(8). In battles, with his own arm humbling continually those who exalt themselves . . . .

(9). Cherishing (his subjects) with an affectionate, sweet, and contented disposition. . . .

(10). . . . The force of his arm being gradually strengthened by youthful exercise, by himself were killed. . . .

(11). (This verse is too much effaced to be made out.)

(12). Whose fame is spread (over the earth), as it were a cloth, white as the moon-beam. . . .

(13). . . . The lustre of his skill in well-directed learning causes exclamations, 'Who is there that is not his?' (He is a fortress), and they are, as it were, grass upon his ramparts, and much wealth is locked up within him.

(14). Of him, who is able to engage in a hundred battles, whose own arm's strength is his only ally: he with the mighty chest. . . .

(15). Whose person is become beautiful, from the marks of wounds received, and the scratches caused by his wielding the battle-axe, the arrow, the poniard, the elephant-spike, the cestus, the scymitar, the javelin, the club, the iron dart, the dagger,[1] and other weapons:

(16). The sovereign of Kausala, the tiger-king of the forests, the *mantarája* of Kaurátta, the sovereign of Argghâshṭapura, the lord of Míri and Uddyára, the just prince of Dattairaṇḍa, the *nila-rája* of Sápávamukta: [2]

(17). The king Hastivarma of Vinga, Ugrasena of Pálakka, Kuvera of Devaráshṭra Dhananjaya of Kausthalapura, etc., and all the kings of the southern roads *(dakshiṇápatha)*:—from his favors to all these (I say) becoming more dignified and prosperous.

(18). Whose power increases by the force or clemency respectively exercised towards Rudradeva, Matila, Nágadatta, Chandravarma, Gaṇapati, Nága, Nágasena, Achyuta, Nandi, Balavarma, and the other rájas of Áryavarta: who has made servingmen of all the Deva-rájas.

(19). The magnitude of whose authority takes pleasure in exacting attendance, obedience, and tribute from the kings of the neighbouring hilly countries of Samata, Ṭáṛavakra, Kámarúpa, Nepála, Kartripura, and from all the rájas of Málava, Arjunáyana, Yaudheya, Mádraka, Abhíra, Prárjuna, Sanakáníka, (or Sanaka Aníka) and Kákakhara:

(20). Who is famous for his great aid in restoring (to their thrones) the royal progeny of many deposed rájas:

(21). Whose most powerful dominion over the world is manifest in the maidens freely offered as presents, the jewels, the money, the horses, the produce of the soil, the ornaments of the precious metals brought as tribute by the heaven-desceended monarch, the Sháhán-Sháhí (of Persia), the Scythians, the Huns, by him of Sainhâṭṭa, and of other places; by the kings of all the isles, etc.:—who, mounted on his war chariot, has no competitor in the world:

[1] Paraśu, śara, śaṇku, śrini, prása, asi, tomara, vatsapála, náracha, vaitasti, etc. I have translated them as described to me rather than on dictionary authority, for in Wilson, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, and 9, are all given as varieties of arrows; *vatsapála* and *vaitasti*, I do not find, the latter is probably derived from *vaitasa*, 'a ratan.'

[2] 'A country (lately) freed from a curse,'—perhaps some physical calamity.

(22). Whose majesty exults in the princes endowed with hundreds of virtues and good qualities prostrate at his feet: a man inspiring fear as of instant annihilation: altogether incomprehensible; yet tender-minded to those who are submissive and bow before him; and extending mercy to hundreds of thousands whom he has subdued:

(23). Who lends a willing ear, and a consoling tongue to the case of the poor and destitute, the orphan, and the sick: is very kind to the brave of his army; is comparable to Dhanada (Kuvera), Varuṇa, Indra, and Antaka (Yama[1]):

(24). Who has won and again restored the riches of many kings conquered by his own right hand: a man who strictly keeps his word, whose accomplishments in fashion, in singing and playing, put to shame the lord of the immortals (Indra) Vrihaspati, Tumburu, Nárada, etc.; who is called 'the king of poets' from his skill in making verses—the livelihood of the learned!—whose excellent conduct proceeds from the observations stored in his retentive memory:

(25). Who regularly performs all the established ordinances:—who is a very god among men:—the great-grandson of Mahárája Srí Gupta; the grandson of Mahárája Srí Ghaṭot Kacha; the son of Mahárája Adhirája Srí Chandra Gupta.

(26). Born of Mahádeví Kumára Deví, the daughter of Lichchhavi; Mahárája Adhirája Srí Samudra Gupta: how he filled while alive the earth with the fame of his conquests, and is now departed to enjoy the supreme bliss and emancipation of Indra's heaven, this lofty pillar, which is, as it were, his arm, speaks forth: a standing memorial to spread his fame in many directions:—erected with the materials accumulated through the strength of the arm of his liberality (now in repose), and the sufficiency of the holy texts.

(Verse). The clear water of Gangá that issues from the artificial pool formed by the encircled hair of the lord of men (Siva) purifies the three worlds.

May this poetical composition of the slave of the feet of the great king, whose mind is enlightened by the great favor of admission to the presence, son of the administrator of punishments (magistrate), Dhruva Bhúti,—the skilled in war and peace, the counsellor of the young prince, the great minister Harisena, afford gratification and benefit to all creatures!

Executed by the slave of the feet of the supreme sovereign, the criminal magistrate, Tilabhaṭṭa.

When restored to its natural order we find the epithets applied to the deceased emperor of Hindústán, not only much less hyperbolical, and reposing less upon mythological allusions, but crowding in a short space a most unexpected and curious survey of the political divisions of India at the time, containing even the names and titles of very many of the reigning families, and extending beyond the boundaries of India proper into the regions of the 'great king' of Persia and the hordes of the Huns and Scythians! It may be poverty of imagination in the poet that has wrought us this good; for, once laying hold of an idea, he rings the changes upon it as long as he can find words, and then draws up with an inelegant 'etc.' Thus, in the fourteenth and fifteenth lines he enumerates no less than nine warlike weapons the

[1] Gods of the earth, water, air, and fire respectively.

king's brawny arms were scarred in wielding: and thus, when he mentions tributary states he fortunately spares none that Samudra's supremacy could in any degree comprehend! The passage is altogether so curious that I must crave permission to insert a copy of it in the Roman character before I endeavour to trace any of the countries alluded to. The continual recurrence of the adjectival termination *ka*, (the prototype of the modern genitive postposition) led me to suspect the nature of the sentence.

(16) *Kausalaka mahendra, mahákántáraka-vyághra-rája, Kaurátṭaka maṇṭarája-argghásháṭapuraka-mahendra, mírika-uddyáraka-swámi, dattairaṇḍapallaka-dayana, káncheyaka vishṇu, sápávamuktaka* (17) *nílarája.* . . . .

In this sentence we have the regal designations of nine princes; unless (which is probable enough) the terms *mahendra, rája, swámí, níla-rája, dáyana*, etc. are employed with the same general acceptation of 'prince,' to vary the expression euphoniously.

The kingdom of Kausala (or Kosala) is well known from the Buddhist authors to be modern Oude,[1] (Ayodhá) or Benáres,—the Kásikosala of Wilford. The *Vyághra-mukhas*, 'tiger-faced' people, are mentioned in the 'Varáh-sanhita,' among the eastern countries; and Kántára, a place south of Allahábád; but the name may apply to any woody tract infested by tigers. The next name, 'Kauráṭṭaka,' is unknown, nor can the title 'Maṇṭa-rája' be well explained. It may be the district of Kuru, near Tahneswar. 'Argghásháṭapuraka,' the next name, may be construed as the 'eight cities' where due 'reverence' was paid to bráhmans: 'Mírika' and 'Uddyáraka' seem derivable from *míri* 'cream,' and *uda* 'water,'—'maritime countries'; 'Dattairaṇḍaka' may be some country famous for producing the 'castor-oil plant'; 'Káncheyaka' may be Kánchipur, the 'golden city' in the south, mentioned in the 'Bráhmanda-puráṇa'; *sápávamuktaka*, also, bears an allegorical interpretation—'freed from a curse'; as likewise the rája's title, (*níla*, 'blue')—can the Nílagiri be his locality? it is one of the mountain divisions of Jambudwípa in the 'Bráhmanda-puráṇa': 'like the lapis-lazuli gem is the Níla mountain.'[2] Thus it may be uncertain whether these are figurative or real names, though it is hardly to be supposed that countries purely imaginary would be introduced as subject to the rule of a man just deceased. The list continues in the same strain:—

(17) *(Níla-rája), vaingeyaka hastivarma, pálakkaka-ugrasena, devaráshṭraka kubera kausthalapuraka dhananjaya, prabhṛiti sarva-dakshinápatha rája graha-samájánugraha janita pratáponmishra máhábhágyasya.*

[1] Wilford however makes Kausala the delta or Sundarban tract of Bengal.—*As. Res.*, ix., 260.

[2] 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. viii., 345, (Wilford's Essay on Geography.)

All these names, it says, belong to that division of India entitled 'Dakshinápatha,' the lowermost of the four equilateral triangles into which the Mahábhárata divides ancient India—'the 'Dachinabades' of Arrian. This division, known to the contemporary of Alexander (Euemerus) was still extant in the time of Nonnus. *Vaingeyaka* is a regular derivation from *Vinga;* but neither this country nor Pálakka, are to be found in the Pauránic lists of the southern countries, unless the latter be the country of the Pallis.[1] It must be remarked, that the names of their rulers are circumstantially given—Hastivarma and Ugrasena: and following them, we have Kuvera and Dhananjaya of Devaráshtra and Kausthalapura, places equally uncertain; though the former has some affinity to Devagiri or Deogir; *ráshṭra* implying merely 'country,' Maháráshṭra might also be understood. Kusasthallí is said by Wilford to have been the name of Oujein in the Treta-yuga: Tod names the same place 'on the Indian ocean,' but the general interpretation is Kanauj, a place out of the limits of the 'Dakshinápatha.'

The enumeration continues in the eighteenth line, as follows:—

Rudradeva, Matila, Nágadatta, Chandravarma, Gaṇapati, Nága, Nágasena, Achyuta, Nandi, Balavarma, adyaneka-Áryavarta-rája, etc., ending with *paricharakikrita sarvadevarájasya.*

Here we have the actual names of ten rájas of India Proper or Aryavarta, without their respective countries, as though they were too well known to need insertion. The first, 'Rudra,' probably belongs to the Sáh dynasty of Sauráshtra, where the name so often occurs: 'Ganapati' is also a family name: but few or none of the others can be identified in the very imperfect lists of this early period.

In the following line we have a catalogue of provinces, whose kings were probably unknown by name to the writer:

(19) *Samata, ṭáḍavakra, kámarúpa, nepála, kartripura-adi pratyanta, nripatibhir málavárjunáyana, yaudheya, mádraka, abhíra, prárjuna, sana káníka kákakhara parikádibhiś cha; Sarva kara dánájnákarana pranámágamana* (20) *paritoshita prachaṇḍa sásanasya.*

The first five are the names of boundary mountain states on the north-east. The first two names cannot be determined, but the text does not permit Dr. Mill's plausible reading *Sumata dárachakra,* 'the country friendly to pines.' 'Kámarúpa,' and 'Nepála' are well known: 'Kartripura' may possibly be Tripura or Tipperah. Then follow those more to the north and west, most of which are to be found in the lists of the north-west countries extracted by Wilford from the Puránas, and published in 'As. Res.', viii., 340-343.

[1] Placed by Wilford in Candeish, and otherwise called Abhíras.—'As. Res.', viii., 336.

'Málava' he would make the modern Málwa, but this may be doubted, as it is classed with 'Mádraka, Yaudheya, Arjunáyana,' and 'Rájanya,' (? Prárjuna) as 'drinking the waters of the Airávati (Hydraotes),' and consequently in the Panjáb. 'Mádraka' is placed near Taxila or Takshasila: 'Yaudheya' or the 'country of Yuddha' is very frequently mentioned in the Puránas, as lying between the Betasta (Hydaspes), and Sindu (Indus). Wilford calls it Sinde Proper, the 'Ayud' of travellers of the 16th century, and 'Hud' of the Book of Esther. It must not be confounded with Ayodhya or Oude: and it may be here remarked that the Behat group of Buddhist coins and sometimes Bactro-Pehlví legends on the reverse, having constantly the word 'Yaudheya' on the margin, in the old character, certainly belongs to this kingdom. The 'Abhiras' are shepherd-kings (or more probably hill-tribes) in various parts of India; those here enumerated must be the Abhíras of the upper part of the Indus near Attock. Abhisara isoften understood as Kashmír, the kingdom of Abisares, if we trust Wilford. The two final names 'Sana-káníka'[1] and 'Kákakhara' are unknown: the former reminds us forcibly of the 'kanirka' of our coins; and the latter has some analogy to the 'kaka bambas' of Gen. Court's map, to the north-west of Kashmír. 'Kanaka' appears in Wilford's list as the name of an impure tribe on the west border.

Passing over the panegyric about his restoring the descendants of long deposed kings—which, however, is a fact not to be slightly regarded in a historical point of view—we come to another very curious passage:

(20) *Daivaputra shdhi; shdhánashdhi, saka, murundaih; sainhdttaka adibhischa,*—(21) *sarva dwipavásibhir*, etc.

Here we have a picture of his foreign relations, the nations who used to send him presents, or tribute of jewels, coin, horses, fruit, and even their daughters! First,[2] *Daivaputra shdhi* (षाहि), 'the heaven-descended king': this title would apply to the Parthian [Sassanian] kings who are styled in the well known triple inscriptions, ΕΚΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΘΕΩΝ, and on the common Sassanian coins, 'offspring of the divine race of gods.' But the two first letters are slightly obliterated and might be read either *Dábha-*, or *Dára-putra*: the latter, 'son of Darius,' would still apply to the same parties, and this is confirmed by the next words, षाहानषाहि, in which we recognize the very Persian title شاهانشاه 'king of kings,' which prevailed to the extinction of the Sassanian dynasty in the seventh century, so that here, at any rate, we have a

[1] [See Udayagiri Inscription, quoted at page 246.]

[2] [I have examined the original with a special view to the determination of this word, and read the passage दैवपुत्र षहि षहाषहि.]

limit to the *modernicity* of our inscription. Of the 'Sakas' so much has been said that it is not requisite to dwell long on them: they are the Parthians of Wilford's chronological table of Indian dynasties; others identify them with the Sacæ, the Scythians, the Sákya tribe of Buddhist notoriety, and the Vikramáditya opponents who introduced the Saka era. The 'Murundas,' according to Wilford,[1] are a branch of the Indo-Scythians who succeeded the Parthians; and, in fact, the same as the Hunas or Huns. Thirteen kings of this dynasty, he says, reigned in the northern parts of India. "They are the 'Morundæ' of Ptolemy, who were masters of the country to the north of the Ganges, from Dihlí to Gaur and Bengal. They are declared in the Puránas to be *mlechchhas*, 'impure' tribes, and, of course, they were foreigners. The same are called *Maryanthes* by Oppian in his 'Cynogetics,' who says that the Ganges runs through their country."

Sainhát.a, 'the country of the lion,' *(sinha)*, might safely be identified with Sinhala, or Ceylon: especially as it is followed by *sarva-dwipa*, 'all the isles,' which must refer to the *anca diva* of Wilford, (the Laccadives?) called by Ptolemy the 'Aigidiæ[2]'; but I find a more plausible elucidation in Col. Sykes' memoir on the geology of the Dakhan, which informs us that 'Sainhát.t.a' is the proper name of the hilly range to which we give the appellation 'Western Ghats.'

As a proud peroration to this formidable list of allies and tributaries, the poet winds up with the brief epithet-words, *prithivyám apratirathasya*, 'whom in his war-chariot none in the world can rival or withstand,' the very epithet found on one of the coins of Samudra--gupta—*apratirathas*—which I at first read *apatirurha*. However much we may allow for exaggeration, it will be granted that the sovereign to whom even a fair share of all this power and vast extent of empire could be attributed, must have exercised a more paramount authority in India Proper than most of its recorded kings. The seat of his own proper kingdom is unfortunately not mentioned, but I think it may be fairly deduced negatively from this very circumstance. Magadhá, Ujjayiní, and Surasena are omitted; these therefore, in all probability, were under his immediate rule, and I may appeal again to the frequency of his coins discovered at Kanauj, as a reason for still fixing his capital at that place; his family connection with the Lichchhavis of Allahábád, will account for the commemoration of his deeds at that many-roaded *(aneka-márga)* focus.

Of what family were Samudra and the preceding Guptas, is nowhere mentioned. Dr. Mill's claim to the *Súrya-vansa* descent for

[1] 'Asiatic Researches,' viii. 113, and table. [2] 'Asiatic Researches,' viii. 186.

them, however, falls to the ground from the correction of the epithet *Ravi-bhuva*, 'sun-descended,' which turns out to be only the verb *babhuva*, 'was.'

But I rather avoid being led into any disquisition upon this fruitful subject, since I agree in all that has been brought forward by the learned commentator on this and the Bhitárí inscriptions in regard to the Chandragupta of neither of them being the Sandracottus of Megasthenes. On the other hand I incline much to identify him with the prince whom the Chinese Buddhist travellers found reigning in the fifth century having a name signifying 'cherished by the moon.[1]'

[My second extract in illustration of the history of the Guptas consists of]

THE RESTORATION AND TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE BHITARÍ LÁṬ. By the Rev. Dr. Mill, *Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta.*

The discovery in the Gházípúr district, of a pillar with an inscription bearing the same royal names and genealogy as No. 2 on that of Allahábád, and continuing the series downward by three or four generations from Samudra-gupta, the principal subject of panegyric in both, might be expected to furnish valuable supplementary information on points which that monument left in obscurity. What was the seat and extent of the empire of this Gupta dynasty, and what was the precise place which the acts and events there described bore in the general history of Northern India in the ages that followed the great eras of Vikramáditya and Sáliváhana,—are points on which we might hope to gain more light by a document of this length, than from any others which the progress of antiquarian discovery has yet produced.

The actual information obtained from this inscription, though not altogether destitute of new and interesting particulars relating to the state of India at the time of these kings, as I hope to shew in the few historical remarks subjoined to the reading and translation, is yet far from affording the desired satisfaction on the principal points just mentioned. Except the bare point of succession, and some adventures

[1] [Prinsep concludes his notice of this inscription with the following observation on the positive nature of his transcript:—"Every letter has been found in the most satisfactory manner; and the only precaution to be attended to in reading is as to the application of the vowel *á*, which occupies different places in different letters *as in the Silasthambha alphabet.* Thus, it is attached to the stroke of the *j* upward; to the second foot of the न *n*, downwards; to the ट *t*, horizontally with a curve; to व *b*, as a hook on the centre; and to other letters, at top, in the Tibetan fashion.]

rather alluded to than related in verses of a somewhat obscure style of composition, the information of a directly historical nature extends little beyond what is obtained from the numismatic researches so ably and indefatigably conducted by our Secretary [James Prinsep]. Whether a more complete transcript would much increase our information from this source, may also be doubted. Lieut. Cunningham, to whose zeal and activity the inquirers into Indian antiquities are so deeply indebted, states that he made the transcript of this Bhitárí inscription under very serious disadvantages: but I am not disposed to attribute to any imperfections arising from this cause, the whole or even the greater part of the errors discoverable in the inscription as now exhibited. Some are certainly chargeable on the sculptor who formed the letters on the pillar, unfaithfully representing the remembered or written archetype before him: and these errors are of sufficient magnitude to induce the probable belief that others occasioning more perplexity in the deciphering, may have arisen from the same source. From whatever source, however, they proceed, they are capable of being completely detected and amended in all the earlier part of the inscription: viz. the introduction, and the laudatory verses that follow; but when the verse suddenly ceases or changes, and that in the midst of the stanza, as it does about the middle of the 14th line on the pillar,—it is impossible to say how far errors of the same kind with those before found and corrected, (such as their sudden cessation itself seems to indicate) may have produced the general unintelligibility of the document until we come to its last line, the 19th. With the exception of those four lines and a half, the rest, notwithstanding the indistinctness of many of the letters (indicated by the frequent double readings and occasional lacunæ in Lieut. Cunningham's pencil copy), and the more serious difficulty arising from the positive errors above mentioned, may be interpreted with sufficient confidence.

That I may not, however, seem to be gratuitously imputing error to an unknown artist more than twelve centuries dead, with a view to screen the want of skill or accuracy in his living transcribers and interpreters,—I am bound to make good the charge in question in detail, and in a manner that may bring conviction to the mind of every competent scholar. The substitution of **श** for **स** in the word **यतावसतेः** *(cohibitis-affectibus-viri)* in the sixth line, is certainly the mistake of the graver, not of his copyist: as is also the equally evident substitution in the following line of the trisyllable **पृथिवी** *prithivi*[1] for its

[1] [It is highly desirable that this inscription should be copied *de novo*, and subjected to a revision similar to that applied to Dr. Mill's translation of the Allahábád record.]

synonyme पृथ्वी *prithví* 'the earth'; where the latter word of two long syllables is indispensably required by the measure of the verse, indicated as it is by all the preceding and subsequent words in a manner not to be mistaken. These words in their written forms in the ancient character, are too unlike what are severally substituted for them to make this the possible error of a European copyist unacquainted with Sanskrit,—while they are precisely such mistakes as a Hindú superficially acquainted with that language might most easily commit, if uninspected, in a work like this: the former arising from an ignorant confusion of two words of similar sound, but wholly different etymology as well as meaning,—the latter from total inattention to the rules of metrical harmony. Now the existence of two such glaring errors of the sculptor, uncorrected, renders it highly probable that we should impute to him a large proportion, if not the whole, of the following equally manifest errors. . . . .

With these nine specimens of most evident error in as many lines of the inscription, the two last errors implying the skipping of several syllables at once,—and closed with the fact that there is no integral number of Mánini stanzas of four lines, but five and a half only from their commencement in the 7th line of the pillar,—the grounds of conjectural emendation were too slight for its probable application, when the guide of metre was wanting. Accordingly, from the 14th to the last line of the pillar, which supplied a stanza in the ordinary Anushtubh measure, (a space constituting about one quarter of the inscription) I have been content to group together those syllables which formed connected meanings; leaving the rest, in which no such connexion appeared, uncopied; and abandoning, with respect to them, a task so much resembling that which the Chaldean king imposed on his magicians,—that of supplying the dream as well as the interpretation.

After this explanation, I proceed to exhibit the text [omitted in this reprint], together with an English version of those three-quarters of the inscription which are sufficiently intelligible; beginning with the seven lines of prose that declare the genealogy and the succession:—

(TRANSLATION).

'Of the liberator of the greatest kings, incomparable on the earth,—by whom loads of forest timber are collected for the holocaustic service of Indra, Varuna, and Yama, by the completion of sacrifices bearing the flavour of the waters of all the four circumambient occeans,—whose glory reaches to the firmament,—who on every side bestows liberally as the golden-sided mountain (Meru),—by whom Meru himself might be borne aloft in the piercing talons of his mighty arm,—the great grandson

of the great king Gupta,—grandson of the great king Ghaṭot-kacha,—son of the great king, the sovereign of kings, Chandra-gupta,—maternal grandson of Lich-chhavi,—born of the great goddess-like Kumára-devi,—the great king, the sovereign of kings, Samudra-gupta :—

Of him, when the accepted son was pronounced to be the son of Devi, daughter of Mahádaitya, the incomparable worshipper of the supreme Bhagavat (Krishna), the great king, the sovereign of kings, Chandra-gupta,—then his son, before addicted to illiberality, and a man of great parsimony, was purified by the waters of destiny. Such was the excellent blessedness of the worshipper of the supreme Bhagavat, the great king, the sovereign of kings, Kumára-gupta, celebrated for his mildness of disposition, and of subdued passions united to accumulated fame,—a blessedness pervading even the forests and desert lands.

(*Verse*). Having well surmounted the calamities that oppressed the earth, the chief and unique hero of the Gupta race, of face like a lotus, displays the glory of conquest: even he, by name Skanda-gupta of distinguished and spotless renown,—who in the spirit of his own dreadful deeds danced in the fierce dance (Siva-like after his vengeance for Sita's death).

Possessed of a clear insight into the profound wisdom of the Tantras, with a spirit of unceasing silence (on their incommunicable mysteries;—and, in accordance with their precept and discipline,) mangling the flesh of the refractory in successive victories; he by whom their challenge in battle being accepted and answered, forms a splendid spectacle in every quarter of the earth,—is declared even by alien princes to be one whose mind could not be shaken by sudden and unexpected calamity.

For, afterwards, by him to whom the keeping of his treasure was committed,—the boundary, which was given as a sacred deposit and worthy to be extended to the extremities of the earth, was treacherously taken away; and the prosperity of the family removed from it,—(even by him, the minister aforesaid), coveting the wealth of that family, having previously professed much attachment in words, but destitute of the light (of truth), and followed by calamitous defection.

Yet (having conquered) the land, his left foot was fixed there on a throne yet untrodden by mortals, and having obtained excellent room, and laid by his weapons, he reposed from war on his (inaccessible) mountain. His pure and noble exploits, the exploits of a man of unspotted fame, although long opposed by the kings of the excellent seven hills, are now sung even by them.

In every region did men surround that young prince, when his father had gone to heaven, as one who had attained most illustrious prosperity: whom his father's brother and the other chiefs did first (thus surround, hailing him) as their new sovereign, in the midst of the joy of conquest, with tears in their eyes.

May he, who is like Krishna still obeying his mother Devaki, after his foes are vanquished, he of golden rays, with mercy protect this my design!

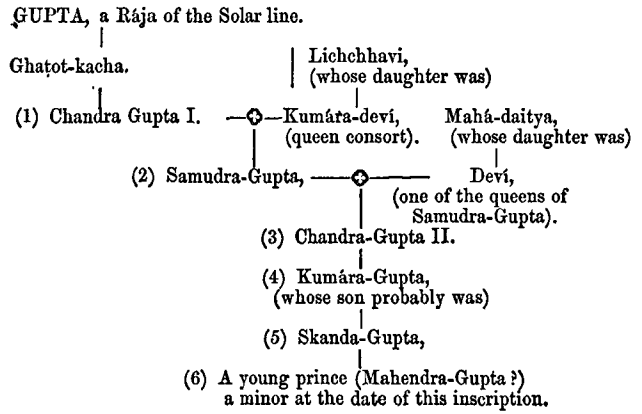
Whatever prince in this place perpetually worships this sacred image, is considered by Rudra (Siva) himself as one whose understanding is ennobled and rendered praise-worthy by this affectionate devotion, even in the land of Arha (Indra) and the other celestials.'

REMARKS ON THE ABOVE INSCRIPTION.

The account of the parentage of Samudra-Gupta, son of Chandra-Gupta, which closed the Allahábád inscription, forms, in nearly the same words, the beginning of the present; and his panegyric, which pervaded the earlier monument, is the leading subject in the prose part of this. The first new fact is the designation of his son and successor, Chandra-Gupta the Second; whom it seemed most obvious, on the first reading of the names, to identify with the expected son and heir of the eighteenth line of the pillar of Allahábád, the offspring of Samudra-Gupta and his principal queen, the daughter of the proud princess Sanhárikâ. This identification, however, is removed by the terms of the inscription itself: this son does not succeed by right of primogeniture, but as peculiarly selected (*parigrihíta*), on account of his eminent virtues, from the rest of the family or families of the polygamist king, and is the offspring, not of Sanhárikâ's daughter, but of the daughter of a prince named Mahádaitya. The son and successor of Chandra-Gupta II. is Kumára-Gupta, who is represented as having been a very unprincely character at the time of his father's adoption as heir to the throne; but, having been disciplined by some unnamed fortune, becomes, on his own accession to the throne, an emulator of the mild virtues and the Vaishnava devotion of his parent. The next king is Skanda-Gupta, who may be most probably supposed to be the son of his immediate predecessor, Kumára-Gupta; but, on this point, the verse, which here takes the place of the more narrative prose, is unfortunately silent. We only hear of his distinguished fame as a warrior; and that his piety, congenial with his acts, does not take the same turn with that of his two nearest predecessors, of devotion to Vishnu the Preserver, but attached itself to the opposite system, now so prevalent in this part of India, the deep, mysterious, and sanguinary system of the Tantras. After the conquest and slaughter of many opposing kings, we hear of his eventful triumph over a more formidable enemy than all, a treacherous minister, who, for a time, succeeds in dispossessing him of his kingdom. After vanquishing, however, the rival monarchs of the seven hills, and resting peacefully on his laurels in his inaccessible mountain throne, (localities which carry us away from the immediate vicinity of the Ganges, but whether towards the north or Central India, we have no means of determining,) this worthy worshipper of Siva and Durgá ascends to heaven; and his brother and the other chiefs, with mingled feelings of grief and affectionate allegiance, proclaim his young child the heir to his father's crown and conquests. This youth is described as obedient to the queen dowager, his mother, as was Krishna to his mother Devakí; but the part of the inscription that proceeds to speak of him is confused

and unintelligible; neither does he appear to be once named; unless we conceive some letters of line 18 to give his name thus: Mahesa-príta Gupta, 'the Gupta attached to Siva, *or* beloved by Siva.' He is probably the Mahendra Gupta whose name occurs in several of the newly discovered coins of this dynasty.

The royal family of the Guptas, therefore, as adapted to the time of this inscription, stands as follows; the Arabic numerals denoting sovereigns, or those to whom the prefix *Mahárája Adhirája* belongs, in the order of their succession.


GUPTA, a Rája of the Solar line.
Ghaṭot-kacha.
Lichchhavi, (whose daughter was)
(1) Chandra Gupta I.
Kumára-devi, (queen consort).
Mahá-daitya, (whose daughter was)
(2) Samudra-Gupta,
Devi, (one of the queens of Samudra-Gupta).
(3) Chandra-Gupta II.
(4) Kumára-Gupta, (whose son probably was)
(5) Skanda-Gupta,
(6) A young prince (Mahendra-Gupta?) a minor at the date of this inscription.

[The next item of evidence is derived from the inscription on the eastern Gate at Sanchí, near Bhilsa. Prinsep, in his introductory comments on this monumental writing, remarks:—]

It records a money contribution and a grant of land by an agent of the ruling sovereign, Chandragupta, for the embellishment of the edifice (or perhaps for the erection of the ornamented gateway) and for the support of certain priests, and their descendants for ever.

The value of a facsimile in preference to a copy made by the eye was never more conspicuous than in the present instance. Turning to the engraving of Mr. Hodgson's copy in vol. iii. 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', we find his artist has totally omitted all the left-hand portion of the inscription, which has been injured by the separation of a splinter in the stone! The initial letter of each line is, however, distinctly visible on the stone beyond this flaw; and as not more than four or five letters in each line are thus destroyed, it is not very difficult to supply them, without endangering the sense. This has now been done by the Society's pandit; and the only place at which he

hesitated was in filling up the amount of the donation, in the seventh line, which may have been hundreds or thousands or upwards, but could hardly have been units, in a display of regal beneficence. I have endeavoured to make a literal translation:—

(TRANSLATION).

'To the all-respected Śramanas, the chief priests of the *dvasath* ceremonial,[1] who by deep meditation have subdued their passions, the champions (sword) of the virtues of their tribe:—

The son of Amuka, the destroyer of his father's enemies,[2] the punisher of the oppressors of a desolated country, the winner of the glorious flag of victory in many battles, daily by his good counsel gaining the esteem of the worthy persons of the court, and obtaining the gratification of every desire of his life through the favor of the great emperor Chandragupta;—having made salutation to the eternal gods and goddesses, has given a piece of ground purchased at the legal rate; also five temples, and twenty-five (thousand?) dînârs;[3] (half of which has been spent for the said purchase of the said ground), as an act of grace and benevolence of the great emperor Chandragupta, generally known among his subjects as Deva-râja (or Indra).

As long as the sun and moon (shall endure), so long shall these five ascetics enjoy the jewel-adorned edifice, lighted with many lamps. For endless ages after me and my descendants may the said ascetics enjoy the precious building and the lamps! Whoso shall destroy the structure, his sin shall be as great, yea five times as great, as that of the murderer of a brâhman.—In the Samvat (or year of his reign?) ४, (in the month of) Bhâdrapada, the tenth (day).'[4]

[1] आवसथ, 'a fire-temple, or place where sacrificial fire is preserved' (Wilson's Dictionary); also 'a particular religious observance.' The latter is preferable, as the fire-worship is unconnected with the Buddhist religion.

[2] This epithet is doubtful: the pandit has supplied a क to make it intelligble, भ्ररभङ्गासु(क)रातिः

[3] This document, if I have rightly interpreted it, teaches us that the current coin of the period was entitled *dînâr*, which we know to be at the present day the Persian name of a *gold* coin, although it is evidently derived from the Roman *denarius*, which was of itself silver; while the Persian *dirham* (a silver coin) represents the *drachma*, or dram weight, of the Greeks. The word *dînâra* is otherwise derived in the Sanskrit dictionaries,[a] and is used in books for ornaments and seals of gold, but the weight allowed it of thirty-two *ratis*, or sixty-four grains, agrees so closely with the Roman and Greek unit of sixty grains, that its identity cannot be doubted, especially when we have before us the actual gold coins of Chandragupta (didrachmas) weighing from 120 to 130 grains, and indubitably copied from Greek originals in device as well as weight.

[Burnouf, in noticing the occurrence of the same word, adds a note in reference to this passage, which I transcribe:—"Celui qui m'apportera la tête d'un mendiant brâhmanique, recevra de moi un Dînâra[b]." —'Introduction à l'histoire de Buddhisme.'

[4] [Major Cunningham, in his work on the Bhilsa Topes, has published a facsimile,

[a] ['Dîn' 'a pauper' and 'ri' 'to go'—'what is given to the poor'! (Wilson's Dictionary).

[b] [L'emploi du mot 'dînâra,' dont Prinsep a positivement démontré l'origine occidentale, et l'introduction assez récente dans l'Inde. . . . Ce mot est très-rarement employé dans les livres Sanscrits du Nord, et je ne l'ai jamais rencontré dans ceux des 'Sûtras' que je regarde comme anciens, du moins pour le fond. Je n'en puis, jusqu'à présent, citer que deux exemples, . . . ('Avad.-çat.' f. 195,) 'lakchanâhatam dînâradvayam,' ce qui doit signifier "deux 'Dînâras' marqués de signes." Le second exemple ('Divya-avad.' f. 211, b) "cent 'Dînâras' pour chaque tête de religieux buddhiste." Dans les 'Sûtras' anciens, le terme qui paraît le plus souvent est 'Suvarna.' "]

[The two ciphers constituting the date in this inscription are now by common consent[1] admitted to convey the number *ninety-three:* the epoch to which this record refers is however still an open question, and will be examined more at large in its proper order. Nor, it must be observed, is there anything definitive to shew which of the two Chandra-Guptas —the third or the fifth—on the family list, is alluded to in the text.

The comprehensive inscription on the northern face of the Junágarh Rock, in which mention is made of Skanda Gupta, should have appeared in this place, but I regret to say that up to this time no more satisfactory account of its purport and contents can be given than is to be found in the brief notice published by Prinsep, in April, 1838.[2]

In 1842, Major Jacob and M. Westergaard copied this inscription anew, and a lithographed facsimile of their transcript was published in the April number of the Journal of the Bombay

as well as a transcript and a translation, of the Udayagiri Inscription, which he attributes to Chandra Gupta, the second of our list. The assignment, at the best, rests upon slender grounds; and, if the present revised translation is to supersede his rendering, it must be deemed altogether fallacious. I annex his transliteration and interpretation: — " 'Siddham samvatsare 82 Sravana-másа sukłekadasya.' 'Parama-bhattáraka Mahárájadhi Chandra Gupta pádánadátasyn.' 'Mahárája Chagaliga potrasya, Mahárája Vishnu-dása putrasya.' 'Sanakánikásya Mahá (rája * * *).' 'Finished in the year 82, on the 11th of the bright half of the month of Srávana; [the cave] of him, bowing to the feet of the paramount, homage-receiving, supreme Mahárája, Chandra Gupta, the grandson of Mahárája Chagaliga, the son of Mahárája Vishnu-dása, Mahárája (name obliterated of Sanakánika.)'" p. 150.

The Sanskrit transcript adopted will be seen to vary but slightly from the version in Roman type inserted above. The translation approved of by Prof. Wilson, however, differs very materially:—at the same time I must freely admit the disadvantages I have laboured under in having to follow the lithograph of a London artist, while Major Cunningham's transliteration has been made, I presume, from the original itself.

सिद्धम् ॥ संवत्सरे ८२ श्रवण मासे शुक्लैकादश्यां परमभट्टारक महाराजधि (राज) श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तपादानुध्यातस्य महाराज छगलिग पौत्रस्य महाराज विष्णुदासपुत्रस्य सनकानीकस्य महाराज- * *

'(May it be) auspicious! On the 11th day of the light fortnight, in the month of Sravana, in the year 82 of (?) the great King of Sanakánika, son of the great King, Vishnu-dása, (and) grandson of the great King, Chhagaliga, (who, viz. Chhagaliga, was) son of the supreme monarch (and) paramount lord of great kings, the auspicious Chandra Gupta . . . . .']

[1] ['Sáh Kings of Saurâshtra,' *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, xii., 5; *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 152; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, ii., 939. (1852).]

[2] ['Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vii., 347].

Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for that year. The result, as might have been anticipated from Major Postans' previous report on the execution and existing state of this monument,[1] is eminently disappointing; and, in spite of every effort to produce an intelligible transliteration from the lithograph, I must confess myself fairly baffled in the task.

Prinsep's note is to the following effect:—"I may here so far satisfy curiosity as to state that this third inscription, the longest, and in some respects the best preserved, though from the smallness and rudeness of the letters it is very difficult to decipher, is in a modern character—that allotted to the third century after Christ—or the Gupta alphabet; and that in the opening lines I find an allusion to Skanda Gupta, one of the Gupta family, whose name has also been found upon a new series of the Saurâshtra coins; the words are कीर्त्ति विगुण ग्ट पतिः स्कन्द् गुप्तः पृथु श्रीः चतुर . . .

My next excerpt consists of Prinsep's translation of the Eran pillar Inscription[2]:—]

INSCRIPTION FROM A TEMPLE OF VARAHA, AND A DHWAJA-STAMBHA, IN THE VICINITY OF ERAN OR AIRAN IN BHOPAL.

Lieut. Conolly and Capt. Burt started from Mhow, on an exploring journey. They continued in company as far as Sehore, where some copper plates, in Mr. Wilkinson's possession, occupied the attention of the former, while the latter, hearing of a pillar at Airan, hastened off by a dâk to visit it, and was rewarded with the two inscriptions which follow, and a few insolated names in various styles from the Airan pillar and temple. The history of the origin of the monuments as derived from the inscriptions themselves may be succinctly told.

The temple was built by Dhanya Vishnu, the confidential minister of Râja Mâtri Vishnu, the son of Hari Vishnu, the grandson of Varuna Vishnu, and great grandson of Indra Vishnu; in the first year of the reign of Râja Târapâni [Toramâna] of Saurâshtra (?): and

The pillar was erected by Vaidala Vishnu, the son of Hasti Vishnu, also grandson of Varuna Vishnu, and at the cost of Dhanya Vishnu, on the 14th of Asarh in the year 165, in the reign of Budha-Gupta in

[1] ['Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vii., 873]. [2] [Ibid., vii., 634.]

Saurâshtra, comprehending the country between a river whose name, though partially erased, may be easily made out as the Kálindí or Jamná and the Narmada, or Nerbudda.

(TRANSLATION).

'He is victorious! (Vishnu) the four-armed, omnipresent, the creator and preserver of the world, whose bed is the immense water of the four oceans and whose *ratha-ketu* ('chariot-standard') is Garuḍa.

On Thursday, the thirteenth lunar day of the month of Áshâḍha of the year 165, when the king, Budha Gupta, who was the moon of good administration, and resplendent in fortune and fame, governed the beautiful country situated between the Kálindí (Jamná) and the Narmada, by his good qualities (derived) from the Loka-pálas.[1] In the aforesaid year of his dynasty, ['of him,' in orig.] in the very month and day aforesaid: one, named Vaidala Vishnu, who was famous as far as the four oceans, ever respectable; who by public election and through the favor of God, obtained the good fortune of the regency; who was devoted to Bhagavân; the son of the father-resembling Hari Vishnu; grandson of the father's-talent-possessing Varuna Vishnu; the great grandson of Indra Vishnu, of the Maitráyanayakripabha race; a strict observer of his religious duties, regular in sacrifices, reader of the Veda, a very *rishi* among brâhmans.[2] By him (Vaidala Vishnu) this banner-pillar was erected at the expense of Dhanya Vishnu,—for the prosperity of his race, in honor of Janárdana (Vishnu), the distresser of the *Punya-janas* (Rakshasas).

Glory! to him who is a patriotic (prince) and to whom belong all the people!'

[I further annex the translation of Toramána's inscription from the same site, which is closely connected with the preceding text:—]

(TRANSLATION).

'He is victorious! the boar-shaped god, who, at the time of delivering the earth, whirled round the mountains by the jerk of his tushes; from the increase of whose body have proceeded the three regions.

When the great rája, Toramána, the very famous and beautiful, the king of kings, governed the earth; in the first year of his reign, on the tenth day of Phálguna:—before his time, the well-known Dhanya Vishnu, the doer of many virtuous deeds, follower of the injunctions of the Vedas, obedient to his brother, the late great Rájá Mâtri Vishnu (since departed to heaven), and favored by him—who obtained the good fortune of regency by public election and through the grace of God:—famous as far as the four oceans, ever respectable, and victorious in many battles with his enemies, the devoted worshipper of Bhagavân,—who was the son of Hari Vishnu, resembling his father,—the grandson of Varuna Vishnu, possessor of his father's qualities,—great grandson of Indra Vishnu of the Maitráyana-yakripabha race, the illustrious and distinguished, observant of his religious duties and sacrifices with Sukta (a hymn of the Rig-veda)—a regular sacrificer, well read in the Vedas, and a *rishi* among the brâhmans.—By him (Dhanya Vishnu) was caused

[1] Upholders of the universe.

[2] These several epithets are, almost literatim, the same in both inscriptions.

to be erected this new temple of Jagan-Náráyana[1] Náráyana, in the form of Varáha (the Boar incarnation) at his own village of Nerikona, in the reign, year, month, and day aforesaid.

Glory to the mistress of Bráhmanapura, and the king to whom all the people belong!' (?)

[Next in order comes a posthumous notice of Skanda-Gupta, graven on the Kuhaon pillar,[2] which I insert to complete the published series :—]

(TRANSLATION).

'In the month of Jyaishtha, in the year one hundred and thirty-three[3] [141] after the decease[4] of Skanda Gupta, the chief of a hundred kings, resembling Indra in his rule, possessed of the chiefest of riches, enjoying far-spread reputation, born of the royal race of the Guptas, whose earthly throne was shaken by the wind of the bowing heads of a hundred kings.

At this celebrated and precious village, sanctified in reverential attachment by the inhabitants of Kakubharati.[5]

The opulent Bhatti Soma was the son of Amita, the receptacle of good qualities. His son was the very famous and talented Rudra Soma, known by another appellation as Vyághra-rati. His own son was Madra, the constant and friendly patron of bráhmans, Gurus, and Yatis. He, struck with awe at beholding the universal instability of this world, made (for himself) a road of virtue[6]; having set up (established) along the roadside, five images, made of quarried stone, of Indra,[7] objects of adoration to the religious and devout, for the increase of his own moral merit and the happiness of mankind; (the same) having attached thereto a tank filled with water.

This stone pillar, beautiful and lofty as the craggy pinnacles of the mountains, is the maker of renown: (*i. e.* records his meritorious act.)'

The circumstance of chief importance in the above monument, is its allusion to 'Skanda Gupta, of the family of the Guptas,' a name so well known to us from the Bhitárí inscription and from our Kanauj coins. That his sway was nearly as potent as the expression 'lord of a hundred kings' would seem to convey, I shall have hereafter occasion to prove by the exhibition of his own name and of that of his prede-

[1] Or 'Nárárayan, who is himself the water of the universe.'

[2] ['Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vii., 37.]

[3] Lit. 'The month Jyaishtha in the year thirty and two and one plus one hundred being arrived.' [The original proves the true date to be the one hundred and forty-first year from the repose, etc.]

[4] *Shánteh*, 'of the repose,' i. e. 'death.'

[5] Written *Kakubhah-rati* ककुभः रतिजनैस *(sic)*: the meaning must be that such was the name of the village; and probably the modern Kuhaon may be a corruption of the ancient appellation Kakubha.

[6] *Punya-skandham sa chakre;* in punning allusion, perhaps, to his adorning the road with these five images.

[7] The word seems to be written *pachendrám*, from the contracted space occupied by the *n* of पञ्च. The smal figure below has very much the character of Buddha.

cessor Kumára Gupta on the coins of Sauráshtra or Kattywar, on the western extremity of the Indian continent. It does not appear who succeeded him, or whether the Gupta dynasty there terminated; but I think it is open to conjecture that the whole power was usurped by the minister's family, because we find Tila Bhatti, a chief magistrate, erecting the Allahábád pillar, and we here find another of the same name, the opulent Bhatti Soma, the son of Amila (Bhatti?) at the head of a new race, not, to be sure, arrogating to themselves the title of Rája, but possessing wealth and power and erecting pillars in their own name. Four generations from Amila, viz.: (1) Amila, (2) Bhatti Soma, (3) Rudra Soma, (4) Madra—will give about thirty-three years to each generation, which for private life may be tolerably near the ordinary average.

[In conclusion of the Gupta proper suite of inscriptions, I annex abstract translations of a double set of copper-plate Sanads now in the Benáres College, which Professor Wilson has obligingly prepared from transcripts of the originals made by myself, in which all doubtful forms and combinations were carefully copied in fac-simile :—

TRANSLATIONS OF THE BENARES COPPER PLATE GRANTS OF *SRI HASTINAH*, OTHERWISE *SRI HASTI-RAJA*.[1] By PROF. H. H. WILSON.

'Salutation to Mahádeva!—Health! In the 163rd[2] year of the occupation[3] of the kingdom by the Gupta kings—in the year (of the cycle) Vaisákh, on the third of the light half of Kártik, in the fore-part of the day,[4] (then) by the exalter of the family of the chief of the ascetics, the Mahárája Srí-hasti, great grandson of Mahárája Dwarhya, the grandson of Mahárája Srí Prabhanjana, the son of Mahárája Damodara,—the giver of much land, gold, horses, elephants, and thousands of cows,—the reverencer of his progenitors, the devout worshipper of gods and bráhmans, the ever victorious in many battles, the delight of his own race: for the increase of his own virtue and the ascent of the steps of the ladder to heaven; gave to the bráhmans of

[1] [These are the copper-plate grants regarding which Capt. Kittoe communicated with Col. Sykes in 1848. See 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.' xii., 12, note 4. They seem to have been originally procured from Nagode in Bundalkand.]

[2] [One copy has *sha-shottare vashage*, the other *tri shashtyuttare vrishate*: putting them together, the probable reading is *trishastyuttare varshasate*.—H.H.W.]

[3] [*Bhukte* or *bhuktau*, but it may also be read *mukte* or *muktau*, 'from the end *or* cessation.'—H.H.W.] Considering the very striking difference between the early forms of *bh* and *m*, I cannot admit this doubt to be justified by any possible error of transcription from the original on my part. The former is clearly the true reading, of which we have two corroborative examples.—E.T.]

[4] [The other inscription has, 'the second of the light half of Chaitra, in the year Ashwayuj.' (?)—H.H.W.]

the Vajasaneyi school of the race of Kausika,[1] Gopaswâmi,[2] Bhavaswâmi and others, the village ——— with the boundaries (specified)—(then follow a number of unintelligible names of places, after which there is a prohibition to any of his successors to revoke the gift)—'as it is said by the great Rishi, Vyâsa, 'land that has been given to the brâhmans is to be carefully protected, for the preservation of the grant is even better than the donation.' The earth has been possessed by Sâgara and other kings, by each of whom the fruit of the earth was severally reaped. The giver of land rejoices in heaven for sixty thousand years—the despoiler, the resumer and disregarder, sinks into hell for as many.'[3]

Both inscriptions end with the specification of the writer, 'Sûryadatta, son of Ravidatta, grandson of Naradatta, having the title or designation Bhogika.'

To complete the series of collateral documents relating to the Guptas, I insert in this place translations of certain copper plate grants made by successive members of the Valabhi dynasty of Gujarât. Although the dates of these are, also, to a certain extent indeterminate, yet there is much else in the inscriptions that is calculated to elucidate the important question of the true epoch of the Gupta rule in India:—]

ACCOUNT OF THE INSCRIPTIONS UPON TWO SETS OF COPPER PLATES, FOUND IN THE WESTERN PART OF GUJARAT. By W. H. WATHEN, ESQ., *Persian Secretary to the Bombay Government.* (Sept. 1835.)

Several years since, I procured two sets of copper inscribed plates, one of which had been discovered by some labourers employed in digging the foundations of a house at Danduca, in the Peninsula of Gujarât; and the other in a similar manner, at Bhavanagar, in the same province. . . .

The second inscription was more defaced, and, after the greatest trouble, a part of it still remained unintelligible, the letters having become obliterated by the effects of time and damp.

They are both grants of land to priests; the first is about fifteen hundred years old; and the date of the second, some hundred years subsequent. . . .

The contents of these inscriptions, as tending to elucidate the ancient history of Western India, at the commencement of the fourth century of the Christian æra, are of some interest, as will be presently shown.

In the first inscription, as well as in the second, the origin of the dynasty is traced to Bhatarka Senâpati, who is said to have established his power by signal bravery and prowess: his capital, named Valabhipura,[4] is also expressly mentioned

[1] [The reading of one is 'Kosiya,' of the other 'Kausalya.' Ought it to be Kasyapa?—H.H.W.]

[2] [In one copy, other names are specified, as, Gauriswâmi and Brahmachâri.—H.H.W.]

[3] [The other inscription has, instead of this last clause, 'he who resumes land given by himself or by another, becomes a worm in ordure, and is roasted (in hell) along with his ancestors.'—H.H.W.]

[4] In Prâkrit, it is written with a *b*, 'Balabhi.'

in the first grant; both the founder of this sovereignty, and two first successors, did not take the title of king, but *Senápati*, or 'General,' whence it may be inferred that they were under a paramount sovereign, by whom the province of Gujarát was committed to their charge; and it is stated in the description of the fourth prince of this family, that he was raised to the royal dignity by 'the great monarch, the sole sovereign of the entire world,' meaning India.

The third in succession to him, named Sridhara Sena, would appear to have thrown off all dependence on this paramount sovereign of Ujjáyiní or Kanauj; for by the date of the first inscription, the Valabhi Samvat or æra would appear to have been instituted in his reign, its date being Samvat nine: [330][1] this circumstance induced the belief, at first, that the æra referred to was that of Vikramáditya, until on referring to the 1st volume of Tod's 'Rájasthan,' the existence of a Súryavansa dynasty in Gujarát—whose capital was Valabhipura, and title 'Bhatarka,' and also of a Samvat or æra peculiar to those kings, as proved by Jaina legends, and inscriptions found at Somnáth, Patan, etc.—showed that these grants must belong to those princes and their æra alone.

Col. Tod established, (from the materials already mentioned, the particulars of which may be seen on reference to his work),[2] the following historical data.

1. The emigration of a prince named Keneksen, of the Súrya-vansa, or 'race of the Sun,' from Koshala-desha (*hod.* Oudh), and his establishing himself in Gujarát about A.D. 144.

2. The institution of an æra, called the Valabhi Samvat, by his successors, who became the independent kings of Gujarát, the first year of which æra was the 375th of Vikramáditya, or A. D. 319.

3. The invasion of the kingdom of the Valabhi princes by a barbarian force, the destruction of their capital Valabhipura, in A. D. 524, and the removal of the seat of government to the north-eastern part of Gujarát, most probably at first to Sidhapura, about A. D. 554.

The inscriptions confirm in a singular manner these several epochs. The first inscription is dated 9th Valabhi Samvat, corresponding with 384 of Vikramáditya, and A.D. 328.

Now, allowing twenty years for the average reign of the six princes of the first inscription, this will give 129 years for the interval between Sridhara Sena, in whose reign this æra may be supposed to have commenced, and Bhatarka Senápati, the founder of the dynasty, which will place him as having lived in A. D. 190, or within forty-six years of the time specified by Tod as that of Keneksen's establishment in Gujarát. That Bhatarka was a family title, and not the real name of this chief, is shewn by its being alone used in the seals affixed to both the inscriptions.

From the second inscription, we have a long line of princes, the last of whom,

[1] ['Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vii., 349; 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', xii., 33; 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', 1856.]

[2] See the chapter entitled 'Annals of Mewár.'

Siláditya Musalli, would appear, from an allusion therein, to have removed the capital to Sidhapura.

Taking the number of kings, whose names are given subsequent to Sridhara Sena, the founder of the Valabhi æra, at twelve, and the length of their reigns at an average of twenty years each; this calculation will shew a term of about 240 or more years, to have elapsed from this time to that of Siláditya Musalli of Sidhapura, or A.D. 559, about thirty-five years after the sack of Valabhipura by the barbarians.

On referring to the list of kings, another of the name of Siláditya, it will be seen, just preceded the prince who made the grant contained in the second inscription, whose reign will thus approximate to A.D. 524, stated in the Jaina legends to be the date when the capital was surprised by a foreign army. From the same source also, we find the name of the prince who then reigned to have been Siláditya, as above.

These coincidences are curious, and tend to confirm the authenticity of those fragments of early Hindú history, which Tod has so carefully collected.

The Jaina historical legends all mention the kings of this dynasty, and their æra, the Valabhí Samvat; the capital, from its geographical position, would appear to have been the Byzantium of Ptolemy; its kings were of the dynasty called by foreigners the Balhára, which may have been a corruption of the title Bhatarka,[1] for derived from the adjoining district of Bhala, and Rái or 'prince'; the absurd manner in which Hindú names were, and still are, corrupted by the Arabs and other oreigners, may easily account for the difficulty of reconciling real names with their corruptions. . . .

It may be here mentioned, that it is from this very family of Valabhipura, that the legends of the present Ránas of Udayapur (Udipur) deduce their descent.

After reigning some years in the north of Gujarát, the power of the dynasty was destroyed, its kingdom dismembered, and the city of Anhalwara Pattan became the capital, under the succeeding dynasties of the Chawura and Chalukia (*vulgo* Solanki) races.

Both these grants convey fields to bráhmans as religious gifts. The lands granted in the second inscription are stated to be situated in Sauráshtra, and the donees are said to have come from Girinagara, (Junágarh or Girnár,) and to have settled at Sidhapura.

Two facts, proving the great antiquity of these grants, are,—first, the measure of land being square paces; and the other, the existence of the worship of the Sun: one of the princes is named as being of that sect. . . .

TRANSLATION OF AN ANCIENT INSCRIPTION, DATED 9TH OF THE VALABHI SAMVAT, OR A.D. 328, AND FOUND IN DIGGING THE FOUNDATIONS OF A HOUSE, NEAR DANDUCA, IN THE PENINSULA OF GUJARÁT, OR SAURÁSHTRA.

'May prosperity (ever emanate) from the city of Valabhi! The possessor of incomparable strength from the crowds of powerful enemies and friends, who prostrate

[1] Bhatarka means, literally, 'cherishing sun'; it is a royal title.

themselves (before him), who earned glory in hundreds of battles fought in the countries of his foes: whose prowess and renown dazzled (the eyes of the princes of the universe), one enjoying the affection (of his subjects) by grants of rewards and honors, and also by courteous behaviour: the acquirer of royal prosperity by the strength (aid) of his numerous dependants and attached friends, great adorer of Mahesvara (Siva), (such was) Senápati Bhatarka (Bhatarka, 'the general-in-chief').

His son, with head tinged of a reddish colour by constant inclination of his head to the dust of his father's feet, and thus rendered pure: the lustre of the nails of whose feet (as mirrors) surpassed the diamonds of Sukra's diadem, whose riches were a constant source of relief to the poor, helpless, and destitute, (was the) great worshipper of Mahesvara, Srí Senápati Dhara Sena (the 'general of the forces,' Dhara Sena).

His younger brother, with forehead wholly sanctified by prostrations at his (brother's) feet, a performer of all the acts of devotion according to the precepts of Manu and other holy saints, who, like Dharma Rája (Yudhishthira), has arranged all laws, received his inauguration to the throne, from the great Sovereign [1] himself, the sole monarch of the entire world, and whose accession to royalty was solemnized by unbounded gifts. He was the great worshipper of Mahesvara, Srí Mahárája Drona Sinha ('the fortunate king,' Drona Sinha.)

His younger brother, who by the prowess and force of his sole arm, as a lion, conquered the hosts of his enemies, mounted on elephants, the asylum of all those who sought a place of refuge, conversant with all the various principles of science, —a celestial all-yielding tree to friends and dependants, affording to all, enjoyments according to their several wishes and tastes; a great follower of Bhavagata (Vishnu) (was) Srí Mahárája Dhruva Sena.

His younger brother, all whose sins were removed by prostrations before the lotus-resembling feet of his (elder) brother, by whose virtuous conduct, as by a pure stream, the crimes of the Kali-yuga were washed away; whose fame was celebrated by crowds of vanquished enemies, was the great adorer of the sun, Srí Mahárája Dharapaṭṭah.

Whose son acquired the chief of virtues by adoration of his father's feet; whose sword from his infancy was his sole helper; who distinguished himself as the touch-stone of bravery; the destroyer of multitudes of foes resembling intoxicated elephants. The bright lustre of the nails of whose feet were reflected by the splendour of the crowds of his prostrate enemies; who fulfilled the import of the title 'Rájá,' by delighting the hearts of his subject, and affording them protection, (and by governing) as commended in the Smritis (holy books); who surpassed Svara (Cupid) in beauty, the moon in splendour, the monarch of mountains (Himálaya) in fixedness of purpose. In depth (of thought and counsel) the ocean, the teacher of gods in wisdom, the great master of riches (Kuvera) in wealth; who relinquished as straw, the fruits of his enterprises, in his anxiety to remove the fears of those who sought his protection; delighter of the hearts of the learned, and of friends and dependants, by bestowing riches far beyond their desires; who enjoyed all the gratifications and luxuries of the various countries in the world, as one who had himself travelled through them, (was) the great worshipper of Mahesvara, Srí Mahárája Griha Sena [Guha Sena in the original.]

His son, for ever fortunate by the rays proceeding from the diamond-like nails of

[1] This evidently refers to some one of the successors of Vikramáditya and Sálivá-hana—he Pramara or Powar kings of Ujjáyiní or Kanauj.

his father's feet;—all whose sins are washed away by the pure water of the Gangá (Ganges); whose wealth and prosperity are participated in by multitudes of friends and dependants:—in whom all the qualities of beauty have taken up their abode, as if by the desire of associating with the beauties of his form; who has astonished all those skilled in archery by his wonderful natural skill, improved as it is by superior and constant exercise; the maintainer of all pious grants, bestowed by the will of ancient kings: he that removes from power those (evil ministers) who seek the ruin of his subjects:—a unique example of the abode of wisdom and prosperity in one and the same person, whose renown is alone sufficient to destroy the power of his foes, whose royal dignity is hereditary;—great worshipper of Mahesvara, powerful wielder of the battle-axe, Srí Mahárája Sridhara Sena,—peremptorily issues these his mandates!

To those in office, and those unemployed; to the governors of towns; to the chiefs of districts, revenue officers, forest chiefs, protectors of the roads, etc., etc., and all officers howsoever employed:—

Be it known to you! that for the increase of my father's and mother's holiness, for my own salvation, and for the sake of obtaining other objects of my heart's desire in this and in the next world, I have granted fifty paces of land, (situated) at the southern boundary of the village of Matsira, and sixty paces of land near the northern limit of Veraputri, to a Lodrita bráhman, learned in the Rig-Veda, of the same *gotra* (family) as Kaina and others: also a piece of land of fifty paces, on the western side of Prathapura, and eight paces near Ishvara Deva Senak, is likewise granted to a Rig-Veda bráhman, named Deva Sila, of the same *gotra* as Trivalam Bayana, etc. (this part is very unintelligible in the original,) this land, with the hamlets and other things thereunto appertaining, with its earth, water, wind, sky, spirits, grain, and gold, is (hereby) given, with all that which may thereupon be produced.

All the ministers of state must avoid placing their hands on this, as they would on the hole of a serpent; for the constant and due performance of the five great sacrifices (naming them), I have given this; for as long as the moon, sun, seas, rivers, and this world shall exist, to be enjoyed by the descendants, sons, grandsons, etc. By pouring out water, (it is) given up as a bráhmanical gift; to be enjoyed on the terms usual with such grants; they may plough, cause to be ploughed, or give it away. No one should cause any hindrance (to this grant).

Future pious kings, both of our family, and others, who will appreciate the fruits of a grant of land, should approve and maintain this my gift. (Here the usual quotations from the Mahá-Bhárata are introduced, quoting the gift by king Ságara, and shewing the sin of destroying such a grant of land).

Written by the minister for peace and war, Skanda Batta, Samvat 9, Vaishákha-vadi 8; I, Mahárája Sridhara Sena, the heroic, my pleasure! my hand!'

List of Kings of the Valabhi or Balhára Dynasty, as found in the Two Inscriptions.

144 or 190 A.D.	1.	Senápati Bhatarka.
	2.	Dhara Sena.
	3.	Mahárája Drona Sinha.
	4.	Dhruva Sena. I.
	5.	Dharapattah.
	6	Guha Sena.

300 A.D.	7.[1]	Sridhara Sena I.[2]
	8.	Siláditya I.
	9.	Chara-griha I.
	10.	Sridhara Sena II.
	11.	Dhruva Sena II.
	12.	Sridhara Sena III.
	13.	Siláditya II.

At this part of the copper-plate, the writing is so obliterated, that the names of two or three princes cannot be made out.

	16. Mahárája	Charagriha II.
524 A.D.	17.	Siláditya III.
559 A.D.	18.	Siláditya (Musalli) IV.

The first two princes have the title Senápati alone. All those subsequent to No. 3, Mahárája. The whole had the title of Srí Bhatarka, and the device on their banner was the Nandi, or sacred bull of Siva, as appears from the seals attached to both inscriptions.

[As further illustrative of the succession of the Valabhi family, and to a certain extent as corrective of the above, I insert:—]

DR. A. BURNS' KAIRA TAMBA-PATRA No. 1.

When we[3] gave a translation of No. 4 [p. 262], of the Tamba-patras, of which transcripts and fac-similes were obtained from Dr. Burns of Kaira, we were not aware that one of the same description had previously been communicated by Mr. Wathen [p. 252]. We were led to refer to that article by finding, in the oldest of DR. Burns' grants, the name of Siladitya, and other princes of the Valabhi race from Senápati Bhatarka downwards.

Our present grant confirms the order of the reigns given by Mr. Wathen from his Tamba-patras, and affords additional dates, and circumstances of high interest to those who occupy themselves with such studies. Mr. Wathen's order of the Valabhi or Balhára dynasty is as follows:

Wathen.	Burns' grant.		Wathen.	Burns' grant.	
1	1	Bhatarka Senápati.	8	4	Siláditya I.
2		Dhara Sena.	9	5	Chara Griha, or Ishwara Guha.
3		Drona Sinha.	10	6	Sridhara Sena II.
4		Dhruva Sena I.	11	7	Dhruva Sena II.
5		Dhara Pattah.	12	8	Sridhara Sena III.
6	2	Guha or Griha Sena.		9	Dhruva Sena III.
7	3	Sridhara Sena I.	13		Siláditya II.

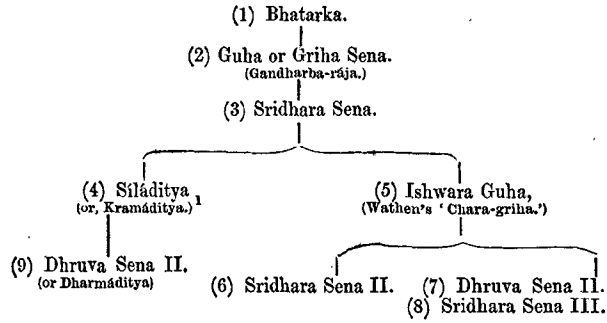
Of these rájas, the four following Bhatarka are omitted in the present grant, it being simply stated that from Bhatarka, the founder of the family, was sprung Guha

[1] These seven are from the first inscription, the following from the second inscription.

[2] A.D. 319. In his reign, the Valabhi æra is supposed to have commenced.

[3] [The editors of the 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', after Prinsep's departure from India.]

Sena or Griha Sena, (the former is our reading). From this prince, however, we have the genealogy complete, and—with the simple introduction of Dhruva Sena III., our ninth in order, and the author of this grant—the series corresponds with that of Mr. Wathen in every particular. The genealogical tree which our present grant enables us to frame from Guha or Griha Sena will stand as follows:



Now the first thing to be observed is, that the grant translated by Wathen purports to be by Sridhara Sena: that which we now present is by Dhruva Sena, the sixth in succession after him; of course, therefore, Wathen's *is* the most ancient; but though there were six successions to the *gadi*, these must have been of less than the ordinary duration, for the minister who prepared the grant in Sridhari Sena's reign was Skanda Bhatta; whereas the minister who prepared the present grant is named as Madana Hila, son of Skanda Bhatta; thirty or forty years will therefore be the probable interval occupied by the reigns of all the princes named as having intervened between Sridhari Sena I. and Dhruva Sena III.

Another important fact results from the date of our present grant, which is clearly 365 [?] Samvat, (which must be the Samvat of Vikramáditya) corresponding with A.D. 309: but Wathen assigns to Sridhara Sena, Dhruva Sena's grandfather, the date A.D. 328 or 384 Samvat. He has been led to this conclusion by supposing the words which he reads 'Samvat,' with the figure '9,' to have reference to the Valabhi æra, ascertained by Tod to have commenced in A.D. 319. But there is no word whatsoever in the grant to warrant a reference of this Samvat to that æra, and it seems much more natural to suppose the Samvat, or year, to be either the Samvat of Vikramáditya with the figures effaced, or merely to have reference to the year of Sridhara Sena's accession. If the figure which follows the word 'Samvat' be indeed a 9, (it is not very plain) [as indicated above, the ciphers, in the original, stand for 330, and not for 9] there is nothing to prevent the year of the reign of that sovereign being indicated thereby, as has been usual with many rájas, and as was practised even by Rája Kishen Chand of Nudea within the last sixty years. Assuming therefore thirty years for the interval of the son's succeeding Skanda Bhatta as minister, the proper date of Wathen's Tamba-patra will be 279 A.D., and that of

[1] Perhaps Vikramáditya, but the 'Vi' is wanting in the transcripts.

Sridhara Sena's accession, 270 A.D. The date upon Dr. Burns' grant, examined from the fac-similes taken off in printing ink, is so clear as to admit of no doubt of the figures, or its being the Samvat of Vikramáditya that is referred to.[1]

The translation of this Tamba-patra is given entire, and nearly literally, from a transcript made by Prinsep; the pandit Kamalákánta, aided by the Sanskrit College student Sárodáprosád, having rendered it for us into English.

The character of the original exactly corresponds with that of Wathen's grant, of which a fac-simile has been already published, so that we are saved the necessity of having a separate plate prepared to exhibit it.

(TRANSLATION).

'Glory. From Bhatarka,—the best of rulers, magnanimous as the sun, victorious, of good disposition, who obtained his power by the excellence of his intelligence, by gratifying and elevating his friends in spirit, and by obtaining all men's good opinion through donations and courtesy, who by his power maintained men in respect; and, through the fidelity of his servants, preserved his dominions in prosperity, and laid his enemies prostrate,—sprung Guha Sena, who obtained absolution from sin by bowing submissively to his father's feet, and who was called Gandharba Rája, because of his consideration for other men, as shewn by his regulation of prices, by his anxiety to protect his people and friends, and by his sacrificing high state interests to secure the safety of those who took refuge with him: who obtained popularity by giving to the poor more than they asked. None excelled him in the science of Gandharba. Enriched by the jewels his enemies presented in tribute; of a voice pleasant as that of Cupid and the moon; lenient in the exaction of state dues; a teacher of morals; in all observances never failing; great and powerful, as manifested by the motions of his elephants: his wisdom and sound judgment are appreciated by men of social feelings. The son of Guha Sena, Sridhara Sena, likewise absolved himself from sin by submission to his father, as if he had washed in the Ganges' water. The warriors of the universe were astonished at his strength and skill, and by his power he secured the prosperity of his kingdom. Like his ancestors, he was a protector of learned and eminent persons, and a subduer of evil-doers and of the corrupters of virtue. In him only did Lakshmí and Saraswatí (wealth and knowledge) unite. For he was alike a subduer of lákhs of enemies, and abounding with wealth, and the possessor of all acquired endowments, which sought refuge with him like the thousands who prostrated themselves before him for their livelihood.

The son of Sridhara Sena, Sri Siladitya, worshipped likewise his father's feet, and prospered. The four quarters of the world were adorned with his fame, won by merits, all delighting, all astonishing. He gave courage and confidence to his army, by acquiring for it the lustre of a reputation founded on many victories. Though possessing an intellect capable of understanding and arranging the good and bad sciences, and famed in the world for his intelligence, yet was he not fastidious; and though atten-

[1] Since the above was sent to press, a letter has reached Calcutta from Mr. Wathen, dated Cape of Good Hope, 16th October, 1838, which, after expressing great interest in the discoveries made from the Asoka inscriptions, concludes as follows: 'My impression was, before I left India, that I mistook the Samvat in the Gujarát Inscriptions, and that it is that of Vikramáditya.' This singularly confirms the conclusion we had come to, from comparison with the date in this No. 1. grant of Dr. Burns; and would seem to show that the year of the grant of Sridhara Sena translated by Wathen, was, in his opinion, erased; and that the imperfect figures in the plate are not to be read as 9.

tive to the wants of others, still always cheerful and contented. He was an example of the Satya-yuga rájas in his conduct, and enjoyed happiness without any sacrifice of virtue. His second name was Kramáditya, (perhaps, Vikramáditya.)

Sri Siladitya was succeeded as rája by his younger brother Ishwara Guha (Wathen's 'Chara Griha'), who was dutiful and obedient, and therefore loved by his elder brother, who was honorable like Upendra. It was the study and the delight of Ishwara Guha to obey his elder brother's commands, and to make his own power and wealth conducive to his happiness. His footstool was bright with the jewels taken from the crowns of hostile rájas brought to subjection. Yet was he never reproachful of others. Those who opposed him in their pride were reduced to helplessness. The vices of the Kali-yuga were forgotten through his virtues and talents. His magnanimity made him tender of the faults of others, and his heroism was apparent to all, so that the Lakshmí of the sovereigns he subdued and destroyed with the weapons of his wrath, took him by the hand. Great was his wealth, and unity characterised none of his qualities or attributes.

The son of Ishwara Guha was Sridhara Sena, who overcame and silenced all the learned men of his age. He had the conviction of his foes' mortification and envy, because of his own power, wealth, generosity, and magnanimity. With the gravity of deep learning, acquired by mastery of the sixty-four Vidyas, and by acquaintance with the manners of many nations, he united cheerfulness and mildness, and by nature he was gifted with humility. By the power of his bow he subdued the pride of his enemies—his bow victorious in many battles. The rájas overcome by his skill in weapons, delighted in their subjection to him. Dhruva Sena, the younger brother of Sridhara Sena, was obedient to him and prospered in wealth and honor, and rivalled the kings of antiquity in his conduct: many affairs of great difficulty were completed by him, and the friends he trusted and employed on great occasions, were enriched by him. He was a sanctified hero, devoting himself to human actions; such was his attention to the minutest studies. Like Swayambhu (Menu) he was endowed with all attributes—patient in learning every branch of the sixty-four Vidyas. The resource of all for counsel—beautiful as the spotless moon, and resplendent in power as the ever-rising sun, darkness was dispelled from around him. He was versed in the arts of peace and war—a deviser of schemes adapted to all purposes and occasions, having been taught by the learned the two great aims—to do good to the world and to promote the exaltation of his kingdom. Though powerful, he was compassionate and learned, and avoided sin, and was firm in friendship with those who submitted, but prompt to repress his enemies before their prosperity gained head, thereby establishing over all people the ascendancy of a superior mind.

The second son of Dhruva Sena was Sridhara Sena, very learned, a king of kings, excelling in wealth; whose forehead, worn and reddened by the frequency of his obeisance to his father's lily feet, looked as if adorned with the crescent of the young moon. His ears were ornamented with pearls like moons, and his body was cleansed with ablution from the waters of munificence, according to the precepts of the Vedas which he never forgot. He gave delight to all, as a water-lily spreads its fragrance, by abstaining from the resumption of grants. His bow was drawn for the good of the universe, and he excelled in archery. The leaders of his enemies' armies, immediately on his mounting his war elephants, yielded submission to his orders.

The beautiful kingdom of Valabhadra next came to Dhruva Sena, son of Siladitya, who was brother of Sridhara's grandfather, as a prize-wreath conferred by public opinion; and was to him an ensign of fame. He was master of many armies, beautiful in person, sincere and young, and with his hair resplendent with gems,

casting radiance over his courtiers, like the flower *mandára*. His fame, bright as the full moon, delighted the hearts of all, and his lily feet were placed on white marble. He promoted the fortunes of his friends, was sincere in heart and good to all. His face was like the autumn moon, and his hair like the streaks in an emerald. His enemies were humbled, and the kings opposed to him found their territory invaded, and were indebted to his bounty for the moderation of the tribute he demanded; by the fragrance of his breath the air which others breathe was perfumed; from his ears precious stones of various colours were pendant, like jewelled ornaments upon the volumes of sacred learning. On his breast he wore a jewel, like the sprouting shoot of his youth watered by the sanctity of his munificent donations. His elder brother was Ishwara Guha, whose person was embraced by Lakshmí for the promotion of his good fortune, who excelled all rájas in conduct and in fame, who with the wand of his power destroyed the serpent of his enemies' pride, and gained over the Lakshmí of other kings who admired him, who restrained crime, and adorned the earth with the lofty ensigns of his power, and settled the customs of the four great castes. His lily feet were adorned with the crown jewels of prostrate chiefs, subdued by love rather than by force. A refuge to all in battle, brave, and in all things virtuous, performing all the duties of royalty, and amongst them the liberal distribution of gifts to bráhmans and to the temples of the gods, from the wealth in his possession, which is to them a source of great delight. The earth was enlightened with the fame he gained by his munificence to gods and bráhmans of the Kalinga families, who were deprived of their Dharma-dhwaja ('flag of virtue'), which was white as pure pearls, and the people of the three regions shed tears of joy. The other name of Dhruva Sena was Dharmáditya, a name given to him only for his virtue.

The said prince[1] (Dhruva Sena) inheritor of his father's fortunes, whose dalliance is with fame as with a wife, and whose crown jewel is like the crest of a peacock, who adorns the royal Lakshmí as a lion adorns the forest on the mountain side, and scatters his enemies as the rainy season disolves clay; whose friends' countenances expand for joy like water-lilies, while the flags of his enemies are dispersed like clouds; powerful, diligent, of spirit like the rising sun, the destroyer of his enemies, son of Siladitya, the elder brother of Ishwara Guha, who enlightens the earth with his fame like a moonbeam, and who, smearing his body with sandal-wood dust, is beautiful like the Vindhya cloud-capped mountain, proclaims to all: Be it known to all of you, that for his father's and mother's virtue's sake, he, the said son of Siladitya, has presented to the bráhman Ladhulla, son of the bráhman Sánda, a religious student, venerable, acquainted with the four Vedas, who lives in the villages situated near the hill fountains, the fertile field called 'Varunam Bilika Vakkara Kadáraka,' situated near another field, and on the road, southwest of the village named Dya Palli, having had the same measured by Hipidaka with a measuring rope. The field is divided into six portions. (Here follows a minute description of the boundaries, which need not be given.)

The above land, with its tanks and hillocks, being of the measure of half a kshetra, is to be enjoyed in full property as a perpetual inheritance by the said Ladhulla, his sons and posterity for ever, so long as the sun, the moon, the earth, the rivers, and the mountains shall endure. It is productive land and capable of rearing valuable grain.

Let not the hands of the king's servants touch it, nor let any one claim it on the

[1] The word for 'prince' in the original is *sailáditya*, which I am assured is a legitimate patronymic from Siladitya. It is evident that Dhruva, the son of Siladitya, is meant, from the closing sentence of the grant.

part of the gods and bráhmans by whom it was heretofore possessed. To give land, (Here follows the usual quotation in favor of donors, and in execration of resumers of grants.)

This grant is executed by order of Dhruva Sena, son of the king Siladitya, by his faithful servant for peace or war, keeper of his treasury, Madana Hila, son of Skanda Bhatta, in the year Samvat 365 [1](=A.D. 309) on the first day of the light half of the month of Vaisákh.'

(On the seal, Srí Bhatarka under a bull, as in Wathen's grant.)

[To complete the records from Western India, I introduce the notice of Dr. Burns' Tamba-Patra, No. 4, put forth, like the last extract, by the editors of the 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.',—who, for the time being, conducted that publication immediately after James Prinsep's return to England;—though I must fairly warn my readers that the dates of all these documents require accurate re-examination and revision, and that the geographical questions involved demand, even in a greater degree, an exact and formal definition.]

DR. BURNS' KAIRA TAMBA-PATRA NO. 4.

The next abstract translation is of a very old copper grant—made by a rája, of the Gajjara race, named Prasanga-rája, grandson of Samanta Datta—and which bears the date of the full moon of Kártik, in the Samvat year 380=A.D. 323. The seal of copper has the grandfather's name.

This very ancient and curious grant is one of several communicated by Dr. A. Burns from Kaira in Gujarát. Dr. Burns gives the following account of the manner in which the Tamba-patras were found. 'The plates, of which I enclose a copy,' (he subsequently sent also fac-similes) 'were found in the town of Kaira, about ten years ago. The river Watrua runs close to the walls on the north-west side, and was the cause of the discovery, by washing down the walls and earth. They had been handed about the country among the natives for translation, it being supposed they were connected with some deposit of treasure. At last they were brought to me by a fakír, of whom I purchased them.' Dr. Burns has sent transcripts and facsimiles of four plates, all of the beginning of the fourth century. That we now give is No. 4,[2] and not the most ancient; but it was first decyphered by Prinsep, and transcribed by him in Devanágarí. The original is in the character of the fourth line of the alphabet [plate xxxi.] corresponding with that ascertained, from inscriptions and coins, to have been in use in Gujarát at the period of the date of these grants. Their antiquity is thus assured; but part of the singularity of this particular one consists in

[1] [The Editors of the 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.' have so jumbled the numbers of, and references to, these Sanads, and so boldly assigned values to ciphers that Prinsep himself hesitated to do more than guess at, that it is difficult to identify which set of figures they design to render as 365.]

[2] [The copper-plate, dated 380, of this series, is given in Prinsep's plate xx., vol. vii., 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.'; as No. 2 of Dr. Burns' contributions.]

the style of the eulogium of the rája (and his ancestors) who made the grant, every word of which has a double meaning. The grant is in Sanskrit prose—upon the model of the Kadamvari by Bana Bhatta—and has been explained and commented upon at length by the pandit Kamalákánta, who regards it as a wonderful composition. It is impossible to give this explanation in these pages, for the eulogistic part of the grant, being in this double-meaning style, cannot be translated, the English language not admitting of the same amphibologies.

The play upon words commences from the first sentence, which, plainly translated, implies, 'There was a person named Samanta Datta, born with fortunate auspices in the royal race of Gajjara;' but these words admit also of the translation: 'There was a boundless ocean named Gajjara,' and this original double meaning has led to the use of epithets and qualities for the rája, which will hold equally, with different meanings, as applicable to the Gajjara ocean. After wearing out the 'ocean' amphibology; serpents, elephants, and women are pressed into the service by the ingenious conveyancer who drew this deed; and it is a pity that such a happy device for multiplying mystifying words cannot be more fully explained for the benefit of the practitioners in Chancery-lane, who might find their advantage in imitating it.

Our business, however, is with the matter of the grant, and the historical facts deducible from this very ancient record. Dismissing, therefore, the prefatory eulogy to Samanta Datta of the Gajjara line, who will be admitted to be a rája without such proof, the grant proceeds:—

'His son was Vijaya Bhatta, whose other name was Vita-rája, who was beautiful like burnt gold,' etc.

Then follow his praises in the same florid amphibologistical style: the close is peculiar:

'His personal beauty prevented not the maturity of his good dispositions, nor his youth the practice of strict morality, nor his wealth its generous distribution, nor his *triwarga* (*i.e.* his enjoyment of love, morality, and wealth), the practice of austere devotion; his exercise of sovereignty prevented not his delighting to show mercy; nor his living in the Kali-yug the possession of all virtue.'

We now come to another historical fact:—

'His prosperous son named Prasanga-rája Datta, who covered the airy sphere with the canopy of his fame, like water-lilies blown to fulness by the beams of the full moon,' etc., 'and who proved his possession of winning grace by bringing angry women to love him through the force of his bowing and sweet words,' etc., 'announces to all possessors of estates in their own right, and to all managers of the royal lands, and to the village proprietors—Be it known to all of you,' (a conveyancer of the present day would write 'Now know ye,') 'that we (the said rája, Prasanga-rája Datta) in the full moon of Kártik, out of respect for those who are versed in the four Vedas, and consecrated with (holy) water, have presented to' (A. B. the names are not legible) 'inhabitants of Girisha-padraka in the district of Angkureswara, and to B. C., the village named Sirisha-padrakanlash, for worship of the five Jagnas, Bali, Charu, Baiswadeva, and Agnihotra, and for increase of the virtue and fame of our father, our mother, and ourself; that the said village, with all the rich produce it affords, may be enjoyed by the said grantees, their sons, grandsons, and posterity, as long as the sun and moon, and the ocean and the earth, shall endure.

After this, let future rájas of our race, or of any other race that may desire to secure to themselves the eternal fame, beautiful as the moon-beam, which attaches to donors of lands, reflect that life and wealth are fickle as waves of the sea urged by a strong wind; while fame, earned by good deeds, is durable without limit; and so let them respect this grant, and confirm the grantees in possession. He only, whose mind is blackened by the darkness of ignorance, will resume it, or be pleased at seeing others molest its possessors—reckless of the guilt of the five deadly sins, and of other heinous crimes, as described at length in the Veda-Vyása.

He who grants lands, lives 60,000 years in heaven; but he who confiscates or resumes, or allows others to do so, is doomed to hell for a like period.

The resumers of grants become as black serpents that dwell in holes in the Vindhya forest. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, as the Ságara-rája and others, and each in his turn has ruled, as a despot, lord of all. But what generous man will take again the grants made by rájas who have gone before him, and whose gifts are like wreaths of flowers once used, spreading the fragrance of a good name, and of the reputation for wealth and virtue![1]

By the order of the rája's own mouth this grant has been written by Rewa, a servant well tried in peace and in war, in the full moon of Kártik of the Samvat year (of Vikramáditya) 380.'

[In continuation of the extracts illustrative of the Gupta domination, I have epitomized from Huen Thsang's 'Travels,'[2] all such notices as I have been able to discover, that in any way seem calculated to throw light upon the contemporary history and monarchical divisions of India proper at the period of his visit (*inter* A.D. 629—645). These passages are inserted in this place as affording, in their own tenor, negative evidence against the recent date of the Guptas, any mention of, or allusion to, whom is therein omitted.

The opening excerpt is given, in order to keep together all that concerns this section of the country contributed by our author; and likewise as an *ipso facto* refutation of an inference—upon which much stress has been laid by the author of the 'Bhilsa Topes,'[3]—to the effect that the passage in question had reference to the later members of the Gupta family.

[1] The correspondence of the terms in which this grant closes with the latter part of the grant obtained by Mr. R. Jenkins in Chattisgarh, as given in vol. xv. of the 'Asiatic Researches,' will not fail to strike the reader. The character of that grant seems to be of higher antiquity than was then assigned to it by Wilson.

[2] [Stanislas Julien, 'Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang et ses, Voyages dans l'Inde, depuis l'an 629 jusqu'en 645:' Paris, 1853.]

[3] ["Lastly, Huen Thsang names five princes of Magadha, who flourished previous to the conquest of the country by Siladitya, in the following order:—Lagraditya, Buddha Gupta, Takta Gupta, Baladitya, Vajra.' Major Cunningham then proceeds to tack on this list of princes to an imaginary *second* Skanda Gupta, arranging his

Appended, as in the case of the inscriptions, will be found whatever information is afforded by Huen Thsang regarding the annals of the Valabhis—a race we shall discover to have been intimately connected by community of insignia, and associated by other minor coincidences with the dynasty to which this note is especially devoted.

" Après le Nirvâna du Buddha, un ancien roi de ce royaume, nommé Cho-kia-lo-'o-t'ie-to (Çakrâditya), rempli de respect et d'amour pour le Bouddha, construisit à ses frais ce Kia-lan (Samghârâma).[1]

Ce roi étant mort, eut pour successeur son fils, Fo-to-k'io-to (Bouddhagoupta), qui, après avoir pris les rênes de ce grand royaume, construisit plus loin, au sud, un autre Kia-lan.

Un peu plus loin à l'est, son fils, le roi Ta-t'a-kie-to (Tathâgata), bâtit un autre couvent.

Plus loin au nord-est, son fils, Po-lo'ot'ie-to (Bâlâditya) bâtit un autre couvent.

Dans la suite, voyant qu'un saint religieux venait de la Chine, et se dirigeait vers lui pour recevoir de ses mains les provisions nécessaires, il fut transporté de joie, quitta son trône et embrassa la vie religieuse.

Il eut pour successeur son fils, Fa-che-lo (Vadjra), qui, plus loin au nord, construisit un autre couvent.

Quelque temps après, un roi de l'Inde centrale bâtit, à côté, un autre couvent.

De cette manière, six rois, qui montèrent successivement sur le trône, se livrèrent chacun à de pieuses constructions. Le dernier de ces rois entoura tous ces couvents d'une enceinte de murs en briques et les réunit en un seul (pp. 149, 150). . . . . . . Dans le séjour de tous ces hommes vertueux, régnaient naturellement des habitudes graves et sévères; aussi, depuis sept cents ans que ce couvent existe, nul homme n'a jamais enfreint les règles de la discipline." (p. 152.)

The narrative subsequently goes on to say, in reference to contemporary history:—

Huen Thsang " arriva au royaume de Kanyâ-koubdja, qui a quatre mille *li* de tour. A l'ouest, la capitale est voisine du fleuve Gange; elle est longue de vingt *li* et large de cinq ou six *li* . . . Le roi est de la caste des Vâiçyas. Son nom est Harcha-varddhana; son père s'appelle Prabhâ-kara-varddhana; le nom de son frère aîné est Râdja-varddhana. Harcha-varddhana se distingua sur le trône par son humanité . . . A cette époque Çaçânka, roi de Karṇa-souvarṇa, dans l'Inde orientale, le haïssait à cause de ses talents militaires, qui faisaient le malheur de ses voisins. Il lui tendit des embûches, et le tua. Un de ses grands ministres, nommé

chronology as follows:—'The chronology of the Guptas, as derived from all sources, will then stand thus. I. Gupta A.G. 0, A.D. 319. II. Ghatot Kacha, A.G., 21, A.D. 340. III. Chandra Gupta 1st, A.G. 41, A.D. 360. IV. Samudra Gupta, *Parâkrama*, A.G. 61, A.D. 380. V. Chandra Gupta 2nd, *Vikramâditya*, A.G., 81, A.D. 400. VI. Kumâra Gupta, *Mahendra*, A.G. 111, A.D. 430. VII. Skanda Gupta, *Kramaditya*, A.G. 121, A.D. 440. VIII. Skanda Gupta, *Lagrâditya* or *Lokaditya*, A.G. 133, A.D. 452. IX. Buddha Gupta, A.G. 161, A.D. 480. X. Takta Gupta, A.G. 191, A.D. 510. XI. Nara Gupta, *Baladitya*, A.G. 221, A.D. 540. XII. Vajra A.G. 251, A.D. 570. Conquest of Siladitya, A.G. 281, A.D. 600."—*Bhilsa Topes*: page 141.]

[1] [Nâlanda Vihâra, in Magadha.]

Bhaṇi, et les magistrats placés sous ses ordres, gémirent de voir le peuple sans roi. S'étant concertés ensemble, ils plaçèrent sur le trône son frère cadet Çîlâditya. Le roi, dirent-ils, est doué d'une belle figure et d'une taille imposante, et ses talents militaires ne connaissent point de bornes. . . Bientôt il pourra laver les injures de son frère aîné, et se rendre maître de l'Inde entière . . . Sur ces entrefaites, le prince fit cesser les armements et serrer, dans l'arsenal, les épées et les lances, puis il s'appliqua avec zèle aux actes qui produisent le bonheur." (pp. 111, 112.)

Speaking of the grand assemblage at Prayág (Allahábád), Huen-Thsang relates:—

"Les rois des dix-huit royaumes[1] partirent aussi à la suite du roi Çîlâditya. . . Le roi Çîlâditya établit sa tente sur le rivage nord du Gange; le roi de l'Inde méridionale, Dhrouvapatou, établit la sienne à l'ouest du confluent des deux fleuves. Le roi Koumâra[2] fit placer sa tente au sud de la rivière Yamouna. . . . . Le lendemain matin, les corps d'armée du roi Çîlâditya et du roi Koumâra, montés sur des vaisseaux; et celui du roi Dhrouvapatou, monté sur des éléphants, se disposèrent," etc.

The ceremonies gone through on the occasion are interesting in the religious aspect:—

'Le premier jour, . . . on installa la statue du Bouddha . . . Le second jour, on y plaça la statue du Dieu-soleil *(Âditya)*. . . Le troisième jour, on y plaça la statue du Dieu suprême *(Içvara)*[3] . . . La cinquième fois, on fit des distributions aux Brâhmanes; elles durèrent vingt jours.'[4]

At p. 212, one of the predecessors of Síláditya in Magadha is indicated as bearing the name of Poûrṇavarma; and after some further irrelevant matter, we are informed: 'A la fin de la période *Yong-hoeï* (650), le roi Çîlâditya mourut.' There are numerous incidental observations scattered through Huen Thsang's journal, beyond those quoted at large, which indicate pretty decisively that Síláditya was in effect the paramount sovereign of India in his day. Among these may be cited his possessing himself of the relic so highly prized and regarded by the people of Kashmír, in defiance of their craft in concealing it, and, we must suppose, in direct opposition to the wish of the king.[5] His exclusive use of the Imperial kettle-drums[6] equally

[1] [Elsewhere mentioned as 'dix-huit rois de l'Inde centrale.' (p. 242.)]

[2] [Designated at p. 233 as 'roi de l'Inde orientale.'

[3] [To shew further how little of exclusive Buddhists these kings were, it may be noted that Síláditya, on a state occasion, appears 'sous le costume d'Indra; le roi Koumâra . . sous le costume de Brahmâ.' (p. 243.)]

[4] [At p. 78 we are told of a Brâhman custodian of the bones of Buddha.]

[5] [p. 251.]

[6] ['Il se faisait précéder de cent tambours de métal sur lesquels on frappait un coup à chaque pas . . . Le roi Çîlâditya jouissait seul de ce privilége, et ne permettait pas aux autres rois de l'imiter.' (p. 228).]

points out his exalted position: and finally, the passports[1] he issues for the Chinese pilgrims' return-journey testify the estimation in which he must have been held by the neighbouring sovereigns.

At p. 202, mention is made of the country of Mahárâshtra, whose king is stated to be of the Kshatriya caste,[2] and whose troops were celebrated for their valour and equipment. The journal then proceeds to add:—

'Le roi Çîlâditya se vantait de sa science militaire, de la renommée de ses généraux, et il marchait lui-même à la tête de ses troupes; mais il ne put jamais les dompter ni les tenir en respect. Les hommes de ce royaume sont les seuls qui n'aient point plié sous ses lois. Quoiqu'il se soit mis à la tête de toutes les troupes des cinq Indes, et ait appelé sous ses drapeaux les plus braves généraux de tous les états, qu'il mène lui-même au combat, il n'a pas encore réussi a triompher de leur résistance.' p. 416.

Leaving Mahárâshtra, Huen Thsang is described as

'Se dirigeant au nord-est, il fit environ mille *li*, passa la rivière Naï-mo-t'o (la Narmmadâ) et arriva au royaume de Po-tou kie-tchen-p'o (Baroukatch'êva—Baroche.) De là, marchant encore au nord-ouest, il fit deux mille *li* et arriva au royaume de Mo-la-p'o (Málva) . . . . . Suivant la tradition, le trône était occupé, il y a soixante ans, par un roi nommé Kiaï-ji (Çîlâditya,)[3] . . . . pendant les cinquante ans qu'il resta sur le trône, etc. . . . De là, il fit de deux mille quatre cents à deux mille cinq cents *li* au nord-ouest, et arriva au royaume de O-teh'a-li (Atali?) . . . . . De là, il fit encore trois cents *li* au nord-ouest, et arriva au royaume de Kitch'a (Kiṭa). (Ce pays est soumis au royaume de Málva: Siyuki xi. 16.) De là, il fit mille *li* au nord, et arriva au royaume de Fa-la-pi (Vallabhi): la capitale peut avoir trente *li* (trois lieues) de circonférence. Le roi actuel est de la race des Tsa-ti-li (Kchatriyas); il est le gendre de Chi-lo-'o-tie-to (Çîlâditya) roi de Kie-jo-kio-che (Kanyâ-koubdja); son nom est Tou-lou-p'o-po-t'o (Dhrouvapatou).'

The original (Si-yu-ki, xi. 17) enters somewhat more into detail in regard to this kingdom and its monarch: the former is described as thickly populated,

'et le peuple est riche et heureux. Il y a plus de cent familles dont la fortune s'élève à un million (d'onces d' argent) . . . Les rois actuels sont de la race des Kchatriyas. Tous sont les neveux de Çîlâditya, roi de Málva. Maintenant, le fils de Çîlâditya, roi de Kanyâ-Koubdja, a un gendre nommé Dhrouvapatou.[4] Celui-ci

[1] ['Il écrivit des lettres sur des pièces de coton blanc, et, les ayant cachetées avec de la cire rouge, il ordonna . . . de présenter ces lettres dans tous les royaumes ou il passerait,' etc. (p. 260.)]

[2] [Named 'Pou-lo-ki-che' (Porakeça?) p. 416.]

[3] 'Il ne faut pas confondre ce roi avec Çîlâditya, roi de Kanyâ-Koubdja, qui était contemporain de notre voyageur.'—S.J.

[4] [I do not attach any value to the supposed identification of this Dhruva-Bhatta with the Dhruva-Sena of the inscriptions: 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', v., 687. 'Ariana Antiqua,' 408.—E.T.]

est d'un naturel vif et emporté, et il est doué d'une intelligence faible et bornée. (p. 370.) . . . De là, il fit sept cents *li* au nord-ouest, et arriva au royaume de 'O-nan-t'o-pou-lo (Ananda-poura) (ce pays dépend du royaume de Málva). De là, il fit cinq cents *li* au nord-ouest, et arriva au royaume de Sou-la-tch'a (Sourâchtra). Ce royaume a environ quatre mille *li* de tour; la circonférence de la capitale est de trente *li*. Du côté de l'ouest, ce royaume touche à la rivière Mahî. Sa population est trés-nombreuse, et toutes les familles vivent dans l' abondance. . . . Comme ce royaume se trouve sur le chemin de la mer occidentale, touts les habitants en retirent de grands avantages, et font du commerce leur principale occupation. (Il est soumis au royaume de Falápi,—Siyuki x. 18). De là, il fit dix-huit cent *li* au nord-est, et arriva au royaume de Kiu-tche-lo (Gourdjara). Ce royaume a cinq mille *li* de tour. La capitale, appelée Pi-lo-mo-lo (Vîramâla ?) a trente *li* de circonférence. (Le roi est de la caste des Kchatriyas: Siyuki, xi., 18). Ensuite, il fit deux mille huit cents *li* au sud-est, et arriva au royaume de Ou-che-yen-na (Oudjayana). (Le roi est de la race des Brâhmanes: Siyuki, xi. 18.) De là, il fit neuf cents *li* au nord-est, et arriva au royaume de Mo-hi-chi-fa-lo-pou-lo (Mahêçvarapoura). (Le roi descend d'une famille de Brâhmanes.) De là, tournant à l'ouest, il revint au royaume de Sou-la-tch'a.' [1]

As a conclusion to this series of extracts and to put my readers in possession of the statements of Al Birúní in all their integrity, I append the French translation of all his observations on the Gupta era, inserting likewise the original Arabic of the most important passage.

'On emploie ordinairement les ères de Sri-Harcha, de Vikramáditya, de Saca, de Ballaba, et des Gouptas. . . . L'ère de Saca, nommée par les Indiens 'Saca-kâla,' est postérieure à celle de Vikramâditya, de 135 ans. Saca est le nom d'un prince qui a régné sur les contrées situées entre l'Indus et la mer. Sa résidence était placée au centre de l'empire, dans la contrée nommée Aryavartha . . . . Vikramâditya marcha

[1] [Since these notes have been set up in type, I have had an opportunity of perusing M. Julien's new publication, entitled, 'Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales, traduits du Sanskrit en Chinois, en l' an 648; par Hiouen-Thsang,' (vol. i. Paris, 1857). This work, though entering into more voluminous detail regarding the question of the Buddhist faith and the credulity of its votaries, contributes far less ample information in its historical references, than the previous publication from which my extracts are taken.

Huen-Thsang notices several of Asoka's and other Láts, 'sur le sommet de laquelle on a sculpté l'image d'un lion. Sur les côtés, on a gravé l'histoire du Nirvâna (de Krakoutchtchanda). Cette colonne a été construit par le roi Açôka' (p. 315, 316, 346; Benáres, 354; Sarnáth, 355; Vaiçali, 387: etc.); and again, near Kousinagara, 'on a élevé, en face, une colonne en pierre pour rappeler les circonstances du Nirvâna de Jou-laï. Elle porte, il est vrai, une inscription, mais on n'y a pas écrit le jour ni le mois de cet évènement.' (p. 334).

From this it is clear that either the Sramanas of Huen Thsang's time could not, or did not find it convenient to read the ancient inscriptions of Asoka.

The new text rectifies the imperfect identification afforded by the former version in regard to the succession to the throne of Kanauj: it now seems that Rájavarddhana was the monarch slain by Śasánka (p. 248); and that Harsha-varddhana 'accepta alors l'héritage de la royauté, se désigna lui-même par le nom de prince royal (Koumâra-râdja) et prit le titre de Çîlâditya.' (p. 251).]

contre lui, mit son armée en déroute, et le tua sur le territoire de Korour, situé entre Moultan et le château de Louny. Cette époque devint célèbre, à cause de la joie que les peuples ressentirent de la mort de Saca, et on la choisit pour ère principalement chez les astronomes.

و اما تاريخ بلب وهو صاحب مدينة بلبه وهي جنوبية عن مدينة انهلواره بقريب من ثلثين جوزن فان اوله متاخر عن تاريخ شق بمائتي واحدي واربعين سنة و مستعملوه يضعون شككال وينقصون منه مجموع مكعب الستة و مربع الخمسة فبقي تاريخ بلب و خبره آت في موضعه و اما كوبت كال فكان كما قيل قوما اشرارا اقوياء فلما انقرضوا ارخ بهم و كان بلب كان اخيرهم فان اول تاريخهم ايضا متاخر عن شككال ٢٤١

Ballaba, qui a donné aussi son nom à une ère, était prince de la ville de Ballaba, au midi de Anhalouara, à environ trente *yodjanas* de distance. L'ère de Ballaba est postérieure à celle de Saca de, 241 ans. Pour s'en servir, on pose l'ère de Saca, et l'on en ôte à la fois le cube de 6 (216) et le carré de 5 (25). Ce qui reste est l'ère de Ballaba. Il sera question de cette ère en son lieu. Quant au Goupta-kâla (ère des Gouptas), ou entend par le mot *Goupta* des gens qui, dit-on, étaient méchants et puissants; et l'ère qui porte leur nom est l'époque de leur extermination. Apparemment, Ballaba suivit immédiatement les Gouptas; car l'ère des Gouptas commence aussi l'an 241 de l'ère de Saca. . . . . D'après cela, en s'en tenant à l'an 400 de l'ère de Zezderdjed, on se trouve sous l'année 1488 de l'ère de Sri-Harscha, l'an 1088 de l'ère de Vikramâditya, l'an 953 de l'ère de Saca, l'an 712 de l'ère de Ballaba et celle des Gouptas. . . . .

Déjà je me suis excusé sur l'imperfection de ce qui est dit ici, et j'ai averti que les résultats que je présente offraient quelque incertitude, vu les nombres qui excèdent celui de cent. Je ferai remarquer de plus que j'ai vu les Indiens, lorsqu'ils veulent marquer l'année de la prise de Soumenat (par Mahmoud le Ghaznévide), évènement qui eut lieu l'an 416 de l'hégire (= Janvier 1026 de J.C.), et l'an 947 de l'ère de Saca, je les ai vus écrire 242; puis, au-dessous 606; puis encore au-dessous, 99; enfin additionner le tout ensemble; ce qui donne l'ère de Saca. On peut induire de là que le nombre 242 indique les années qui précèdent l'époque où les Indiens commencèrent à se servir d'un cycle de cent, et que cet usage commença avec l'ère des Gouptas. D'aprés cela, le nombre 606 indiquerait les samvatsaras de cent complets, ce qui porterait chaque samvatsara à 101. Quant au nombre 99, ce seraient les années qui se sont écoulées du samvatsara non encore révolu. C'est ce qui est en effet. J'ai trouvé la confirmation et l'éclaircissement de cela dans les tables astronomiques de Durlab le moultanien; on y lit; 'Ecris 848 et ajoute le Loka-kâla, c'est-à-dire le comput du vulgaire; le produit marquera l'année de l'ère de Saca.' En effet, si nous écrivons l'année de l'ère de Saca qui correspond à l'année actuelle, et qui est l'année 953, et que nous retranchions de ce nombre la quantité 848, il restera 105 pour le Loka-kâla, et l'année de la ruine de Soumenat tombera sur le nombre 98.' *Journal Asiatique*, 4-me. série, tom. iv. (1844).

Having exhausted the somewhat voluminous but inconclusive documentary evidence bearing on the domination of the Guptas, I will briefly recapitulate the various arguments advanced for the determination of their era, which is probably of more real importance towards the justification of the subordinate periods of Indian history than any other epoch in the unrecorded annals of that land.

To Prinsep, it will be seen, is due the credit of having first proved "the Indo-Scythic paternity of the Kanauj [Gupta] coinage," (Art. x., Nov., 1835,) which he more explicitly developed in his paper on "The Transition from the Mithraic or Indo-Scythian coinage to the Hindú series," (Art. xiii., Oct., 1836.)

Prof. Wilson, in his 'Ariana Antiqua,' (p. 418,) concurred in these identifications, giving even greater emphasis to the value of the 'evidence that the coins of the Gupta princes succeeded immediately to those of the Mithraic princes.'

Prinsep's conclusions with regard to the absolute date of these coins were modified, from time to time, with the advance of his knowledge, the details of which may be gathered from the essays here reprinted. Prof. Wilson, writing in 1840, avoided the expression of any very decisive opinion as to the epoch to which these issues should be attributed; and, though he was disposed to 'restrict the most modern period . . . to the 7th or 8th century,' he was prepared, on the other hand, to admit a possible antiquity reaching to 'the 2nd or 3rd century of our era.' ('Ariana Antiqua' pp. 417-8-9).

In the year 1848, having occasion to investigate the probable date of the Sáh kings of Saurâshtra ('Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', xii., 1.), I was led to advert to that of the Guptas, which necessarily bore an important relation to the period of a race to whose dominions the latter dynasty succeeded. In considering this collateral branch of my subject, I was led to conclude that the dates occurring in the Gupta inscriptions might with propriety be referred to the Saka Samvat, and that the 'San 93' of the

Chandra Gupta record at Sanchi (suprâ cit.) corresponded therefore with 172 A.D.: a decision which has since been accepted by Prof. Lassen ('Ind. Alt.', ii. 939.) The chief groundwork of my deductions consisted, however, in the passage of Albirúni just quoted (p. 269), which, apart from the critical difficulties of the original text,[1] seemed fully to authorise an inference that the Guptas preceded the Valabhis, and, moreover, as was therein shewn, and elsewhere proved, that the Valabhi æra reckoned from 319 A.D. Objection might be taken to my placing too much reliance upon the statement of an oriental writer, a foreigner in the country of whose history he was treating: but the author was clearly no superficial observer, and the statement itself fell so well into the fitness of things, and so nicely accorded with other indications bearing on the question, that I accepted it without hesitation, even as I now confess my faith in its verity to be rather confirmed than shaken by subsequent investigations and the new evidence that time has brought to light.

Prof. Lassen in reviewing the subject in 1852 ('Ind Alt.' ii.)

[1] [I do not allude to the fanciful rectification proposed by Major Cunningham ('Bhilsa Topes.' p. 139), but to a modification of meaning one portion of the original text will bear, and which recommends itself to our English scholars in preference to M. Reinaud's version. I am bound to add, however, that I have consulted M. Reinaud on the merits of this new translation, and that he adheres to his original rendering!

TRANSLATION: 'Again, the era of Bulub, who was Lord (or founder) of the city of Balabah, which lies to the south of the city of Anhalwárah, about 30 jozans. And the beginning (first) of this era dates 241 years after the Shaka era. And those who use it, take the date of the Shaka era, and deduct from it the sum of the cube of six plus the square of five, and the remainder is the Balab year, and the mention of it will come in its place. Again, the Kúbat Kál (Gupta era), that was, as is said, a wicked and powerful family; when it ceased it was dated from, and as it were (it would seem that), *Balab was the last of them*, for the first of their era also is 241 years after the Shaka Kál.'

It will be seen that the new translation, if accepted, scarcely modifies the original inferences derived from the fact that the Gupta era is reckoned from the fall of the family whose name it bears. Whether Bhalaba was the last of their race, or an alien rising upon their ruin, imports but little in the determination of the dynastic epoch, which, under either aspect, is proved to have preceded A.D. 318–19. But the revised translation certainly gets rid of one inconsistency, and explains more plausibly how one and the same era came to be called by two distinct names; and instead of that cycle having to be referred to the rise of one family and the fall of the other, it is under this interpretation reasonably attributable to the extinction of the single dynasty in the person of its latest potentate.]

arranged the chronology of the Guptas in the following order:—

"Gupta	150 to 160,	A.D.
Ghaṭot Kaṣa	168	„
Ḳandra Gupta I.	195	„
Samudra Gupta, ...	230	„
Ḳandra Gupta II.	240	„
Skanda Gupta o. Kumâra Gupta. .	270	„
Mahendra Gupta and Nârâjaṇa Gupta	280	„ "

The authority for these assignments rests chiefly on the date of 93, noticed above, which is referred to the first Chandra-Gupta; and subordinately on the titles given in the Allahábád inscription to the '*Daiva-putra shahi shahán-shahi*,' who is hence identified with Ardeshír Bábak. The author, therefore, places the rise of the Guptas soon after the death of Vikramáditya in 155 A.D.[1]

Major Cunningham, in his work on the Bhilsa Topes, has also reviewed at some length, and with little commendation, my proposed scheme for the determination of the era of the Guptas. I have replied to his arguments in another place,[2] and I need not now re-open the discussion further than to refer to his chronological table inserted at the foot of page 264.

Since my first paper on the subject appeared in the 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', however, an apparently insignificant piece of progress has contributed materially to enlarge our view of the general bearings of the question, and tends rather to necessitate a shortening up of the period over which the rule of the Gupta succession should be spread. I allude to the decipherment of the names of Kumára and Skanda Gupta on the small silver pieces (Art. XI., *infrá*), which precede those bearing the designation of Budha Gupta, whose own money again is closely imitated by Toramána, the monarch whose inscription has been already inserted

[1] ['Ind. Alt.', pp. 752, 937, 938, 939, 940, 942, 951, 961, 987, etc.]

[2] ['Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', v. xxiv., 371. (1855.)]

among the other historical records connected with the house of Gupta (p. 249). As I have elsewhere remarked—

'More important still, however, than the connection thus established between these sovereigns, is the discovery of the fact that all these coins bear dates in a seemingly consecutive cycle, which elucidate, not only the relative periods of the several monarchs, but go far to indicate the duration, and possibly the date of the extinction, of the Gupta power. It will be seen hereafter that all the dated coins of the three Gupta kings above-named commence with a cipher for 100. Kumára's money displays the numbers 121 and 124. The units and tens on Skanda Gupta and Budha Gupta's pieces are not so clear, but the inscription of the latter king at Sanchi we know to be dated in *one hundred and sixty-five;* and, finally, the unique specimen of Toramána's mint displays a decimal symbol of the value of eighty. Previous to these determinations, we were altogether at a loss to discover Budha Gupta's position with regard to the rest of the family of the name,[1] and equally ignorant that Toramána had so quickly superseded him.'

The time at my disposal, while these sheets are passing through the press, will scarcely admit of my analyzing anew the whole subject of the Gupta epoch in full and complete detail, so I content myself with merely touching upon the more prominent indications deducible from the evidence now before us.

I have but recently had occasion to observe:—

"That I consider that it imports but little as to what particular cycle the Gupta dates should be referred, so that they each and all are made to precede the fixed epoch of the commencement of the Valabhi Samvat in 318–19 A.D. I have no special desire to retain them under the Sáka Kál, but am fully prepared to subject them to the test of any other suitable scheme of computation. Albirúní's expressions in regard to the Gupta era in no wise necessitate a notion that the 241 years intervening between the conquest of Sáka by the second Vikramáditya in A.D. 78–9, and the extermination of the Guptas in A.D. 318–19, were exclusively filled in by the domination of the latter. Any such supposition would involve an obligation to identify some one of the early members of the Gupta family with the original Vikramáditya Sákari himself—which, though not altogether beyond the bounds of possibility, is still an improbable association; but—taking a reasonable interval to have elapsed after the success of Vikramáditya, and assuming the rise of the Guptas to have been"[2] gradual, as is shewn to have been the case in the very change from the lower to the higher title of kingly designation assigned to the third monarch on the list—we may admit that, under these conditions, Chandra Gupta I. will scarcely be inappropriately placed by the date on the Sanchi Inscription when applied to the Sáka Kál.

Though there is no positive evidence to prove the fact, it will no doubt be conceded, that the dates occurring on the coins, and those used in the two inscriptions quoted severally at pp. 246 and 249, pertain to one and the same serial cycle. The united reigns of the five kings intervening between Chandra

[1] ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 71.] [2] ['Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. xxiv., p. 564.]

Gupta I. and Toramána are thus seen to extend over the suitable period of 87 years more or less. I am aware that, in following this system of reckoning Kumára Gupta's coin dates, whereby 121-124 must be taken as equal to A.D. 199-202, all idea of recognising the Sassanians as the contemporaries of Samudra Gupta must be definitively abandoned; but I look upon this as a very slender obstacle to the acceptance of the proposed theory, as I have already distinctly avowed my disbelief in the exclusive right of the Sassanian dynasty to the title of *Sháhán Sháh*,[1] and I am equally doubtful whether the term of *Daiva putra* itself should be held as any more peculiar to their division of the Persian monarchical succession.[2]

As regards the assumption that Toramána displaced Budha Gupta, it is grounded upon the locality of the inscriptions wherein they are respectively named, aided by the obvious imitation of the typical details of the Gupta peacock coinage by the latter, and the date—imperfect, it is true, in all but the decimal figure —which associates him still more closely with the last of the line of Sovereigns whose monetary standard he adopts.

To test the Gupta epoch, however, by a different method, let us suppose the 165th year, used in connexion with the name of Budha Gupta, to represent the interval that had elapsed from the date of the first prominent action or other marked event in the life of the founder of the house, whereon its subsequent fortunes were based; and further concluding, as there has been shown to be valid reason for doing, that under Budha Gupta, the dynasty, shorn of its high estate, was fast verging to complete extinction, we may arrange this total, or a slightly reduced sum of years, anteriorly to the supposed 'époque de leur extermination,' in 241 Sáka. I am aware that any such scheme as this will necessitate the reduction of all the available dates to a family cycle, to which proceeding there are manifest and obvious objections; still I feel bound to propose the alternative, as there are other incidental circumstances which give weight to a similar conclusion.

[1] ['Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. xxiv., p. 387.] [2] [Plutarch in Pomp.]

The expressions made use of in the Kuhaon Pillar Inscription (p. 250), would seem to prove that the epoch of Skanda Gupta's death continued in accepted currency as an historical date for 141 years, at least, after his decease; and this practice seems singularly to accord with the tenor of the revised rendering of the passage from Albirúní. The indications afforded by the numismatic evidence, as well as those contributed by the monumental inscription on the Western Coast, alike combine to shew that Skanda Gupta was more directly identified with that section of Hindústán than his immediate predecessors; and, singular to say, with him, all traces of the Gupta domination cease and determine in those parts. The question, then, suggests itself—Is it permissible to recognise him as the 'lord of Valabha,' and the last of his line in Western India? or, in effect, as the monarch in whose person the imperial sway of the house terminated. For the rest of the family, it may be remarked, that even the individuality of Mahendra Gupta is only doubtfully known to us from certain gold coins of Eastern type, associated with indefinite allusions to a son of Skanda Gupta in the Bhitárí inscription. Budha Gupta's mintages are equally confined to Eastern or Central Indian sites, and evidently follow closely upon Skanda Gupta's money of the same localities; while the solitary monumental record of his power freely admits how circumscribed its extent must have been, in comparison with the magnificent empire that acknowledged fealty to his proximate predecessor! In this indeterminate state I must for the present rest content to leave the question, trusting that a more exact copy of the Skanda Gupta inscription may hereafter be obtained, and that time and opportunity may be afforded for a revision of many of the other imperfectly-developed monumental registers bearing upon this interesting section of Indian history.

Even as we are unable to fix definitively the relative value of the Gupta dates, so likewise are we uncertain as to the true equivalents of the epochal figures occurring on the Valabhi grants. It will be observed that various opinions have prevailed with regard to the cycle properly applicable to these dates, but

nearly all commentators appear now to concur in rejecting the claims of the very era which, in identity of name, would at first sight seem to be specially suited to the purpose. However, it is clear that the epoch of Srí Dhara Sena I. expressed by the ciphers 330,—when tested by the Valabhi Samvat of 318-19 A.D. (330 + 318 = 648 A.D.)—will be reduced to far too modern a period. Neither do these dates appear to have formed a portion of a consecutive series following on to the numbers employed by the Guptas themselves, as was the case in Toramána's local mintages; indeed, it is not a little singular that while the Eastern silver money of the Guptas is duly stamped with the year of issue, the Western coins of the same race, which follow in direct suite the uniformly dated coins of the Sáh kings, are left altogether defective in such records. This would certainly seem to imply that a different system of epochal computation obtained in the two sections of the continent; and, under the option thus seemingly afforded, I should be inclined to conclude, in spite of any apparent inconsistency involved, that the Vikramáditya era is the one which should preferentially apply to the Valabhi grants, which inference, if admitted, clearly adds a very strong argument to those already existing in favour of the test of the Sáka era[1] for the Gupta dates. I conclude these observations with a sketch of the various schemes applicable to the determination of the Gupta epoch:

GUPTA KINGS.	*Lassen.* A.D.	SAKA (78). A.D.	GUPTA ERA. A.D.
I. GUPTA	150	.....	1 = 158
II. GHATOT KACHA	160	.....	.....
III. CHANDRA GUPTA I...	168	93 = 171	93 = 251
IV. SAMUDRA GUPTA ...	195	.....	.....
V. CHANDRA GUPTA II..	230	.....	.....
VI. KAMÁRA GUPTA	240 to 270	.....121 = 199	121 = 279
VII. SKANDA GUPTA		.....124 = 202	124 = 282
			Skanda Gupta dies 318
VIII. BUDHA GUPTA.....	.....	165 = 243	165 = 323
(TORAMÁNA)	.....	180 = 258	.....

SRÍ DHARA SENA, 330 *Local Era*.....Vikrama (56) 330 = 274 Saka 330 = 408]

[1] [I have been, from the first, disposed to doubt the universality of the use of the Vikramáditya era ('Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', xii., 5), my suspicions on the subject having been excited on remarking the extensive prevalence of the em-

Hindu Coins. Canouj Series.

18 G

19 G

20 G

21 G

22 G

23 G

24 G

25 G

26 G

27 G

28 G

29 G

33 C

30 G

31 G

32 G

Pub. by Stephen Austen, Hertford.

HINDU COINS—FIRST KANAUJ SERIES.

(pl. xxiii.)

The Devanágarí alphabet, published with Wathen's translation of the Gujarát copper-plates (page 252) [see plate xxxviii.], will be found to apply in every respect to the coins before us: it is also nearly identical with the Gayá and Allahábád alphabets; the principal exceptions having place in the *m*, which in the latter is written more like , while in the former it is ; and the *s*, which is respectively in the latter, and in the former. To avoid the necessity of casting a new fount of type to illustrate the following observations, I have availed myself of the pervading similarity of the Tibetan alphabet; which, though several centuries later, can, with the alteration of a few letters, be employed for our purpose much more readily than the modern Devanágarí.

[As the reader will now have ready access to Prinsep's Table of Alphabets, pl. xxxviii., which was published some three years subsequent to the composition of this article,—I have thought it unnecessary to complicate and disfigure the text by a reproduction of the mixed Tibetan type originally adopted in this paper. A type alphabet of that character will be given in its proper place, for the purposes of comparison, but in the

ployment of the Sáka cycle in the grants published by Elliot and Wathen of so early a date as 490 and 567 A.D. ('Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', iv. v.); yet if we are to trust to Albirúní, we must clearly yield the preference to the Vikramáditya era, in the localities he indicates in the passage rendered by M. Reinaud, 'L'ère de Vikramáditya est employée dans les provinces méridionales et occidentales de l'Inde:' regarding the Sáka Kál it is added, 'les personnes qui se servent de l'ère de Saca, ce sont les astronomes.'—('Fragments,' 145) An item of negative testimony of some value towards establishing local usage, is further afforded by the insertion of the Vikramáditya, and the exclusion of the Sáka, method of computation in the celebrated grant which determines the epoch of the Valabhis (Tod, i. 801)]

present reprint I substitute the ordinary Sanskrit for the little known Tibetan,—a proceeding indeed that Prinsep himself had recourse to in all his subsequent articles on the Gupta coins.]

The readings of the inscriptions in the present plates are for the most part new, and have been made out, dictionary in hand, by one unacquainted with Sanskrit: they therefore claim indulgence, and will succumb to any more plausible interpretation from the professed scholar.

To begin with the two coins of the last plate, which appear to belong to the same sovereign;—we find on the obverse (combining the two figures) the words श्री परजत दवज *Srí* (?) *(a)parajata davaja.* On the opposite side of a duplicate, fig. 17, we find the name कुमार गुप्त *Kumára-gupta,* and on the reverse, to the right, परक्रमः *parakramah.* The whole title may be interpreted, (if in *davaja* we suppose an ignorant writing of the word *dhvaja*) 'The hero of the unconquered standard, the blessed Kumára-Gupta.'

Beneath the left arm of the Rája are three letters, superposed ས་པྱུ in the Tibetan manner, *spyu*; which, as we learn from M. Csoma de Körös, are pronounced *chu,* and signify 'Rája.' The same word is prefixed to every prince's name in the list of Assam Rájas. The triliteral compound may, however, denote a date. A duplicate of Col. Smith's coin, 17, was presented to me by Capt. Wade. The Willoughby cabinet possesses another, and Mr. Wilson has given one precisely similar, in which we find the *Kumára (gupta)* of the obverse, and the *parakrama* of the reverse very well marked—the first letter however in this, as in our coin, is more like *bhu* or *su* than *ku.*

In all these specimens, the trident of the 'Rao' coins is changed into a standard having a bird at the top somewhat resembling the Roman eagle.

Figs. 18 and 19, are placed next in succession, because the 'cornucopia' lady still sits on a couch in the European fashion. The Rája here holds a bow in the left hand, and in the right, a short stick; for the fire-altar below it is now removed. A bracelet on the shoulder, and the head-dress, begin to look Indian. The letters on the margin of the obverse are lost, but in the bow, we find चन्द्र *chndr* superposed as before. Marsden reads this combination *chandra,* with some plausibility. On the reverse of 18, is the name or title of the prince, श्री विक्रमः *Srí Vikrama.*

On fig. 19, the name is quite different, अपति रूहः *apati rúhah*, 'the averter of misfortune.'

The first and last letters of this name or title are doubtful, and on my first examination of the coin whence the drawing was made, I thought the first two letters might form the *bh* of Wathen's Gujarátí alphabet, making the word *bhúpati rurha*, 'the overthrower of kings:' I have named the last letter from its resemblance to the ढ [*sic*] of the Nágarí alphabet. These two coins were dug up at Jaunpur by Mr. Tregear, whose description will be found in 'Jour. As. Soc. Ben.' iii., 617.

Figs. 20 and 22, are of the kind described by Marsden. The goddess of plenty here sits in the native fashion on an ornamented stool, or a lotus-flower. The cornucopia also is transformed into a large flower at the end of a stalk. The Rája still holds the bow, but he has a sash in fig 20. The letters on the area are new, but hardly legible; and only on the reverse of fig. 22 can we attempt to decypher क्रम, a portion perhaps of the former name, Vikrama. Fig. 20 was given to me by a lady; fig. 22, by Mr. Cracroft.

Fig. 21, is a thin one-sided coin, found by Lieut. Conolly in the ruins of Kanauj; the letter beneath the left arm is here क्र *kra*: its meaning doubtful.

The next two coins were assorted together in the plate, because they had both two figures on the obverse; they are, however, essentially of different periods; and, if our former reasoning be correct, fig. 23 (of Lieut. Conolly's collection,) should be classed before the last two, or even earlier than any of the set; for it is difficult to form any Sanskrit name out of the characters on either side. Lieut. Cunningham has kindly favored me with an impression of a similar coin in his possession, by which the legend of the obverse appears to be composed of the letters क्रगीप्त परगु *kragipta paragu(pta)*.

In the obverse of the coin before us, the same letters may be traced; but after the गु follows a ज, making the word *kragipta paraguja*, a strange and unintelligible compound. On the reverse, the first three or four letters agree with the above; but the final is rather a फ *pha*, and the one preceding it is closed at the top, making it व *va*. These may be faults of execution in a foreign artist, but they place the interpretation beyond conjecture.

Fig. 24, presented to me by Mr. G. Bacon as discovered (or rather purchased) at Kanauj, has already found a place in Prof. Wilson's plates. The dress of the male and female on the obverse is completely Hindú, as is the attitude of the reverse. The legend was given in facsimile in the 'Asiatic Researches' and may be read, with allowance for imperfections, श्री चन्द्रगुप्त *Srí Chandra-Gupta*.

(Fig. 25.) We now come to an old acquaintance, the happy discovery of Lieut. Conolly, which has acted as a key to all the rest. An account of it is inserted in 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. iii., 227, where, however, on Dr. Mill's authority, the name was read as *Sri mad Ghavo Kacho*, from a misapprehension of the letter *m*. The reading commences, on the obverse, with the full title महाराजधिराज श्री *Mahárája Adhi-rája Srí* (the name is cut off), and, on the reverse, श्री सछ विक्रम: *Srí Sachha Vikrama*. The second word is doubtful, and without sense: perhaps it may be *Srí pradyu* (the heavenly), or simply *Srí mad, Vikrama*.

Fig. 26 is another most important acquisition, for which we are beholden to Col. Stacy. An imperfect drawing of a similar coin appeared in Wilson's plates, which only misled as to the device, as well as the legend: both are here equally distinct. The rája sits on a chair playing on a kind of harp, whence we learn his accomplishments: while the margin teaches us his titles and part of his name महाराजधिराज श्री . . . द्रगुप्त *Mahárájadhirája Srí . . . dragupta*. The first letter of the name is the only one at all doubtful, and it is possible that the name may be simply a repetition of the one more unequivocally legible on the reverse, viz. समुद्र गुप्त *Samudra-Gupta*.

The fac-simile inscription of the duplicate coin of the 'Researches,' is identical with the above, *Mahárájadhirája Srí Samudra-Gupta*.

Fig. 27 is a sorry duplicate of the Conolly coin, belonging to Col. Stacy, with a variation of the epigraphe, विक्रम: नरिनमगुप्त *Vikrama Narinama-gupta*. I incline to think that the म is intended for द्र, and that the word should be *Narendra-Gupta*, or it may be intended for *Náráyana-Gupta*. The name on the reverse corresponds with fig. 25, *Srí pradyu Vikrama*.

Fig. 28 is from a sketch of a coin in Lieut. Cunningham's cabinet at Benáres. He has since sent me faithful wax impressions, which expose slight inaccuracies in my outline. From neither, however, can the inscription, encircling the hero triumphant over the lion, be satisfactorily deduced; it may possibly be श्री बल पराक्रम: *Srí bal paráksrama*; the letter on the field is, in the fac-simile, कु *ku*.

On the reverse we are more lucky; for the legend, which I take to be the prince's name, कुमार गुप्त *Kumára-Gupta*, 'the protected of Mars,' is illustrated by an effigy of the wife of Kártika, Kumárí, feeding his favourite bird, the peacock. The same reverse is repeated in the two following varieties, where, however, the female is seated on a wicker *morha*, or 'stool,' as in fig. 26.

Fig. 29, a coin of Lieut. Burt's, and its fellow (presented to me by Miss Watson) introduce us to a perfectly novel device. The rája

is here mounted on a horse dressed in native trappings. It would be a loss of time to guess the superscription. The same letters occur on both sides of fig. 30, and are plainer; they appear to be *ajita Manatri gu. . . .*

Two coins of the same style are depicted as figures 17 and 18 of Wilson, who states that the natives designate them coins of Hiranya-Kasipu. I presented to the Asiatic Society, in 1830, a bronze image of a horseman dug up in Bandelkhand, which bears as close an affinity to this class of coin as the Ventura *chaprás* of plate xxi. does to the elephant coin.

Of the next two coins, No. 31 had been added to my cabinet by Miss Watson, and had excited not a little curiosity before Col. Stacy's cabinet fell under my inspection; my attention was immediately attracted to his more perfect duplicate (fig. 32), which at once confirmed the reading I had as yet feared to pronounce, although the image of a richly bedecked horse, unfettered by bridle or rider, had led me to imagine some allusion to the celebrated horse-sacrifice undertaken by one or two of the most powerful of the ancient sovereigns of India. The deficient letters of one reading happen to be everywhere supplied by the other, so that there can be no doubt about the whole, अश्वमेध पराक्रमः *asvamedha parákrama*, 'the hero *or* paramount hero of the Asvamedha.' The female holding a chauri to fan the flies from the devoted horse, is, I presume, one of the princesses acting as his attendant. Under the horse, on both coins, is the syllabic letter सि *si*. History must be searched, if indeed any history can be found, ere we can determine who may lay claim to this fine and curious medal, which, for the present, closes our series of the earlier Kanauj coinage.

Fig. 33, of which Dr. Swiney has numerous specimens, is inserted in this plate because of the style of its alphabet. The inscription is read by Dr. Swiney महाराज गनपति *Mahárája Ganapati*.[1]

It will be right to mention here, that one more of the Gupta family appears on a coin, in the Willoughby collection, of which a fac-simile is given in the 'Asiatic Researches,' plate i. I have seen the coin itself, and the fac-simile is correct, though the two first letters are of doubtful nature. Mr. Wilson read the whole *Nara-Gupta*: Dr. Mill, *Sasi-Gupta*. I have nothing new to offer on the subject.[2]

[1] [To shew how extensive the issue of these coins must have been, I may mention that Col. Stacy's collection counts no less than 3,479 specimens of the class, though these were possibly the produce of a single hoard!]

[2] Since finishing my plate, I have received a drawing of a small silver coin from Mr. Tregear, found at Jaunpur, having a head on one side, and on the other a bird with outspread wings, under which, in clearly defined characters, is चन्द्रगुप्त *Chandra-Gupta*.

Having now ocular demonstration of the intimate relation of the Indo-Scythic with the second class of Hindú coins, the question naturally suggests itself, whether history is altogether silent on a point of such curious interest?

In first contradiction of such an inference, we find that the Indo-Scythic origin of the Rahtor dynasty of Kanauj has been advanced on very plausible grounds by the highest authority on this subject, Col. Tod, the annalist of Rájputána.[1] He obtained from a Jati (*yatí*) or Jain priest of a temple at Nadolaye, an ancient town in Márwár, a genealogical roll of the Rahtors, about fifty feet in length. After detailing the usual theogony, it describes the production of the first Rahtor 'from the spine (*raht*) of Indra,' the nominal father being 'Yavan-aswa, prince of Parlipur.' Of the topography of Parlipur, the Rahtors have no other notion than that it was in the north: but in the declared race of their progenitor, a Yavan or Greek prince of the Aswa or Asi tribe—one of the four which overturned the Greek kingdom of Bactria—we have a proof of the Scythic origin of this Rájput family.

May it not be possible that the Yavana prince here alluded to may be the Azos (in Pehlví, Azo) of the series of Bactrian coins published in my last notice? The Sanskrit word *aswa* would be pronounced *aso*, and be thus written in Persian or Pehlví (as *deo* for *deva*, etc.) The number and variety of his coins would imply that the name or title was that of a considerable dynasty, and some of the devices, (for example, Nos. 10, 11, pl. xvi.) of the goddess holding a cornucopia, may have naturally been the prototype of the Kanauj coins.

[1] Tod's 'Annals of Rájasthán,' ii., 5.

A considerable interval (from 300? to 470 A.D.) provokingly occurs between the name of Yavanasva and the next prince, in Tod's list—whether also omitted in the Jain original, or filled up only by barbarous and uninteresting names, we are not informed:—the blank is relieved at length by the name of a genuine Hindú, Nayana-pála; but it happens that the missing part is the very one that could alone throw light upon our numismatic discoveries. Several coins (including the whole series of Kadphises and Kanerkis) intervene after Azos, before we are brought to the absolute link-coins of the Indo-Scythic and Hindú dynasties.

The name of Nayana-pála bears so near a resemblance to Narayana-Gupta, that a strong temptation arises to regenerate Tod's prince in him, on the same grounds on which his predecessor has been brought to life in Azos.

Indeed, it would hardly be exceeding the bounds of legitimate conjecture (where all is mere conjecture) to adopt a historical representative of our Kanerki himself in the Kenek-sen of Tod, *sen* being, according to him, merely a martial affix, equivalent to 'General' or *Senápati*.

Kenek-sen, the founder of the Balhára dynasty, according to the concurrent testimony of all the chronicles consulted by Tod, emigrated to Sauráshtra about the year 144 A.D.[1] 'from the most northern province of India, Lohkot or Láhor.' In date and locality this origin would agree well with Kanerki; nor would it even set aside the former supposition of the same prince being the Tartar Kaniska of the Kashmír history; since that prince is made the sixth in succession after Asoka, the

[1] Tod's 'Rájasthán,' i. 215.

great patron of the Buddhists, who is placed by their chronology in 250 B.C., but who, when the correction for Chandra-Gupta is applied, will fall full 50 years later.

In reasoning upon the probable seat of these obscure dynasties, it is by no means necessary to confine ourselves to one spot. The annals of Mewár, Dihlí, Málwá, Saurâshtra, show a continual intermixture, as different princes acquired the ascendancy.

Kanauj has been fixed upon as the locale of the present class of gold coins, for the obvious reason that they are most frequently found in its ruins, not that any history ascribes them to this town; for the history of Kanauj is a perfect blank anterior to the fifth, we may even say the tenth century: and, if the town had been suddenly involved in destruction, it is only certain that the coins found afterwards in its ruins would be those of the particular epoch, whether coined there or elsewhere.

[It is singular that these coins are rarely, if ever, found in Afghánistán. Mr. Masson's ample collection does not contribute even a solitary specimen ('Ariana Antiqua,' 416). In like manner, Major Abbott's extensive acquisitions in Huzárah do not afford us a single example of the Gupta coinage *proper*, though the collection is not deficient in an imitative coinage of the same class.

On the other hand, the 'finds' in the N.W. provinces have been frequent, and often of considerable amount.

Major Kittoe notices the discovery of a hoard amounting to about 180 in the Benáres division, and the district of Goruckhpore has lately furnished a batch of twenty.

However, the sites of discovery are of but minor importance in the present state of our knowledge, as the inscriptions of the dynasty have now supplied us with safer data whereon to base our inferences as to the seat and extent of the monarchy.]

There are arguments in favour of placing the seat of government further to the west, for instance at Ujjáyní. In the first place, the perfect identity of the coin-alphabet with that of the Gujarát inscriptions lately decyphered by Wathen:—then, the prevalent worship of the sun in Saurâshtra, and at Ujjáyiní, where this object still forms the distinguishing symbol on the coinage,[1] agrees well with the effigy of OKPO and APΔOKPO on the Indo-Scythic coins.[2] Again, the peacock of many of the Kanauj reverses is found on one of the principal series of Saurâshtra coins, as will hereafter be shewn; and Tod states that this sacred bird of the Hindú Mars (Kumára) was the favorite armorial emblem of the Rájput warrior. Lastly, many of the names on these coins may be traced in the catalogues of the Málwá and Gujarát princes; Vikrama, Chandra, Samudra, Kumára, Ajita, etc.; the last four are coupled, it is true, with the family affix Pála instead of Gupta; but both of these have the same signification.

In the 'Rájávali' of Rája Raghunáth, quoted by Wilford as the chief authority in Central and Western India, we find a sovereign named Vikrama reigning in the year 191 A.D., and succeeded, or rather supplanted, ninety years later by a Samudra-pála. The deeds attributed to these two are supposed to be merely an interpolation of the fabulous history of Vikramáditya and Sáliváhana;[3] but the occurrence of these two names is very curious, allied to the circumstance and appearance of the two coins, figs. 25 and 26 of plate xxiii.

[1] The greater banner of Mewár also exhibits a golden sun on a crimson field. Tod, i., 137.

[2] *Bhatarka*, 'sun-cherished' is a title of the earliest Valabhi rája in Wathen's Inscription, p. 252.

[3] 'As. Res.', ix., 135.

The only other instance of the occurrence of the name Samudra-Gupta, that I am aware of, is on the Allahábád pillar, where he appears as the son of a Chandra-Gupta; and from the close similarity of the alphabets of the coins and of the Láṭs, no reasonable doubt can be entertained that they relate to the same individual—a fact predicted by Dr. Mill in his valuable observations on this new race of kings (Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vol. iii. p. 267), to which the reader is referred for all the light that collateral history affords on the subject.

The name of Vikrama is referred by Marsden to Vikram-tschand (Vikrama-chandra) of the fourth century, in Anquetil's list of the kings of Central India.[1] Kumára-pála is also one of the many names of Sáliváhana.

There is no reason, however, why Kanauj should not at some periods have been united under one sovereignty with the western provinces. The great Vikramáditya (whose appellation in full is found on one of Marsden's coins) conquered Indraprastha, and extended his sway over the whole of India.

The Rahtor sovereigns of Kanauj, after its conquest by Nayana-pála, Tod says, assumed the title of Kam-dhuj (Káma-dhvaja). If this alluded to their armorial insignia, we may thus find an explanation of the standard on the earlier coins;—and it may be equally applied to the *aparajita-dhvaja* of fig. 16.

Another curious circumstance is mentioned in Tod's chronicles of Márwár, that may help us a step forward in the investigation of this obscure history. It is there said, 'Dharma-Bhumbo had a son, Ajaya Chandra. For

[1] 'Num. Orient.', ii. 727.

twenty-one generations they bore the titles of Rao, afterwards that of Rája.' We are again left in the dark as to who first assumed the title of Rája; but as we find the title 'Rao' in Greek, visible on the very latest coin that bears an inscription in that character, while on the fine gold coin, discovered by Lieut. Conolly, of Vikrama, fig. 25, we have the title, Mahárája Adhirája Srí, quite distinct; it must have been between the two that the change of title was assumed. But I should be inclined to interpret the above passage in the Yati's roll as meaning that, up to Aji Chandra, or for the twenty-one generations preceding him, the title Rao had been used, and henceforward that of Rája was adopted: for why should the historian allude to the circumstance until the change of title actually took place? Moreover, there are only sixteen generations mentioned from Aji Chandra down to the last of the Kanauj sovereigns, the celebrated Jaya Chandra or Jey-Chand, anterior to whom the title was certainly borne, for we find it on the coins of Vikrama, Samudra-Gupta, and others, names not included in the list, but which we know, from the style of the Devanágarí character, must have belonged to a much earlier epoch than the seventh or eighth century, in which Bhumbo is placed.

Dr. Mill has led us to put little faith in the authority of the bards and panegyrists of the native courts; and it must be confessed, that the contrast of Tod's genealogy with the incontestible testimony of the Sanskrit inscriptions read by Colebrooke, Fell, and Wilson, is enough to perplex the most ingenious amalgamist! We must, then, maintain a thorough independence of all such tra-

ditionary documents, and adhere in preference to the faithful evidence of monuments and coins. In the present case, I have shewn how these confirm one another in a remarkable and unexpected manner in regard to the names on the Allahábád pillar inscription No. 2, all of which re-appear on these early Kanauj coins. In a subsequent paper, I shall produce equally convincing evidence that those of the Benáres and Dihlí inscriptions are reproduced upon a second series of Kanauj coins of a much more modern character.

All, then, that can be now attempted is to recapitulate the names that have been brought to light in the present investigation, names for which we are indebted to the joint contributions of not less than a dozen friends,[1] leaving the proper arrangement of them to a more advanced stage of our knowledge than we at present possess.

The following are the names and titles that appear on the coins of the two last plates:—

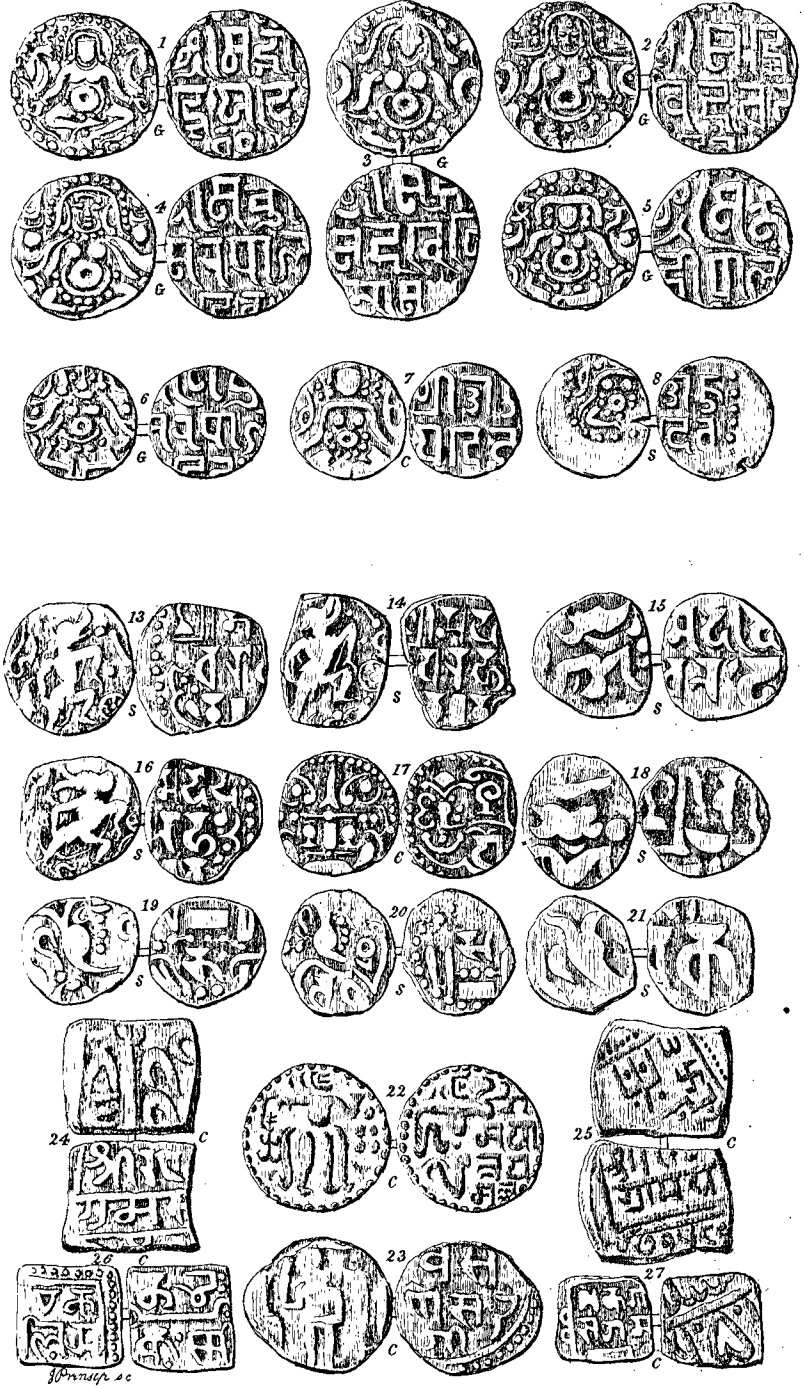
1. *Srí aparajita-dhvaja Kumára-Gupta parákrama.*
2. *Srí Vikrama Chandra.*
3. *A'pati-rurhah,* or *Bhúpati-rurha.*
4. *Kragipta paragu(pta).*
5. *Chandra-Gupta.*
6. *Mahárája adhirája Srí . . . . Srí pradyu Vikrama.*
7. *Srí Vikrama Narendra-Gupta.*
8. *Mahárája adhirája Srí Samudra-Gupta.*
9. *. . Srí bal vikrama Kumára-Gupta. . . . . .*
10. *Ajita Manatri-Gupta.*
11. *Asvamedha parákrama.*

To these may be added the

12. *Vikramáditya,* of Marsden's collection, and the
13. *Sasi-Gupta,* of Wilson's plates.

[1] Ventura, Karámat 'Alí, Wade, Tregear, Cunningham, Burt, Stacy, Watson, Smith, Swiney, Cracroft, and Conolly.

Hindu Coins - 2nd Canouj Series.



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XI.—NOTICES OF ANCIENT HINDU COINS.

(Continued.)

(plate xxiv.—HINDU COINS OF MID AGE.)

To whatever period it may be finally determined to adjudge the series of Gupta coins described in my last paper, there can be no hesitation in regard to the first group of the present plate; though here again, had it not been for inscriptions relating to the same period, the absence of credible history would have left us as much in the dark as ever.

These coins are found, like the former, in greatest abundance in the vicinity of Kanauj. Ten of them were picked out of a remittance from the Cawnpur Treasury. The Asiatic Society possesses some found at Allahábád by Dr. Tytler; I have several from Azimgarh and other places, besides four of gold in Karámat 'Alí's collection from the Panjáb; Col. Smith, Dr. Swiney, and Lieut. Cunningham, also possess specimens, and I have examined those in Col. Willoughby's cabinet; but the most plentiful supply—of gold, silver, and copper—exists in Col. Stacy's cabinet, whence I have selected most of the specimens now engraved.

It is rather singular that no mention of a species of coin comparatively so common, is to be found in Marsden's 'Numismata Orientalia.' The only published drawings of them are, I believe, those accompanying

Wilson's notice in the 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xvii., which were taken from coins in his and my own cabinets. This gentleman was the first to attribute them to their rightful place in history, although he had but one well-ascertained name (Govinda Chandra) to guide his judgment. Upon a careful examination of the several collections mentioned above, I have now succeeded in adding five new names to his list, so rapid is the progress and success of the efforts now directed to this line of research.

The figure on the obverse of all these coins is of precisely the same character;—a rudely-executed front view of a male or female (it is difficult to say which), seated in the native fashion, with a glory round the head, and some incomprehensible objects in her hands. Wilson names her Lakshmí, on the ground that the princes of the Rahtor dynasty were of the Vaishnava sect. In this case, we may recognise in her the female holding the cornucopia of the former Kanauj group, sadly altered for the worse in point of execution.

The inscriptions on the reverse are, with one exception, easily legible; they are in a much more modern style of Devanágarí than the last, differing little from the present form, except as to the vowel inflection *e*, which falls behind the consonant to which it is attached, as in the Gaur or Bengálí alphabet. The same remark applies to the letter *j* (fig. 8), which assimilates to the Bengálí and Tibetan forms, and serves admirably to shew the transition of this letter from its original shape in the most ancient alphabet, where it closely resembles the Roman E, to its present modified form, জ.

The figures in my plate are not placed with any regard to chronological order, but rather according to their comparative frequency of occurrence: figs. 1 and 2 being by far the most numerous of the set.

On fig. 1, we make out the words श्री मदाद्येय देव ॥ *Srí mad Jádjeya deva.* This variety is comparatively common in gold. Lieut. Cunningham has one of silver.

On fig. 2, the most common of the class, are the very distinct words श्री मद्गोविन्दचद्रदेव; below the letters वि and च are dots, which supply the place of the *n* or *anusvára,* so that the full reading should doubtless be श्री मद् गोविन्द चन्द्रदेव, *Srí mad Govinda Chandra-deva.* The gold of some specimens of this variety is of inferior quality.

Fig. 3 is the one I have noted as being difficult to decypher. I have as yet only found one of the sort; it is of Col. Stacy's cabinet. The letters visible are श्री मद्रा महवेचे णम, *Srí mad Ráma have che ṇam.* The *v* may possibly be an *r,* making the reading *Ráma Hari*; but we must wait the discovery of duplicates before we can complete or rectify this uncertain name.

Fig. 4 (Karámat 'Alí) is more easily legible, श्री मत्कुमर पाल देव *Srí mat Kumara Pála deva.*

Fig. 6, from the same collection, is a small coin of the same prince.

Fig. 5 is equally distinct—श्री मन्महो पाल देव *Srí man Mahí Pála deva.* It is from a single coin in Col. Stacy's collection.

Figs. 7 and 8 (Stacy), one of copper, the other of silver, help to decypher one another. The complete legend is श्री अजय देव *Srí Ajaya deva.*

Lieut. Cunningham has sent me an impression of a copper coin of the same class, on which the name appears to be श्री मदल मी देव—probably *Srí mad Lakshmí* (*Pála* or *Chandra*?) *deva.*

[I have examined the now somewhat comprehensive series of this class of money in the British Museum and East India House collections, with a view to confirm and extend Prinsep's readings from the limited number of specimens submitted to his scrutiny. I may summarize the results as follows:—

No. 1. श्री मद्गाङ्गेय देवः

In this case I must confess that the new rendering is nearly as open to objection as the original transcript. However, I am forced, for consistency's sake, to reject the previous assignment of

the compound suffix as ज्ञ, when a seemingly identical form is made to do duty in No. 3 for ग; even if the palæographic necessities did not otherwise imperatively demand the concession! (See also 'Ariana Antiqua,' xx. 23.)

(2) श्री मज्ञोविंद्चंद्र देव ॥

(Also 'Ariana Antiqua,' xx. 22.)

(3) श्री महमद् वेने साम ॥

(Also 'Ariana Antiqua,' xxi. 25.)

This type of Muhammad bin Sám's local coins is comparatively rare. There are five specimens in the East India House.

(4 and 6) श्री मत्कुमर पाल देव ॥

(Also 'Ariana Antiqua,' xx. 24.)

There are no less than sixteen of these coins in the East India House.

I have no new specimens of No. 5, wherewith to check the first decipherment.

In addition to the above, I may cite a sufficiently common coin, hitherto unpublished, bearing the epigraph of

श्री मत्पृथ्वी देव

as well as the following variety of Muhammad bin Sám's mintages, of which there are no less than twenty-one examples in the East India Company's cabinet.

श्री हमीर महमद् साम

(See also 'Ariana Antiqua,' xx. 25, 26.)

No. 27 of 'Ariana Antiqua,' xx., is proved by the original coin to bear the same inscription.]

It was, as I have said above, the occurrence of the name of Govinda Chandra-deva which led Mr. Wilson to ascribe this group to the Rahtor princes of Kanauj, who held the sceptre of that ancient city for a century prior to the overthrow of their last and best known Rája, Jychand (Jaya-Chandra), by Shaháb-ud-dín. One of

our coins undoubtedly belongs to the former prince, and it may perhaps be allowable to give the last two, figs. 7 and 8, to Jychand himself, whose proper name may have been Ajaya Chandra-deva; the family name Chandra being frequently omitted both in writings and in inscriptions. But the remaining coins of our series, two of them having the family name Pála, cannot be reconciled with any of the princes in the short Rahtor line, of which every individual, from the first conqueror, Chandra-deva, in A.D. 1072, is known to us through the concurrent testimony of several inscriptions. What was the antecedent dynasty? has been a question hitherto imperfectly answered; the traditions cited by Tod being, as stated in my last paper, at total variance with inscriptions. The latter, indeed, only record two names, Yasovigraha (or Srípála?) and Mahichandra, prior to the conquest of Chandra-deva. The latter of these should probably have been Mahipála, of whose reign in the early part of the eleventh century, the inscriptions at Sárnáth, Dinájpur, and Ámgáchí supply ample evidence, now indeed confirmed by the superscription of his coin in fig. 5. Yasovigraha, in like manner, may be referred to the Vigrahapála-deva of the Dinájpur inscription, and thus the surname of Pála may be restored to both these princes.

Although Gaur in Bengal was the original seat of the Pála family, there is no reason to doubt that they had acquired the paramount sovereignty of India, and that the seat of their government was fixed, for a time at least, in Kanauj. Indeed, branches of the same family may be traced to the westward—to the Pálas of Málwa, one of whom (Ananga-pála) rebuilt Dihlí, or re-established it as

his capital; and perhaps even to Gujarát, where we find the occurrence of a Kumára-pála in 1100, who may probably be the owner of our coin, fig. 4, especially as his son is named Ajaya Pála, who may be the Ajaya-deva of figs. 7, 8. In evidence of the identity of this family, it may be sufficient to note a few facts, referring to the elaborate observations of Wilford, and the subsequent notices of Colebrooke, and those of Fell and Wilson, in the 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xv.

The list of the kings of Gwálíár, noticed by Wilford, consists of eighty-five names, all having the affix of Pála, 'in accordance with the prediction of Guapála the hermit, their progenitor.'[1] Now the founder of the Gaur family of Bengal is equally a Go-pála, though some authorities call him Bhú-pála, a name of much the same import, and denoting his rustic extraction.

Again, the grandson of Ananga-pála, the Tuár conqueror of Dihlí, is stated to have returned to Gaur, 'his native country,' after the defeat and death of Prithivī Pála, or Pithaura. Thus, Ananga-pála too was of the Bengal family: moreover, he was either the grandson or the fifth in descent from Chandra Pála,[2] or Chitra Pála (Wilford) of Málwa, 'who swayed all India,' after Jayananda; and the Musalmán writers affirm that 'after Gebál (or Chait Pála), the Balhára kings of Gujarát became paramount emperors of India.'[3] It is not, however, absolutely necessary to travel so far to the west for a Kumára Pála, since in Abú-'l-Fazl's list we find a prince of this name immediately following Ananga-pála in Málwa; and Ferishta also makes a Kunwer Ray (Rája

[1] 'As. Res.', ix. 154. [2] 'Ayín-i Akbarí.' [3] 'As. Res.', ix., 164.

Kumára-pála) reigning at Kanauj on the invasion of Mahmúd. There is evidently some connection between all these different dynasties, and although the subject is now involved in almost inextricable confusion, from the discrepancy of the several lists in the 'Ayín-i Akbarí,' in Raghunáth's 'Rájávalí,' and in the 'Agni Purána;' we may hope, through the fortunate discovery of the present coins, and others that we may now confidently expect will succeed them, to arrange the names in a satisfactory and coherent manner. It is evident that the Kanauj mint produced this series continuously, as the alphabetic type is preserved through the whole unaltered. It will be seen presently that the same distinctive characters appear at a particular point, both in the coinage of Gujarát, and in that of Chitor or Mewár; and in both cases sufficient of the name remains visible to shew that it terminates in Pála-deva; and therefore, that it marks the spread and paramount sovereignty of the Gaur family across the whole continent of India.

Figs. 13 to 16 are silver coins found in abundance in many parts of India, but chiefly towards the desert to the west of Dihlí. Stacy's cabinet is rich in them. Wilson's plates exhibit others from Col. Mackenzie's and my own collection. They weigh on an average fifty grains, or three máshas.

On the obverse is a figure of the Boar, or Varáha Avatár of Vishnu, and the *chakra* or 'discus' of this god is visible on many of the specimens. The character on the reverse is, again, of quite a new form. Instead of the square-built Gaur alphabet, or the Gujarátí letters, we have here the nail-headed letter common to the inscriptions (of the Takshac, Jit, and Mori princes of Haravatí and Málwá, described in Tod's 'Rájasthán,' App. vol. i.) which belong chiefly to the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries. This vague coincidence may help in assigning the place and period of their coinage, which otherwise there are no data to trace. The full legend of the coins, made out from collation of the engraved figures and from many others in Stacy's cabinet, is

श्री मदादिवराहः *Srí mad ádi Varáha*, which is nothing more than the title of the incarnation, and affords no clue to its appropriation. Below the legend is, in general, visible, a square or oblong central ornament, with two balusters on the sides: their intent is beyond my apprehension.

Fig. 17 differs from the preceding in the reverse, although its general similarity, and its being found in company, shew it to belong to the same family. The two baluster-looking ornaments again meet the eye. On the reverse, is the initial word श्री *srí*, and below it यो *yo* or पो *po*. The flourish on the left hand is evidently intended for a human face viewed in profile.

In 18 the word *Srí* is again very distinct, but the head of the Boar-god is also apparent. In the Society's plate, I was the cause of Wilson's mistaking the word श्री for the letter ढ reversed, from my having engraved the figure upside down.

In 19 and 20 the human profile is better defined than in 17. The contour of the ear, cheek, and shoulder may be distinguished; the eye, nose, and lips, are represented by dots. In 20, the word *Srí* is still discernible. On the reverse is a single letter, either *k*, *s*, or *m*; amidst flourishes.

In 21 the boar again appears, with the letters वह *vaha*, or perhaps एक *ek*. Of this sort, a quantity were dug up while I was at Benáres. Mr. Gubbins found several at Gurgáon to the south-west of Dihlí.

It seems impossible that coins so plentifully found in Upper India should have been struck in the peninsula, or we might, from the device and superscription, attribute them to the Vijayanagar sovereignty; for Col. Wilks inform us, that 'Varáha,' 'the boar,' one of the incarnations of Vishnu, was the emblem which these rájas adopted as the impression on their *gold* coins, and the coin was and is named 'Varáha' in consequence, in the Hindú languages of the south. The restriction, however, of this name to the small gold coin or húns of the south, is against this hypothesis. One of the Vijayanagar Varáhas (of Deva Raya?) is depicted as fig. 80 of Mr. Wilson's plates; and, though the attitude of the Avatár is a rude imitation of ours, the form of the Nágarí

character is there essentially different, and much more modern.

Similarity of name might tempt us to assign them to the Varáhas, a powerful Indo-Scythic tribe to the west of Jesalmer, who were frequently in collision with the Bhattis in the eighth century, at the foundation of Tunnote.[1] But it does not appear from Col. Pottinger's description of them under the name of Brahúís, that these were ever of the Hindú faith, whereas the emblem and inscription could have proceeded only from an authority strictly Vaishnava.

Fig. 22, from the Stacy collection, would appear to be an interloper in the Upper Provinces; since the majority of this type have hitherto been found in Ceylon, some in the palace at Kandy, others by Col. McKenzie at Dipaldinna. They all, however, belong to the genuine Hindú rájas of that island, judging from the alphabet and the name.

The rude outline on the obverse is intended, probably, for a rája holding some mace or warlike weapon in his right hand. On the reverse, he is seated in a lounging position, with a view to make room for the inscription on the side. This, in the specimen before us, is श्री मया चय मल्ल *Srí mayá traya malla.* The second word is read by Marsden, in a specimen very like it, दय *daya.* And, on another coin, he finds the name of Vijaya विजय (मल्ल?) well known in the history of Ceylon. Wilson does not attempt to read the names on his coins, which are badly drawn; but, on comparing them, they appear not essentially to differ from Col. Stacy's. No family of the name of Malla occurs in the Indian genealogies except in Nipál, where, from the thirteenth century to the Gorkhá conquest, the reigning prince almost always bore the affix of Malla. In Turnour's catalogue of the Ceylon monarchs I do not find any such name.

Figs. 24 and 25 are two more modern copper pieces, selected from many of a similar nature in Stacy's cabinet as forming a good landmark in judging of the antiquity of other Hindú coins. The rude attempts at a human figure in 24 are far inferior to any thing we have yet seen; unless in its companion 25, where we can hardly pronounce

[1] Tod's 'Rájasthán,' ii. 229.

them to be other than signs and symbols. The name and date on most of these coins are distinct enough, and in the present type of Nágarí—श्री संग्राम सिंह १५८० *Srí Sangráma Sinha*, 1580 (Samvat). Sometimes the name is written संग्रम *Sangrama*, and at others संगम *Sangama*, variations to be expected in such imperfect samples of the engraver's art.

Fig. 27 is of the latter description, having the name Sangama preceded by the letters भकग. The reverse of this coin has the figure of a heart, which is very common on copper money, dug up in the Ságar district, of the Muhammadan princes of the Berar provinces. Arabic letters are clearly distinguishable above the heart.

From the date of these coins, we recognise them as belonging to the celebrated Sangráma Sinh, or Sinha, of the Mughal historians, who for a short period successfully resisted the victorious Baber at Biána.

A romantic account of the chivalrous adventures of his youth is given by Tod.[1] He succeeded to the throne of Mewár, in s. 1565 (A.D. 1508), and is accounted by the Rájput bards the *kalsa* or 'pinnacle' of its glory. His encounter with Baber at Kanúa occurred on the 5th Kārtik, s. 1584, (=15th Oct. 1527 A.D.) four years subsequent to the striking of these coins; which, by the way, are no very convincing evidence of the flourishing state of the arts in Chitor at the summit of its splendour and glory.

Fig. 26 is a small square copper coin in Stacy's cabinet, also of modern fabrication; on one side, inclosed in a marginal frame—which proves that the whole inscription is before us—are the Nágarí letters एक लिस *ek lis*. It may be that *lis* is the name of a coin of which the specimen represents the unit; or possibly it should be read एकालिस *ekális*, the fortieth or rather forty-first of the current silver coin of the place (?). The division of the field, on the reverse, into upper and lower compartments, so far resembles a gold coin from Kanauj, described by Wilson as fig. 52, pl. iii. The letters are कभ कंसी, an unintelligible compound.

[1] 'Rájasthán,' i. 295.

Fig. 28 is another rude Hindú paisá of a late period. A human figure, on the obverse, holds a staff in his right hand; on the reverse are the letters व स ण स र जी *basan sar jí*, an unknown and doubtful name.

RÁJPUT COINS.

(plates xxv., xxvi.)

In the two following plates, I am again indebted to Col. Stacy's numismatic zeal for the greater part of a very curious series of Hindú coins, on the one hand linked, by the subject of their impression, with the Indo-Scythic series; and, on the other, gradually mixed with, and transfused into, the Arábic currency of the first Muhammadan conquerors of Central India.

Now that I am myself in possession of nearly one hundred of these coins in silver, it appears strange that they should hitherto have escaped so completely the notice of our Indian numismatologists; neither Marsden, Wilson, nor Tod, having published a single engraving of them. When, therefore, I first received a sealing-wax impression of one from Dr. Swiney, in August, 1833,[1] it is not surprising that I should have announced it as *unique*. Col. Stacy's letters soon taught me to consider it in a very contrary light; and now, on reference to Tod's personal narrative, I find that they had not escaped him in his travels, although he has not favoured the public with any drawings of them, or any comments on their age and locality.

Munshí Mohan Lál's collection of coins made at Kábul, afforded me a favourable opportunity of ascertaining the accurate names and readings of the silver group,

[1] See 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.' ii. 416, and fig. 11, pl. xiv. [iii.] of the same volume. I then supposed the coin to be of gold; it was of silver.

but, unfortunately, these do not embrace so much variety as the copper coins. The reason for this may be, that the Munshí's collection was discovered in a foreign country. A treasure accidentally dug up, however numerous, would naturally consist of the money then current, with a small admixture of that of preceding reigns: in fact, out of one hundred coins, sixty-five belong to one type (figs. 3, 4, 5), twenty-five to another (figs. 1, 2), and only three or four to a third (figs. 6, 7). Col. Stacy, on the other hand, had the advantage of exploring the very field in which they must have been at one period current, and his series is, therefore, much more complete, though rarely so numerous in any particular species. A letter from this gentleman to my address, dated 2nd August, 1834, suggests that "as the figures, both on the obverse and reverse of these coins, are evidently made up of letters, of either Sanskrit or some other Hindú character, they should be submitted to the kind attention of the professors of the Hindú College. The great variety, and the general distinctness of the characters on them, holds out fair hopes of our becoming acquainted with the dynasty they belong to, as well as with many of the individuals of that dynasty. The names placed against each by pandits, to whom they have been shewn, are worthy of no reliance. The natives possess neither enterprise nor invention; when they find a letter or letters wanting, they will not attempt to fill up the blank."

The opinion here broached, that the outline figures were made up of letters, is supported by the authority of Tod, who remarks, in the only passage I can find on

the subject (i. 698): "My envoys brought, from Nadolaye, a small bag full of curious hieroglyphical (if I may so use the term) medals of the Chohān princes. One side represents a warrior on horseback, compounded out of a character to which I have given the above term; on some there was a bull; while others, retaining the original reverse, have, on the obverse, the titles of the first Islamite conquerors; in the same manner as the currency of France bore the effigies of Louis XVI. and the emblems of the Republic. Whoever will pay a visit to Nadolaye, will find his labour amply rewarded; I had only leisure to glean a few of these relics, which yet formed a rich harvest."

When the singular contour of the horseman and bull is traced back to its original type in figures 1, 2—where the whole substance of the figure is filled up—there does not seem to be much reason for imagining any intention of mystifying the device, the defects of which seem due to ignorance alone, the engraver retaining only sufficient knowledge of his craft to cut the outline of his device in relief, and latterly even seeming himself to have lost sight of its meaning altogether, as in figs. 48, *cum multis aliis*. Certain it is, that the title of hieroglyphic has been earned and won for this coin even from the antiquarians of the west: witness the following highly curious passage, brought to my notice by Dr. Swiney, in an American work on Scripture Geography,[1] applied to a woodcut of a coin in all respects the counterpart of our figure 3, which may have found its way to Egypt, in the course of commercial dealings, eight or ten centuries ago:—

[1] Smiley's 'Scripture Geography:' Philadelphia, 1835, p. 151.

'This is an extremely curious medal, of silver, struck in Egypt before the reigns of the Ptolemies. It represents on one side, a man on horseback, and on the other, an ox of the humped kind, lying down: between his horns is the lunar crescent, and within that is a globe. These symbols clearly refer this ox to Egypt. The man on horseback is the most singular part of this medal; none of the countries adjacent having adopted the type of a horseman. There is every reason to believe that the letters on this medal are Persian, and that the person represented is Aryandes, governor of Egypt under Darius, the last king of Persia, who then possessed this country, and who caused the governor to be put to death for coining money in his own name'!!

It can hardly be believed that the nature of the characters should have been unknown to any but Transatlantic antiquaries, for they are in a very obvious form of Devanágarí, and may be easily read where the letters are not cut off, or otherwise obliterated.

At the commencement of the foregoing essay, I alluded to this series as one of the four palpable imitations of a Grecian or Indo-Scythic model: I had in my eye the coins of Azos and Azilisos in particular,[1] which have a horseman with spear for the obverse, and a humped bull for the reverse. On being Indianised, the bull has become the Nandí of Hindú mythology, with its ornamental *jhúl* or 'saddle-cloth,' and the trident of Siva impressed on its haunch. The horse has in like manner received the trappings peculiar to the country, the *zírband* and *dumchí*. The rider has still some traces of a flowing fillet from his cap (see fig. 5), but his dress is not otherwise open to criticism. I would not pretend to insist upon the direct filiation of the Hindú coin to what I have assumed as its prototype: but the adoption of the same elements for the device, it may be surely contended,

[1] See pl. xxii., xxiii. [xvi., xvii.] of the June No., figs. 9 and 28.

argues some connection or descent; it is like the preservation of armorial insignia in a family: and on these grounds, we have presumptive evidence either of the Indo-Scythic descent of the reigning dynasty (an hypothesis borne out by the traditions of many of the Rájput states), or of a mere imitation of the coin of a neighbouring nation, in consequence of a poverty of native invention.

Before we proceed to canvass the epoch and country of this our third division of Hindú coins, which are matters entirely open at present (except so far that they have been called Chohán by Tod, and Rájput by Stacy), it will be convenient to take a view of all the specimens that have been collected.

The whole series may be conveniently classed under three heads, namely: I. Such as have genuine Hindú names and the oldest form of character; for the alphabet evidently undergoes modification as we advance. II. Those with Nágarí characters only, but expressive of Muhammadan names, either alone or conjointly with those of Hindú princes. III. Those retaining the equestrian device of the obverse, with also the name of the rája; but having the reverse occupied by a pure Arabic inscription.

I may premise that the average weight of the whole series of silver coins a little exceeds fifty grains, and that therefore they may be regarded as tankas of three máshas, as was remarked of the oldest group and of the Varáhas.

Figs. 1, 2. These have been placed at the top of the list, because the relief in them is not confined to the mere outline. The device has already been described. There are letters on both sides of all the

series, leaving us somewhat at a loss to know which side contains the rája's name, or whether the longer legend over the bull may not be merely his titles; the frequent occurrence of the second formula, on coins of various forms, is in favor of this view, but the actual name in the third is against it. On the present coin, the most obvious reading of the longer epigraphe is श्री स्यालपति देव *Srí Syálapati-deva.* Unfortunately the letters on the other side are cut off.

Figs. 3, 4, 5. The selection here was from sixty-five specimens, the collation of which left no doubt as to the context, unless in regard to the value of the fourth letter. Of the two readings suggested in my first notice of this coin—श्री सामग्र देव *Srí Sámagra-deva,* or श्री सामन्त देव *Srí Sámanta-deva*—the latter is the most plausible, because Sámanta is a common Hindú name, a 'leader, captain, or champion'; and although the *nt* is more like गू *gú,* in the best specimens; there are other cases, such as figs. 19 and 21, where it more nearly resembles the Bengálí ন্ত *nt.*

On the reverse, are the letters ह्री and उ, on either side of the head. These are ancient forms of भी *bhi* and त *t.* On fig. 4, the latter is replaced by a nondescript flourish, [Kufic عدل] so that the two are probably independent of each other in the reading.

Figs. 6 and 7, the last of the silver specimens, exhibit the cognate name of श्री भीम देव *Srí Bhíma-deva*; and on the obverse, the श्री of the foregoing example. [No. 7, عدل]

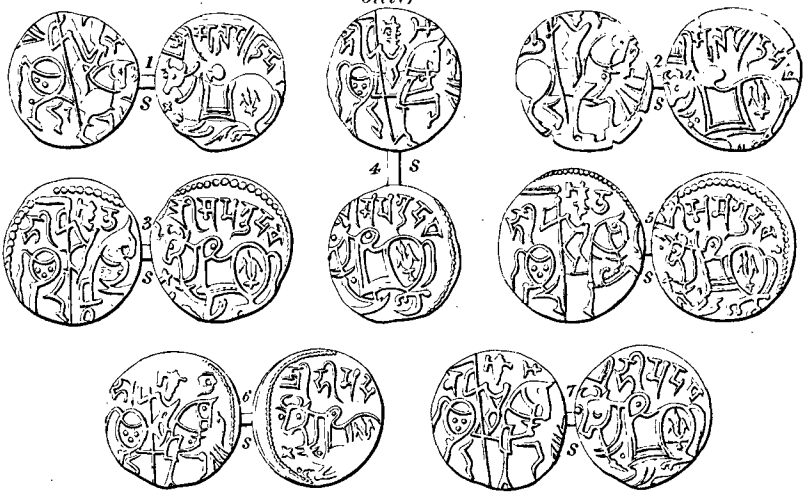
Of the copper series, we may specify figs. 14, 15, 19½, 21, [Prithví Rája] 27 [Madanapála], and 30 [Prithví Rája], as having the 'Sámanta-deva' legend over the bull, with other additions, or variations of style, on account of which they have been introduced into the plates.

But first in order should be noticed the six small copper coins, figs. 8-13 of Stacy's cabinet, which are connected with the present group by the effigy of the horseman; while on the opposite surface we recognise the later Kanauj form of letter, and the usual termination of the coins described in the preceding plate. A scrutiny of the whole series (some not included in the plate) has elicited the letters श्री साम . . . ल देव; the blank may be filled up with the letters न्त पा, making the whole title *Srí Sámanta Pála-deva*; or if it be thought that there is not room for other letters, it may stand as *Srí Sámala-deva.*

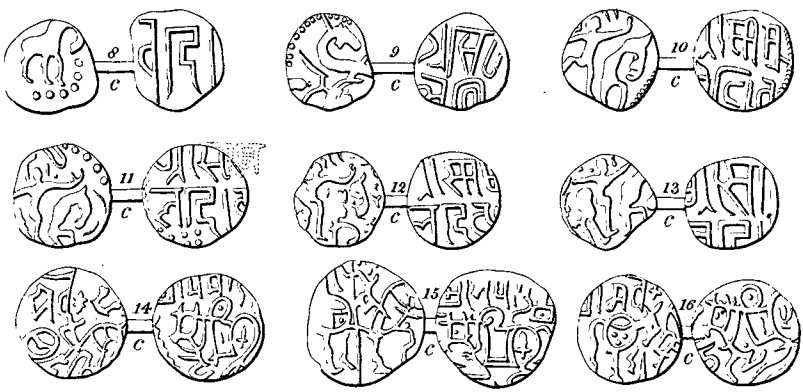
Fig. 17. Of this curious variety we have two or three samples: the bull is omitted, and the field occupied entirely by the legend. In the engraved figure, the commencement of the second line is cut off. Stacy's has a letter there, and his pandits read the whole—*Srí man Kripa bamm bas*; but from the resemblance of the two final strokes to numerals, the appendage to the second *m*, and the analogy of the ordinary legend, I should prefer the reading श्री मन्म . . थवर्म्म देव सं १ . .

Ancient Hindu Coins.

Silver



Copper



Pub. by Stephen Austin, Hertford.

Srí man m.. thavarmma-deva, Samvat 1.., the name and the date unfortunately remaining doubtful. [श्री मत्त्र य वर्म्म देव सं ११.. ?]

Figs. 21 and 30 are duplicates, one completing the missing portion of the other; but owing to the strange form of two or three letters, some doubt remains as to the correct reading. On the obverse, we find आपृछ राज देव *A'prichha Rája-deva,* [श्री पृथ्वीराजदेव] and on the reverse, श्री समन्त देव *Srí Samanta-deva,* with the addition of असावरी *Asávarí*; the last syllables, वरी, might almost be read मी *mí* or वग *vaga.*

Fig. 27, with the *Srí Sámanta-deva* very much perverted on the 'bull' side, has a new name on the right of the horseman, श्री दन पाल देव *Srí Dana* (or *data*) *Pála-deva.* [Madana-pála:—Obv. माधव श्री समन्तदेव. Rev. श्री मदनपाल देव.]

Fig. 28 has an illegible name on the 'bull' side: the letters visible are .. श्री वदासुर ..... *Srí Vadásura.* [श्री कुबाचहासुरितां—Kubáchah of Sind.]

In fig. 29 the outline of the sacred bull is somewhat difficult to be traced. The name below it begins with the letters श्री कुपा.. *Srí kupá,* or सा कुषा *Sá kushá.* [same as 28]

Fig. 31 bears on the obverse the name of श्री हर देव *Srí Hara-deva.* The reverse seems to begin with the same letters as fig. 30, viz. असा *Asá;* after which follow, at a short interval, .. मसाण देव .. *Masáṇa-deva.* [Srí Chahád-deva and Asáwarí Srí Samasoral-deve. See further remarks, p. 326, *infrâ*].

It may be hereafter found that some of the above belong to what may be called the transition period, when attempts were made to express Musalmání names and titles in the vernacular character of India, of which I will now endeavour to produce such instances as Stacy's rich collection offers.

The name of the rája on the obverse of all the transition or link-coins is श्री हमीर: *Srí Hamírah*; this important and well-known name may be found, either in full or in part, on figs. 20 (in this the engraver has reversed the whole die) 22, 36-40. The same name also occurs on figs. 44, 47, and 49, with an Arabic accompaniment, as will be presently noticed. [20, 22, 36-38, Muhammad bin Sám.]

The first example of a Moslem title in its simplest form occurs in figs. 32 and 35, in the Nágarí word सुरिताण *Surităṇ;* this has no meaning in Hindí, and I conjecture that it is intended for the Arabic title, Sultán: the remainder of the sentence is, in these two instances, wanting.

Figs. 34, 39-41. In these four we find a more complete paraphrase of the high-sounding titles of the Dihlí sovereigns; at least I conjecture that

सुरिताण सा समसदीण (or as in 34, देण) is nothing more than Sultán Sháh Shams-ud-dín.

Figs. 36-38 are equally capable, and only capable, of an interpretation on the same principle: the Devanágarí letters on the reverse run thus: सा महमद सामे *Sá Mahamad Sáme*, which I would convert into Sháh Muhammad Sáme. The initial word will admit of being read *Srí;* but the rest of the legend is quite clear and satisfactory.

The name of Hamíra, as before stated, is repeated on the obverse of all these curious coins. We have now to trace it into a field one step farther removed from the primitive standard.

Figs. 48 and 49. In these, the first of the succeeding group in point of date, the horse and his rider are transformed into singular symbols, which only our prior acquaintance with the original could enable us to decypher: the word श्री *Srí* on the first, and the termination of Hamírah—मीर—on the other, are still discernible in their usual position. On the reverse, the characteristic style of the Afghán coinage is adopted, and the Arabic version, were it completely visible, would evidently be السلطان شمس الدنيا و الدين التمش *Ul-Sulṭán Shams-ud-dunyá wa ud-dín Altamsh.* The reading commences from below.

Figs. 42 and 44, again, exhibit, to the right of the horse's head, the name of श्री हमीर: *Srí Hamírah*, as usual. On fig. 43 it escapes detection only by want of room on the field. In all three, the hieroglyphic which has hitherto passed for the helmeted head of the horseman, has been, either designedly or unintentionally, removed, and the Arabic word محمود *Maḥmúd* substituted. On the other face, the full titles of this sovereign, who was the son of Altamsh, may be recognized without much trouble, thus: السلطان الا *Ul-Sulṭán-ul-a-*

عظم ناصر الد *'aẓam Náṣir-ul-du-*

نيا و الدين *nyá wa ul-dín*

the inscription terminating in the 'Maḥmúd' of the opposite face.

Fig. 25 of the preceding plate is another coin of the same name and nature.

Fig. 47. On this variety of the Hamíra group, the Arabic titles are, apparently, السلطان فتاح الدنيا و الدين *Ul-Sulṭán Fatáḥ-ul-dunyá wa ul-dín.* I only perceive one specimen of this reading in Stacy's collection. [ناصر الدنيا و الدين قباچه السلطان Kubáchah!]

Fig. 45. The next variety of the mixed impression retains the horseman, with the Hindú name, but the Arabic titles are now السلطان ابو الفتح المعظم *Ul-Sulṭán Abú-'l-fatáḥ-ul-Mu'aẓẓam.*

Fig. 24 is the last on the list exhibiting the semblance of a horse-

Hindu-Muhammedan Coins.

Copper

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man. The small portion of the Arabic legend included on the reverse is, fortunately, sufficient to point out the owner, and enable us to complete it, السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا و الدين *Ul-Sultán-ul-a'azam 'Alá-ul-dunyá wa ul-dín* (Muhammad Sháh). [Masa'úd]

Figs. 23 and 46. There still remains undescribed a curious variety of the 'bull and horseman' coin, in which the 'bull' is retained with the *Srí Sámanta-deva*; while, contrary to usage, the horse is omitted, or replaced by an Arabic legend in the connected or flowing character. The whole purport of it is not well ascertained, but the legible portion of the two middle lines is thus read by some:—السلطان الاعظم السلطان عدل *Ul-Sultan-ul-a'azam-ul-Sultán-i 'adl.* Others find in it the name of Sabaktagín; and I am inclined to adjudge it rather to an earlier period than the Ghorí dynasty, both from the Arabic style, and from the retention of the name of Sámanta-deva on the reverse. [The following is the restored legend:—السلطان المعظم ابو المظفر ابرهيم عدل. These are Láhor coins of Ibrahím of Ghazní—A.H. 451 to 492.]

Figs. 26 and 50. We now pass to a new form of coin, allied to the foregoing, indeed, by the retention of Hindí on one side, but differing from them in the total rejection of the pictorial emblems. That the proper orthography of the word Sulṭán was now attained is evident in the initial letters श्री सुलता . . *Srí Sultá.* . The lower line presents three letters—मव्वज *mavvaj*—which may be intended for Mu'azz; thus agreeing with the Arabic of the opposite face:—السلطان الاعظم معز الدنيا و الدين *Ul-Sultán-ul-a'azam mu'azz-ul-dunyá wa ul-dín* (either Bairám Sháh, 1239; or Kai Kubád, 1286 (?) the only two emperors which bore the appellation of Mu'azz-ul-dín. [The full and complete legends on the reverse of these coins of Kai Kubád are as follows:—كيقباد श्रीसुलतां मुइजुदीं.]

From the last coin, the passage is easy to those of purely Muhammadan aspect, such as are described in Marsden's 'Numismata Orientalia,' vol. ii.; but this author does not appear to have had an opportunity of examining an intermediate group of coins, on which, in deference to the conquered people, a Nágarí inscription was retained on the margin.

They are by no means uncommon; yet it is rare to

find the marginal legend perfect. Marsden's dccxiii., of Tughlak Sháh, is of this species; but in it the Nágarí falls beyond the limits of the disc.

I have therefore thought that a few examples of this group might form a proper appendage to the present series, and have accordingly introduced three varieties from Stacy's and my own collections to fill up the plate.

Fig 51, the earliest in date, must be read from the reverse السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا و الدين بلبن *Ul-Sultán-ul-a'azam Ghiás ul-dunyá wa ul-dín*, and, in the centre of the obverse, *Balban*; the latter is encircled by a Nágarí sentence, of which श्री सुलताण.. is visible.

Figs. 54-56 are coins of the celebrated 'Alá-ud-dín:[1] the disposition of titles and name as before:—السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا و الدين محمد شاه *Ul-Sultán-ul-a'azam 'Alá-ul-dunyá wa ul-dín Muhammad Sháh.* On the margin, श्री सुलतान श्री ७०६ *Srí Sultán Sháh* (A.H.) 706. [श्री सुलतां अलावदीं.]

Figs. 52, 53, close our present series; they bear the titular designations of Tughlak Sháh: السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا و الدين تغلق شاه *Ul-Sultán ul-a'azam Ghiás ul-dunyá wa ul-dín, Tughlak Sháh.* The Nágarí of the margin is similar to the last, but imperfect, as if cut by one ignorant of the language. [श्री सुलतां गयासुदीं.]

After the complete and satisfactory evidence we have just examined, little need be said as to the epoch to which at least the mixed or Hindú-Muhammadan portion of the 'bull and horseman' group belongs: for, from the names inscribed in Nágarí or Arabic, or from the titles or cognomina—which are, in fact, as frequently the names by which the Musalmán sovereigns are known—we can nearly fill up the first century of the Patán monarchs of Dihlí, thus:

[1] At the time of engraving the plate, I mistook the Muhammad Sháh for the son of Tughlak: the date corrects me.

Srí Muhammad Sáme is, I presume, Muhammad bin Sám-ul-Ghorí, the first of the dynasty, commonly known by his cognomen Shaháb-ud-dín, who possessed himself of the throne of Dihlí, A.H. 588 A.D. 1192
Shams-ud-dín, in Nágarí and Arabic, is Altamsh... „ 607 „ 1210
Mu'az-ud-dín, must beBairám Sháh,his son [Kai Kubád] 637 „ 1239
'Alá-ud-dín, may be Masa'úd, the son of Fíroz ..... „ 640 „ 1242
Násir-ud-dín, denotes Mahmúd, son of Altamsh..... „ 643 „ 1245
Ghiás-ud-dín, Balban, has the full name also..... „ 664 „ 1265
'Alá-ud-dín, Muhammad Sháh, bears its own date... „ 695 „ 1295
Ghiás-ud-dín, Tughlak Sháh, cannot be mistaken... „ 721 „ 1321

It is not from these names, however, but rather from the Hindú ones, that we must seek to fix the locality of the 'bull and horseman' insignia, and the readiest mode of arriving at the truth is to proceed backwards, the best chance of verifying the names of rájas being through their preservation, even in a corrupt form, in the pages of Moslem history. Hamíra, the name common to so many of the series, is admirably adapted for our purpose. He can be no other than the Hamír[1] of the Mewár chronicles, who, born and nurtured in the forests of Ondwa, was destined to revive the glory of Chitor, even after it had succumbed to two successive assaults under the unsparing 'Alá. We find it recorded in Ferishta's history (A.D. 1304), that 'at length finding it of no use to retain Chitor, the king ordered the Prince Khizr Khán to evacuate it, and to make it over to the nephew of the rája. This Hindú prince, in a short time, restored the principality to its former condition, and retained the tract of Chitor as tributary to 'Alá-ud-dín, during the rest of his reign.'[2] According to Tod,[3]

[1] 'Humberdew' of Briggs' Translation of Ferishta; 'Amir deo' of Dow, when speaking of the siege of Rintimpore: he is not mentioned afterwards by name, nor as of Mewár.

[2] Briggs' Ferishta, i. 363.

[3] 'Rájasthán,' i. 269.

'Hamir succeeded to the throne in Samvat 1357 (A.D. 1300), and had sixty-four years to redeem his country from the ruins of the past century, which period had elapsed since India ceased to own the paramount sway of her native princes.' These sixty-four years would include nearly the whole reign of 'Alá I. and that of his successors, Omar, Mubárik, Khosrú, Tughlak, his son Muhammad, and Fíroz. On the coins themselves, we have found the obverse of Hamíra, coupled with the stamp of Muhammad Sáme, Shams-ud-din, 'Alá-ud-dín, Násir-ud-dín, and Fatáh-ud-dín; three of whom are clearly anterior to the reign of 'Alá-ud-dín; as Altamsh alone bore the cognomen of Shams-ud-dín; his son that of Násir-ud-dín; and Muhammad Ghorí that of Sáme. We might indeed read the latter word 'Sání,' and so apply it, and the title of Násir-ud-dín, to Muhammad II., the son of Tughlak, whose cognomen is not recorded. But still Shams-ud-dín remains unexplained, and the apparent anachronism cannot be accounted for. It should be noted that the name of Hamír is not mentioned in Ferishta; but only the 'nephew of the rája, Ratan Sinh.' The cognomen Fatáh-ud-dín is not to be found in the whole line of the Patán Sultáns.

Mewár had been in subjection to the Dihlí monarchs since the invasions of Muhammad Ghorí; Altamsh also invaded it in 1210: hence there can be the less doubt that the barbarised names, Srí Mahamad Sáme and Srí Samasoden, on the indigenous coinage, applied to these two sovereigns, notwithstanding the difficulty above alluded to.

The fortunate preservation of Hamíra's name, in con-

junction with those of his allies, upon these coins, proves at any rate the identical place of their coinage, and fixes it at Chitor, the seat of the dynasty founded by Bappa, in A.D. 727, after the destruction of the Balhára monarchy of Sauráshtra. This information also limits our search, for the names previous to Hamíra, to the descendants of Bappa Ráwel, of whom two or three genealogical lists have been preserved in various inscriptions, some decyphered and explained by Wilson, in the 'Asiatic Researches,' xv., and others by Tod. The latter authority enjoyed the advantage of filling up the history of Mewár from the national poems and traditions of the place; but it must be confessed as strangely perplexing, that the names of the immediate predecessors of Hamíra should be at total variance in the Hindú and the Muhammadan accounts. Thus, Ferishta makes Ray Ratan Sen the Rája of Chitor who was taken prisoner at the sack of the fort, and who escaped through a romantic stratagem of his daughter, and continued to ravage the country until his nephew was installed, as above stated, in the masnad. Tod makes the name of the imprisoned rája, Bhímsi, and that of his daughter, Padmaní. The circumstances which led to the admission of the fair heroine into the hostile camp with her 700 litters, each freighted like the Trojan horse, are also differently related by the two authors. It will be a strong motive for the preference of the Hindú account, if the Bhíma-deva of our coins can be identified with this Bhímsi (Bhíma-sinha): but the short interval from his return to Chitor to the death of himself and his family in the sack which followed, would hardly allow the issue of a

regular coinage in his name at such a turbulent period. The style also of the Nágarí alphabet (the भ *bh* especially) differs materially from that of Hamíra's name. Yet there is no other Bhíma in the Mewár list. Ferishta mentions one (Bhím-dev) as the brother of Shunkul-dev, the prince of Deogír, contemporaneous with 'Alá; but he does not seem to have attained the throne. In the collateral line of the Gujarát rájas, the same name occurs thrice, the last in 1209, of whom the Moslem histories make frequent mention; but the insignia of this Ráj are of a distinct character, and will not admit of our transferring the 'bull and horseman' device thither for an owner.[1]

It provokingly happens that the nine rájas immediately preceding Bhímsi, in Tod's list, are omitted as an uninteresting string of names; thus shutting out a chance of recognizing many of the petty names of our coin list. We must in consequence pass over Danapáladeva, Kripá, Vadásur, etc., and retrogade to Samantadeva. This name is one of those on the inscriptions from Mount Abú (Arbuda),[2] the eighteenth of the Guhila family, to whom an actual date is also assigned, namely, A.D. 1209. The objection to this is, like that to Bhíma, that the date is too modern for the alphabetical type; moreover, from Tod, we learn that it was Rahup of Mewár who was attacked by Shams-ud-din (Altamsh), in 1210-20, and this name we have recognised in the more modern Nagarí on several of the 'horseman' coins.

There are other Samanta-(Sinha)-devas in the Anhul-

[1] Bhíma-deva of Gujarát was defeated by Muhammad Ghorí (or Sáme ?) in A.D. 1178.

[2] 'As. Res.', xvi., 322.

wára line of Gujarát of an earlier period, both in the 'Ayín-i Akbarí,' and in the native chronicles; indeed, Banarája himself, the founder of the Chohán race at Anulpur, was the son of a Samanta Sinha, fixed by Tod in A.D. 745; and it is worthy of particular note, that the first prince restored to the Gujarát throne, near two centuries after the overthrow of the Balháras by the Parthians, is called in the 'Ayín-i Akbarí,' Saila-deva, who was previously living in retirement at Ujjáyiní in A.D. 696.' Now the name on the coin which I have assumed as the most ancient of the series, and therefore placed at the top of pl. xxv., is Syálapati-deva, a name apparently taken from the country where he ruled;[1] but which might easily be converted, either with or without intention, into Saila-deva, a title denoting dominion or birth among the mountains.

In conclusion, it should be borne in mind, that both the Mewár and the Gujarát lines are of one family, that of the Gehlote or Sesodia tribe, to which, though arrogating to itself a descent from the Sun, the Persian historians uniformly ascribe a Parthian origin. May not this be received as a good foundation for the Indo-Scythic device on their coinage; or, on the other hand, does not the latter fact, supported by historical tradition, go far towards the corroboration of the extra-Indian origin of the Mewár dynasty?

[Since Prinsep wrote these remarks upon the Samanta-deva series of coins, a considerable advance has been made towards their due attribution, consequent upon M. Reinaud's publication

[1] Syálakoth, 'the fort of Syála,' near the Indus, was once attacked by the armies of Mewár.

of some highly-interesting selections from the Arabic text of Albirúní,[1] whose original work, entitled 'Táríkh-i Hind,' was compiled in India in about A.D. 1030-33. The leading passage illustrative of the section of Indian history more immediately under review is to the following effect:—

وكان اخرهم لكتوزمان ووزيره من البراهمة كلر قد ساعده الزمان
فوجد بالاتفاق دفائن استظهر بها و قوي و بحسب ذلك اعرضت
الدولة عن صاحبه لتقادم عهدها مع اهل بيت نساء ادب لكتورزمان
وقبحت افعاله حتي كثرت الشكايات الي وزيره فقيده و حبسه
للتاديب ثم استحلي الخلو بالملك و معه الة ذلك من الاموال
فاستولي عليه و ملك بعده البراهمة سامند ثم كملوا ثم بهيم ثم
جيپال ثم انندپال ثم نردجنپال[2] قُتل في سنة اثني عشرة واربعماية
للهجرة و ابنه بهيمپال بعده بخمس سنين و انقضت الشاهية الهندية

M. Reinaud's translation is reproduced in his own words:—

'Le dernier roi de cette dynastie[3] fut Laktouzeman. Ce prince avait pour vizir un Brahmane nommé Kaller. Ce vizir était favorisé par la fortune, et il trouva dans la terre des trésors qui lui donnèrent de la force et accrurent sa puissance. D'un autre côté, la fortune tourna le dos à son maître. En effet, il y avait bien longtemps que cette famille était maîtresse du pouvoir. Laktouzeman prit une direction mauvaise; il se livra à une conduite honteuse; et, comme les plaintes arrivaient de tout côté au vizir, celui-ci fit charger le prince de chaînes et l'enferma pour le corriger. Ensuite le vizir se laissa aller à la tentation d'être le maître unique: il avait des richesses suffisantes pour lever tous les obstacles. Il s'empara donc du trône et eut pour successeur le Brahme Sâmanda. Celui-ci fut remplacé par Kamalavâ, puis vinrent successivement Bheema, Djayapâla, Anandapâla, et Nardajanpâla. Celui-ci monta,[4] dit on, sur le trône l'an 412 de l'Hegire (1021 de J.C.) Son fils, Bheemapâla, lui succeda au bout de cinq ans. La souveraineté Indienne s'eteignit dans la personne de ce dernier, et il ne resta plus d'individu de cette famille pour souffler le feu.'[5]

[1] ['Fragments, Arabes et Persans, relatifs à l'Inde:' *Paris*, 1845.]

[2] [تروجنپل Constantinople copy.]

[3] [The Turk kings of Kâbul. The previous relation closes with the history of the reign of Kank.]

[4] [The substitution of the word قُتل for the قيل of M. Reinaud's original transcript alters the sense of this passage. The amended version shews that Nardajanpâla "*was killed*" in 412 A.H.

[5] ['La nouvelle dynastie me paraît avoir remplacé le Bouddhisme par le Brahmanisme, et j'attribue à ces princes la série de médailles que M. Wilson a crue d'origine Rajepout.'—Reinaud.]

Shortly after the appearance of M. Reinaud's collection of extracts, I had occasion to submit to the Royal Asiatic Society some remarks upon the accuracy of the text of the then solitary copy of the Arabic original of Albirúní, in connection with a more specific endeavour to illustrate the coins of the Hindú Kings of Kábul.[1] Without entering into any recapitulation of the arguments adduced, I may state briefly that I relied upon the following counterpart passages, obviously derived from the 'Táríkh-i Hind,'[2] and preserved in the double texts of the 'Jám'ai-al-Tawáríkh,' to prove that the name of 'Laktouzemán' was nothing more than an incorrect rendering of the designation of the tribe of Katúr.[3]

و رجع كنك الي ولايته و هو آخر ملوك كتورمان كان وساعده الزمان و ارفده البخت و وقف علي اكثر دفاين الملوك المتقدمين فقوي بها و استظهر بتلك الاموال و الذخائر حتي اغتر بها و نسي الواجب و ركب قبيحة من القبايح فشكت الخلايق الي الوزير من سوء فعله و حبسه للتايب ثم استولي علي الملك مرة ثانية و بعد وفاته ملك عليهم من البراهمة سامند و من بعد سامند كملو و بعده بهيم . . . . .

'And Kank returned to his country, and he was the last of the Kutaurman kings. And it happened that the times were prosperous for him, and fortune exalted him; and he lighted upon many of the treasures of former kings, and grew strong in consequence; and he shone with these sources of wealth and treasure until he grew proud, and forgot his duty, and committed some great wickedness; and the people turned from him in complaint towards his vizir, because of his wicked deeds, and confined him for correction. Then he acquired dominion again, and after his death there reigned over them of Bráhmans, Sámund, and after Sámund, Kumlú, and after him Bhím:' etc.

[1] ['Coins of the Hindú Kings of Kábul.' *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, ix., 177.]

[2] [Rashíd-al-dín, A.H. 710.]

[3] [Elphinstone's 'Caubul,' ii., 376. Burnes' 'Bokhárá,' ii., 209. Burnes' 'Cabool,' pp. 206, 218, 281. See also 'Memoirs of Báber,' p. 140. Baihaki (451 A.H.) mentions the race in connexion with the celebrated Tilak, under Mahmúd and Masa'úd, as همه هندوان كتور و بعضي‌را از بيرونيان.]

The parallel Persian passage from the 'Jám'ai-al-Tawáríkh,' in the British Museum, is subjoined:—

و کنک با ولایت خود معاودت کرد و اخرین بادشاهان کتورمان بود زمانه چنان اورا مساعدت و مرافدت نمود که همه دفائن مقتدایان بیافت و بران متظهر و مغرور شد ناگاه ارتکاب قبیحة نمود قبیله خلائق سکایت او بوزیر مي کردند وزیر اورا جهة تادیب بگرفت و حبس کرد و دیگر بار بر ملک مستولي شد و بعد از وفاتِ او از براي همه سامند بادشاه شد و بعد ازو کملوا و بعد ازو بیهم . . . .

'And Kank returned to his own country, and was the last of the Kutaurman kings. Fortune so favoured him, that he found many treasures of (former) chiefs, and in consequence he became proud and exalted: at length he gave way to disgraceful conduct, on which account the people complained of him to his vizir. The vizir took him into custody for the purpose of correction, and confined him. And a second time he became ruler over the kingdom. After his death, Sámund, from among the Bráhmans, became king, and after him Kumlúá, and after him Bhím:' etc.

The Persian sentence, corresponding with the commencement of the above, from two copies of the 'Táríkh-i Binákití' (an abridgement of the other work) reads thus:—

و بعد ازو کنک و او اخرین بادشاهان کتورمان بود

'and after him [came] Kank, and he was the last of the Kutaurman kings.'

A similar extract, from another less perfect copy, runs—

و بعد ازو کنک و او اوآخرین بادشاه کتورمان بود و بعد ازو از برهمه سامند بادشاه شد . . . .

The better class of the Indian copies of this MS. give the name more correctly, as کتوران.

Thus much for the historical information contributed by Albirúní. That there are difficulties associated with its full and unreserved acceptance is not to be denied, but the most striking defect seems to consist in his making a continuous succession of the line of kings from Samanta to Bhím-pál, without either the needful break in point of time, or change of locality of dominion, from Bhíma-deva to Ananga-pál. I am bound, too, to allow his testimony, as to the epoch of the earlier princes of

Kábul, to be subjected to the criticism supplied by a passage in the 'Jám'ai-al-Hikáyát,' which brings in Kumlú (written Kulmú in some MSS.) as a cotemporary of 'Amrúlais, A.H. 265 to 289 = A.D. 878 to 901. It is true that the compiler of a succession of Tales does not ordinarily carry the weight that belongs to the writer of history; and favourite oriental legends, as is well known, are suited, from time to time, with many and various heroes; but the author of the 'Jám'ai-al-Hikáyát' is something better than a mere story-teller, and his residence at Dihlí under Altamsh—A.H. 607, A.D. 1211—gave him advantages, in sifting Indian legends, of no mean order. However, as I have more than once had occasion to remark, I am not in a position at this moment to enter into any general re-consideration of the various questions which, from time to time, present themselves among these papers, but content myself with laying before my readers all readily-accessible documents calculated to illustrate the particular subject under notice.[1]

I annex the Persian text of the tale concerning Kumlú, from an old MS. of Mr. H. T. Prinsep's:—

از جوامع الحکایات

حکایت بیستم در باب دوازدهم

(از قسم اوّل در فوائد رایهای صائب که ملوک جهان زده‌اند)

چنین آورده‌اند که عمرو لیث شحنگي زابلستان بفرغان داد و با چهار هزار سوارش بدان جانب فرستاد در آن وقت معبد بزرگتر هندوان سکاوند بود و در اقصاء هندوستان بزیارت بُتان آن موضع تنزل کردندي فرغانه چون بزابُلستان رسید لشکر کشید و سکاوندرا بکشاد و بُتانرا بشکست و بت پرستانرا بر انداخت

[1] [See also M. Reinaud: 'Mémoire sur l'Inde,' Paris, 1849, pp. 76, 209, 246; Sir H. M. Elliot: 'Historians of India,' Calcutta, 1850, p. 73, etc.: and 'The coins of the Kings of Ghazní,' by E. T., 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', ix., 282. A reference to the 'Kataur's is also to be found in the Persian MS. 'Zafar-Námah,' of Sharaf-al-dín Alí Yazdí,—A.H. 828; and in its translation, 'Histoire de Timúr-Bec': Petit de la Croix. Paris, 1722.]

و بعضے از غنایم بلشکریان داد و باقي بعمرو لیث فرستاد و فتح نامه نوشت و از وي مدد خواست چون خبر فتح سکاوند بکلمو رسید که او راي هندوستان بود لشکري بي حد جمع کرد و سپاهي فراهم آورد و روي بزابُلستان نهاد و فردغانه چون خبر آمدن سپاه هند بشنید هندوئي چندرا بدست آورد و تا روي بهندوستان نهادند و در لشکرگاه کلمو رفتند و گفتند فردغانه چون سکاوندرا گرفت در حال باطراف ولایت کس فرستاد و لشکرها بخواست و دانست که هندوان هر آئینه آنرا انتقا مي‌کنند و این ساعت چندان لشکر مسلمانان بروي جمع شده است که اقتائي زمین ازیشان تنگ اید و در عقب لشکر عمرو لیث بخواهد رسید و ایشان عزم کرده‌اند که شمارا در تنگ‌نائي آرند و جمله‌را بکشند راي کلمو چون این خبر بشنید هم آنجا مقام کرد و در لشکر کشي اهستکي پیش آورد تا فردغانرا از خراسان مدد رسید و پیش آن جماعت‌را امکان نبود که باوي مقاومت کردندي و بدین حیلهٔ لطیف بر مراد خود فیروز آمد

Like many other instances of Oriental transcriptions, the different MS. copies of the original work vary materially in the formation of the sentences and the interchange of optional verbs, while the substance of the narrative is, however, fully preserved. A good MS. in my own possession, one of the few that Ranjít Singh's library boasted of, develops this contrast in a remarkable degree. The name of the Hindú prince is there correctly given as كملو. Sakáwand is noted in Albirúní's unpublished قانون مسعودي, under Kábul, as—قلعه سکاوند في رستاق لوکر صد ل لح م.[1]

I do not like to omit, while I hardly know where most properly to insert, the translation of the inscription on the Iron Láṭ at Dihlí. It will be seen that the hero of this record remains for the present unidentified with any potentate named in local

[1] [Baihakí mentions it as a place of some importance in Masa'úd's time. See also Abú'-l-fedá, text, p. 464. Idrisi, p. 460, and 'Memoirs of Bábar,' 'Sejawend,' in Loghar, p. 148.]

annals or with any sovereign whose place in history might be determined approximately from numismatic associations.

In reproducing this translation in connexion with the Mediæval Hindú dynasties, I must remark that I consider that Prinsep has assigned too high an antiquity to the style of writing employed on the monument:—]

LITHOGRAPHS AND TRANSLATIONS OF INSCRIPTIONS TAKEN IN ECTYPE BY CAPT. T. S. BURT.

In June, 1838, I commenced the agreeable task of laying before my readers that portion of Capt. Burt's budget of inscriptions which was couched in the old Páli character. I now take up the second division, containing those in what has been designated by himself 'the No. 2 character of the Allahábád pillar:' to which series belong three very interesting inscriptions, two entirely new from Central India; and one, known far and wide certainly, as far as its existence and its supposed illegibility are concerned, but hitherto never placed before the learned in its true condition, so as to allow a fair trial at its decipherment. I allude to the short inscription on the celebrated iron pillar at Dihlí, of which I published in 1834, an attempted copy taken by the late Lieut. Wm. Elliot at the express request of Dr. Mill; but it was so ingeniously mismanaged, that not a single word could be made out! and there can be no wonder at this, if the reader will take the trouble to compare Lieut. Elliot's plate (pl. xxx., vol. iv.) with the reduced lithograph of Capt. Burt's facsimile! I should perhaps remark that I lithographed the plate [xxxiii., vol. vii.] *before* transcribing it for the pandit, so that there could be no partial bias towards a desired construction of any doubtful letter. Nothing of the kind, however, was necessary: the letters are well-formed and well-preserved, notwithstanding the hard knocks which the iron shaft has encountered from the ruthless invaders of successive centuries. I need not enter upon the history of the Dihlí iron pillar,[1] but shall confine myself to the restoration and explanation of the record it contains.

The language is Sanskrit; the character is of that form of Nágarí which I have assigned to the third or fourth century after Christ, the curves of the letters being merely squared off: perhaps on account of their having been punched upon the surface of the iron shaft with a short *cheni* of steel.

[1] [There is no trustworthy tradition, that I am aware of, concerning the original location of this monument.]

The composition is poetical, consisting of six lines, or three slokas, in the Sárdula-vikrídita measure :—it is observable that the first line is written in a much smaller hand than the remainder.

The purport of the record is just what we might have calculated to find, but by no means what was fondly anticipated, or what will satisfy the curiosity so long directed to this unusual and curious remnant of antiquity. It merely tells us that a prince, whom nobody ever heard of before, of the name of Dhava, erected it in commemoration of his victorious prowess. He was of the Vaishnava faith, and he occupied the throne he had acquired (at Hastinápura ?) for many years; but he seems to have died before the monument was completed. As there is no mention of royal ancestry we may conclude that he was an usurper.

The only interesting piece of information it contains, is that Dhava's arms were employed against the Váhlikas of Sindhu, who were combining their forces to invade his territories.

The Báhlikas are generally admitted by the learned to be the Bactrians, or people of Balkh; but here the expression *sindhor jitá váhlikâ*, the 'conquered Váhlikas of the Sindhu' proves that, at the time of Dhava, the Bactrian principalities extended into the valley of the Indus,—and it further proves, what we have been led to suspect from the numerous coins with unknown Greek names in the Pánjab, that, instead of being totally annihilated by the Scythians 120 years before Christ, the descendants of the Greeks continued to rule, perhaps for a century or two after Christ, in the regions south of the Paropamisan range. If the authority of a graven monument of high antiquity be received as preferable to the variable readings of books, we should correct the वाह्लीका and बह्लीका of the 'Rámáyana' and of Hemachandra's lexicon, to वाह्लिका.

As in the Allahábád inscriptions, the pillar is called 'his arm of fame,' and the letters engraved thereon are the typical cuts and wounds inflicted on his enemies by his sword writing his immortal fame! Rája Dhava has left behind him, at any rate, a monument of his skill in forging iron, for the pillar is a well-wrought circular shaft of iron of considerable magnitude.[1]

(TRANSLATION.)

'1. By him who, learning the warlike preparations and entrenchments of his enemies with their good soldiers and allies, a monument (or arm) of fame engraved by his sword on their limbs,—who, a master of the seven advantages,[2] crossing over

[1] [22½ feet above ground, by 5 ft. 3 in. in circumference.]

[2] The *sapta-sukhâni* are the same as the *saptângani* or 'seven limbs' of government explained in the last inscription.

(the Indus?), so subdued the Váhlikás of Sindhu, that even at this day his disciplined force[1] and defences on the south (of the river) are sacredly respected by them.

2. Who, as a lion seizes one animal on quitting hold of another, secured possession of the next world when he abandoned this,—whose personal existence still remains on the earth through the fame of his (former) deeds; the might of whose arm,—even though (he be) now at rest (deceased)—and some portion too of the energy of him who was the destroyer of his foes,—still cleave to the earth.

3. By him, who obtained with his own arm an undivided sovereignty on the earth for a long period, who (united in himself the qualities of) the sun and moon, who had beauty of countenance like the full moon:—by this same Rája Dhava, having bowed his head to the feet of Vishnu, and fixed his mind on him,—was this very lofty arm of the adored Vishnu (the pillar) caused to be erected.'

[This will probably prove to be the most convenient opportunity to dispose of the Kuṭila Inscription from Barelí, which, although it affords little or no information of historical moment, is yet entitled to have its substance recorded in conjunction with the other local registers of a proximate period, on account of the importance attaching to its text, in a palæographic point of view, combined with the positive date of its endorsement, which will be seen to have constituted one of the cardinal points of Prinsep's system of alphabetical developments!—]

ACCOUNT OF AN INSCRIPTION FOUND BY MR. H. S. BOULDERSON, IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF BARELÍ.

The original copy of this inscription was taken in 1829 or 1830 from a stone dug up near a village called Illahabás, about fifteen miles N.E. from Vísalapúr, in the Barelí district. . . . . .

[Prinsep proceeds to add:—]

Col. Stacy's pandit has furnished a modern version of the inscription; but, on comparing it with the original facsimile, so many deviations were found, that I preferred going through the whole with Kamalákánta Pandit; and I may safely say that the transcript now given is hardly doubtful in a single letter. It is no small compliment to Mr. Boulderson's transcriber, that in but one place is a letter omitted, and in one only a letter in excess added.

Kamalákánta asserts that the language and poetry of this inscription is superior to anything he has yet seen of the sort. This is partially visible in the translation, where, although, to our taste, hyperbole superabounds, the elegance and applicability of the eulogistic metaphors is very perceptible. This translation is again the work

[1] *Janavidhi* the pandit thinks to be 'a military post.'—I prefer simply 'disciplined body of men,' or 'dislipline.'

of my youthful assistant, Sárodáprasád Chakravartti, merely idiomatized a little by myself. It is nearly literal throughout.

The facts made known to us by the text are altogether new. We have heard neither of the Chhindu race nor of Rájá Lalla. He was, it seems, the son of Malhana, the younger brother (*chargé d'affaires*, and probably an usurper), of मांश्चण्ड प्रताप, *Mánschaṇḍa-pratápa* a name which the pandit insists upon converting to Mártanda Pratápa, ('powerful as the Sun,') as more consonant with Hindú nomenclature. Mánschaṇḍa's father was Víravarma, who is simply stated to be of the race of Chyavan, a *mahárishi* of mythologic fame, who captivated and married the daughter of one Rája Sarjati; but as she disapproved of his venerable age, he interceded with Aswini-kumára, dipped himself in a pond, and was rejuvenilized in the shape of that god. On the celebration of his nuptials, the gods being present, Indra, astonished at his new disguise, levelled his thunder at the Muni, who then petrified the god with his frown, as is stated in the text.

The temples thus appear to have been built by a petty rája and his wife, in the Samvat year 1049, at a village called Mayuta, in the district of Bhushana. Enjoying the advantage of proximity to Kanauj, they procured good poets and artists to sing and record their praises.

This is the first time I have remarked the name of the alphabetical character mentioned. It is called the Kuṭila, by which denomination we must in future describe all documents written in the same hand, mid-way between the modern Devanágarí and the Gaurí type. A specimen of the alphabet is given in pl. xxxviii. It is a peculiarity that the vowels or diphthongs *ai* and *au*, are always written like *e* and *o* with a single mark above the line. The long *í*, *ú*, and *ai* initial, do not occur.

(EXTRACTS FROM THE TRANSLATION BY SÁRODÁPRASÁD CHAKRAVARTI.)

. . . . . .

Verse 3. May the royal race of Chhindu, erst the scene of Lakshmí's pastime and dalliance, the field of war and exercises of well-disciplined soldiery, the sea of delight of famous princes, the lake wherein Lakshmí disported as a swan, the moon of repose of those who had completed the career of heroes and a consuming fire to their enemies, be honourable!

4. A Mahá-rishi named Chyavan, he whose frown restrained the pride of the chief of gods (Indra) when he had committed the well-known crime:—who by his fame was celebrated in all quarters of the world—was the founder of this race.

5. Of this family, famed for many good actions, was born Víravarma, who was the ornament of the world, and the crown-jewel of kings; in whose house Lakshmí took up her abode, foreseeing in it the birth place of many future eminent persons who would be her protectors.

6. He, Víravarma, in noble qualities well resembled the kings of the Solar line; he was powerful, pious, beautiful, famous, pure, serious, venerable, veracious, moral, surrounded by the educated, attended by virtuous men; his court was the seat of heroism, integrity, patience, and other virtues.

7. From him descended Mánschaṇḍa-pratápa, a man of warm spirit, who annihilated his foes as mud dried up by his rays; who was the ornament of all people, nay of the whole world; before whose armies, the multitude of heroic enemies depressing

the earth with their heavy tread, retreated gasping into the abode of serpents (Pátála) and bore it down with their weight. . . . .

9. His footstool was worn by the crowns of the numerous princes crowding to do him homage. He was the lord of the earth whom the three great oceans encircle as a waistband (*rashoná*). He dried up the ocean by the continual intercourse of foreign princes, as Ráma of old. He occupied the ocean like the mountain on the sea-shore. . . . .

13. His wife Chulukí, adorned with shining qualities, was the nonpareil of her day, and was like the new moon to the lotus faces of his other wives; she was descended from the royal line of Íswara.

14. From her was born a moon-like heroic prince named Lalla, who soon mastered the world. On all sides shone the purity of his virtues as the white kumuda flower, the moon, or ivory. He was the Sumeru among the circle of the mountains of his military officers. On his arm Lakshmí cast a fond glance as she quitted the house of his enemies. He was the root of the Chhindu line.

15. Strange was it that at his birth flowers were strewed from heaven on the palace of Malhana, and bees swarmed to sip their honey; seeming by their hum to announce his future greatness.[1] . . . .

20. On his advent, although the earth now groans under the Kali-yuga, the golden age (Satya-yuga) again visited this town, a town adorned with wells, lakes, tanks, and neighbouring parks stocked with various animals, whose inhabitants are always rejoicing, and which is borne on the crest of the earth.

21. He presented these sacred villages, inhabited by the wealthy and the civilized, shaded by pleasant trees and watered by pellucid streams, in a chartered gift to the bráhmans.

22. He caused to be dug up a beautiful and holy canal[2] near his own palace, himself a director of the right course to his subjects, as Bhágiratha was to Gangá.

23. His wife named Lakshmí . . . . . .

27. In this way the minds of the husband and wife being sensible of the instability of earthly possessions; and the stain of the Kali-yuga having been removed by their growing virtues, the one (or rája) has caused this temple to be established in honour of the god who wears a crescent in his brow; while the other (or queen) did as much in honour of Párbatí. . . . .

30. May prosperity always attend him and his equally-endowed lady, Lakshmí—him, the chief hero of the Chhindu line—who with sword besmeared with the mud formed by the exudation of his enemies' elephants' temples has carved out his praise on all sides.

31. May Devi, who dwelleth among mankind to promote their prosperity and avert evil, destroy the sins of Lalla, of his family, children, and inmates.

32. The villages of Mayuta in Bhushana with its adjacent lands were consecrated to the above-mentioned god and goddess, under the denomination of Devapallí.

33. The famous Lalla granted by charter one-fourth of his revenues to the same deities for their worship and other ceremonies.

34. This inscription was composed by the poet Nehál, son of Siva Rudra, of the race of Vatsyamuni, an attendant at the court of the rája, whose character was worthy of his name.

[1] So Cicero of Plato: 'Dum in cunis apes in labellis consedissent.'

[2] *Kaṭha-náma*, 'called Kaṭha;' probably the vulgar term applied to it as an artificial canal, *Anglicè* 'cut.'

35. May Nehál's wreath of mellifluous verses shine on the bosom of the learned like a string of pearls, the source of general delight, ornamented with flowery metaphor and tied with the string of Lalla's virtues!

36. This composition was copied by the son of Vishnu-hari, an inhabitant of Gaur, a proficient in the Kuṭila character.

37. It was engraved by Somanátha, the son of Kámadeva, who came over from Kanyakubja, well skilled in the use of the instruments of engraving.

In the Samvat year 1049, on the 7th of the dark half of the month of Márga (Agrahana), Thursday. (Corresponding with Thursday, 5th November, A.D. 992.)

[The second inscription on the Golden[1] Láṭ at Dihlí (Fírozábád) takes its appropriate place in illustration of the proximate close of the Hindú power in Hindústán.

The monolith whereon this memorial is traced—like the kindred pillar at Allahábád—was, in the first instance, exclusively devoted to the exhibition of a counterpart text of the Edicts of Asoka; and here, again, succeeding generations are seen to have taken advantage of the ready-prepared monument to supplement a record of their own prowess.

It is necessary to note that the original site of this Láṭ was near Khiẓrábád, immediately west of the Jamná, at the foot of the Sewálik mountains, whence the column was removed to Dihlí by Feroz Sháh (A.H. 752 to 790).[2]

[1] [So called from the gilt कलश *kalaṣa* 'pinnacle *or* ball,' placed on its summit by Feroz Sháh,—its size is given by Shams-i Seráj as 32 *gaz*, eight of which were sunk in the masonry of its foundation!]

[2] [The authority for this statement is Shams-i Seráj, a cotemporary of Feroz Sháh. The annexed passages give the account in his own words:—

يكي منارة در حدّ موضع نويرة شق سالورة و خضرآباد دامن كوة و منارة دوم در حوالي قصبة ميرته و اين منارها از وقت پندوان درين مقامات داشته بودند

The text goes on to say that they were transported to Dihlí, and . . . . . .

يكيرا درون كوشك فيروزآباد متصل مسجد جمعة داشت و آنرا منارة زرّين نام نهاد دومرا در كوشك شكار بكوشش بيشمار و حكمتهاء بسيار داشته

It is subsequently intimated that it is the Khizrábád láṭ, which still bears on its surface the Edicts of Asoka, and the more modern inscription of Visala-deva. The smaller column, which is inscribed exclusively with the same Edicts of Asoka, came from Meerut.]

The following is Colebrooke's rendering ('As. Res.' viii., 130) of the Sanskrit text, which has been verified by Prof. Wilson from an independent copy of the original made by myself:—

'In the year 1220 [A.D. 1164], on the fifteenth day of the bright half of the month of Vaisákh (this monument) of the fortunate Visala Deva, son of the fortunate Vella Deva, King of Sákambharí:

As far as the Vindhya, as far as the Himádri, having achieved conquest in the course of travelling to holy places; resentful to haughty kings, and indulgent to those whose necks are humbled; making Áryavarta once more what its name signifies, by causing the barbarians to be exterminated; Visala-Deva, supreme ruler of Sákambharí and sovereign of the earth, is victorious in the world.

This conqueror, the fortunate Vigraha Rája, King of Sákambharí, most eminent of the tribe which sprang from the arms (of Brahmá), now addresses his own descendants: By us the region of the earth between Himavat and Vindhya has been made tributary; let not your minds be void of exertion to subdue the remainder.

Tears are evident in the eyes of thy enemy's consort; blades of grass are perceived between thy adversaries' teeth; thy fame is predominant throughout space; the minds of thy foes are void (of hope); their route is the desert where men are hindered from passing; O Vigraha Rája Deva, in the jubilee occasioned by thy march. May thy abode, O Vigraha, sovereign of the earth, be fixed, as in reason it ought, in the bosoms (akin to the mansion of dalliance) of the women with beautiful eye-brows, who were married to thy enemies! There is no doubt of thy being the highest of embodied souls. Didst thou not sleep in the lap of Srí, whom thou didst seize from the ocean, having churned it?

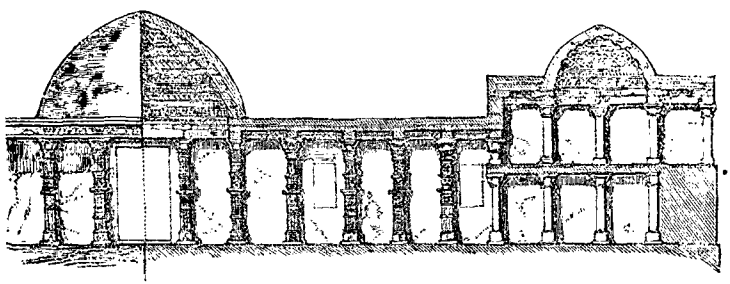
In the year, from the fortunate Vikramáditya, 1220, on Thursday the 15th day of the bright half of the month Vaisákh. This was written in the presence of . . . by Srí-pati, the son of Máhava, a Káyastha of a family in Gauda: at this time the fortunate Lakshaṇa Pála, a Rája-putra, is prime minister.

Siva the Terrible, and the universal monarch!'

I have only one objection to make to the transliteration upon which this rendering is based, and that is to the conversion of the minister's name into श्रीमल्लक्षणपाल in lieu of the श्री सल्लक्षणपाल, which is obvious on the column. My eye is not likely to have deceived me in the mere transcription of the original, especially as my attention was necessarily directed to the opening letter of the name in reference to the occurrence of the self-same designation on one of the coins published by me in the 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.'; and I am the more confirmed in the accuracy of my reading by finding that Said Ahmad's artist,[1] who, clearly, well understood the character, has equally given this letter the form of स.

[1] [آثار الصنادید—'Asár-oos-Sunnádeed.' by Syud Ahmed Khán. Dihlí, 1854.]

To conclude this broken series of documentary illustrations, and to mark authoritatively the eclipse of the Imperial sway of the Hindús in their own land, I annex the earliest extant boast of the conquering Moslems, preserved in the inscription—in the official language and character of Central Asia—which records the capture of the ancient city of Dihlí (Síri) in A.H. 587[1] = A.D. 1191, and the erection of the Muhammadan Mosque, whose gateway it adorns, and whose very walls and cloisters, it needed scarcely to tell us, were constructed out of the materials obtained from the demolition of the existing temples of the idolaters; the original cost of the twenty-seven edifices of this nature specified in the text is pretentiously estimated at countless sums of Dilliáls.[2]



SECTION OF PART OF THE EAST COLONNADE AT THE KUTB.
(Fergusson's 'Handbook of Architecture,' p. 418.)

[1] [This date is by no means unimportant in itself; as, if it be as true in its intention as it is in its expression, it anticipates the epoch ordinarily assigned to the Muhammadan conquest of India by two years.]

[2] [The sum absolutely expressed is 20,00,000 of this representative of value, for each temple—or 540,00,000 in all. The specific name of the coin, as found in this inscription, is read by Said Ahmad as دليوال—a more exact examination of the original proves the word to be دِلِي ال but the orthography is a matter of minor importance, as the derivation of the term is palpable, and we know from the Táj-al-Maásir that the coin in question must have been the ordinary standard of the country in A.H. 614. The author of the latter work writes the word دهليوال. I suppose the original currency to correspond with the billon money of Prithví Rája and others, which was imitatively adopted by the Muhammadans in the early days of their occupation of Hindústán.]

The conqueror's name here emblazoned, will be seen to be that of Kutb-ud-dín Aí-beg, though the humble dignities he assumes, and the insertion of his feudal Sultáns' titles and designations on the tablet on the northern entrance (dated in A.H. [5]92), must relieve him of any charge of doubtful allegiance.[1]

CONCLUDING PORTION OF THE INSCRIPTION UNDER THE ARCH OF THE EASTERN GATE OF THE KUTB MOSQUE, DIHLÍ.

اين حصاررا فتح كرد و اين مسجد جامعرا به ساخت بتاريخ في شهور سنه سبع و ثمانين و خمسماية امير اسفهسالار اجل كبير قطب الدولة و الدين امير الامرا اي بك سلطاني اعز الله انصاره و بيست و هفت آله بتخانه كي در هر بتخانه دو بار هزار بار هزار دلي ال صرف شده بود درين مسجد بكار بسته شده است

The epigraph over the outer archway of the eastern entrance also embodies Kutb-ud-dín's name in the following terms:—

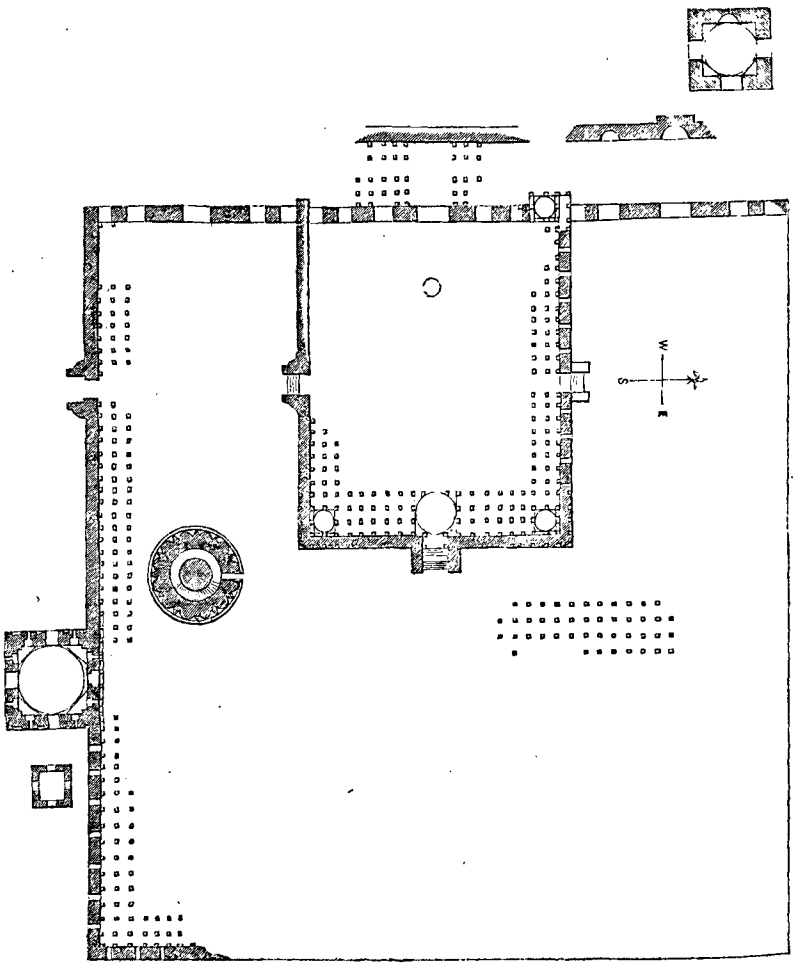
اين مسجدرا بنياد كرد قطب الدين اي بك خداي بر آن بنده رحمت كناد . . . . .

For the full exhibition of the localities, I again avail myself of Mr. Fergusson's kindness, and the wonted liberality of his

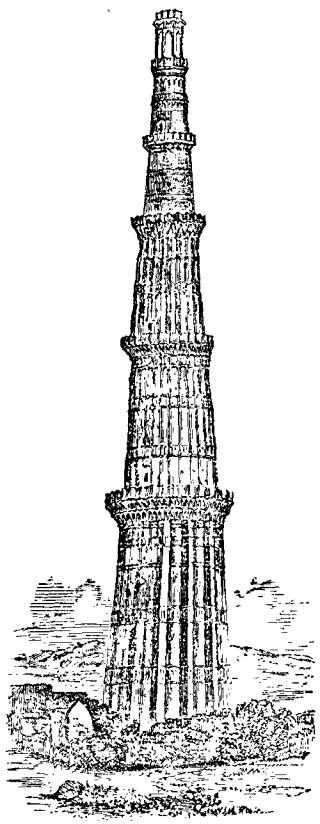
[1] [I may as well append the substance of this brief record:—بسم الله . . . في شهور سنه اثني و تسع . . . جرت هذه العمارة بعالي امر السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا و الدين محمد بن سام ناصر امير المومنين

A few of the inscriptions at the Kutb were first published by Walter Ewer in the 'Asiatic Researches,' xiv., p. 480. Said Ahmad's work, above quoted, gives elaborate facsimiles, and transcriptions into modern Arabic, of all the important legends. Indeed, the آثار الصناديد, Áṣár-us-Sannádíd, as a publication, would do credit to our best archæological associations. I am glad to learn that M. Garcin de Tassy has promised us a full and complete translation from the original Urdú in which it is written.—See 'Journal Asiatique,' viii., p. 536. 1857.]

publisher, Mr. Murray, and reproduce the ground-plan of the ruins in old Dihlí, prepared for the 'Handbook of Architecture'[1]:—



[1] [Mr. Fergusson remarks:—"To understand the ground-plan (of the ruins in old Dihlí), it is necessary to bear in mind that all the pillars are of Hindu, and all the walls of Mahometan, architecture. It is by no means easy to determine whether the pillars now stand as originally arranged by the Hindus, or whether they have been taken down and re-arranged by the conquerors." The inscription above quoted conclusively determines the architectural history of the building.]



And to complete the pictorial illustration of this section of the subject, I further borrow from the same source a sketch of the Kutb Minár itself, whose position in the ground-plan is marked by the dark double circle to the south of the square.

'The minár is 48 ft. 4 in. in diameter at the base, and, when measured in 1794, was 242 ft. in height. Even then, however, the capital was ruined, so that ten or perhaps twenty feet must be added to this to complete its original elevation. It is ornamented by four boldly projecting balconies; one at 90, the second at 140, the third at 180, and the fourth at 203 feet from the ground; between which are richly sculptured raised belts containing inscriptions. In the lower story the projecting flutes are alternately angular and circular, in the second circular, and in the third angular only; above this the minár is plain, but principally of white marble, with belts of the red sandstone, of which the three lower stories are composed.'—Fergusson's 'Handbook of Architecture,' i. 421.

This celebrated monument bears on its walls memorials of the following Sultáns :—

1. On the engraved circlets of the lower story, the name and titles of Muhammad-bin-Sám, and traces of those of his 'Sipah-sálár,' Kutb-ud-dín.

2. Over the doorway of the second story, the designation and honorific titles of Shams-ud-dín Altamsh, which are reiterated on the circlets of that division of the building itself, and are repeated on the walls of the third and fourth stories.

3. The name of Fíroz Sháh figures on the fifth story, in connexion with its restoration, under date 770 A.H.

4. And the lower entrance is superscribed with a record of repairs executed under Sikandar-bin-Bahlol, and dated 909 A.H.

Having disposed of the inscriptions, I now proceed to summarize the more remarkable coins of this 'Chohán,' or 'bull and horseman' series, that have been published since Prinsep wrote. The copper money of Varka-deva has already been alluded to (p. 42). Passing over Syalapati and Samanta, whose issues are sufficiently described in Prinsep's text, I come to the third king on the list, the Kumlúá of the Arabic version, and श्री खुद्वयकः of the coins. ('Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', ix., pl. i., figs. 5, 6, 7.)

A specimen of Bhíma-deva's mintage appears conspicuously in Prinsep's plates. Of Jaya-pál, we have no monetary record, and are able only doubtfully to identify his successor, Anung-pál, with the potentate who put forth the not uncommon coins bearing on the obverse (the 'bull' side) the title श्री समन्त देव, with the name of श्री अणंग पाल देव [रा]जा on the reverse.[1] The variants of the Arabic and Persian name of نردجنپال may possibly find a correct definition in the Sanskrit form of the name of श्री सल्लक्षण पालदेव, a monarch whose coins[2] assimilate to those of Anung-pál, and whose designation under this orthography is seen to have been in current acceptance in the nomenclature of the period![3] The money of Madana-pála-deva became early known to us;[4] and his date of 1096 A.D. has been satisfactorily made out. Prithví Rája scarcely needed to have his prominent place in history verified by his mintages, which, however, in their abundance[5] and sites of discovery, conclusively confirm the extent of his sway.

I can now definitively assign to Someswara-deva of Ajmír, the coins bearing on the obverse श्रीसावरी with the usual

[1] ['Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xix. 15; 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' ix., pl. i., figs. 9, 10. I have new coins which authorise the additions here made!]
[2] ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' ix., pl. i., figs. 11, 12.]
[3] [Visala-deva Inscription, p. 325.] [4] [Pl. xxvi. 27.]
[5] [See plates xxv. 21; xxvi. 30; also 'Ariana Antiqua,' xix. 18; 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' ix., pl. i., 14.]

श्री समन्त देव—and on the reverse the name श्री सोमेश्वर देव.[1] Though I have a new coin of the prince in question, I can add nothing to my previous rendering of the name of श्री कीत्ति···देव ('Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', ix., pl. i., figs. 17, 18; Tod, i. 258?) Other unpublished coins of this series afford a fragmentary reading of a new designation, which appears to run श्री पीपलराज देव, the obverse being inscribed, as in Someswara's coins, with असावरी श्री समन्त देव.

I do not know that there are any more exclusively Hindú novelties in this section of numismatics that I can usefully refer to; but, before I leave the subject, I may be permitted to make some observations in reference to an original suggestion of my own, that the श्री हमीर: on the reverse of the immediately succeeding Moslem coins was designed to convey the title of the spiritual representative of the Arabian Prophet on earth, embodied for the time being in the Khalíf of Baghdád. Sir H. M. Elliot, placing himself under the guidance of Captain Cunningham, has contested this inference.[2] I am not only prepared to concede the fact that Muhammad-bin-Sám uses this term in connection with his own name on the lower Kanauj coins, but I can supply further independent evidence, that my opponents could not then cite against me, in the association of this title with the names of the early Sultáns of Dihlí in the Pálam Inscription[3] (1333 Vikramáditya);

[1] ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', ix., pl. i., fig. 16; 'Ariana Antiqua,' xix., 28; Tod, i. 225; ii. 451.]

[2] [Elliot's 'Muhammadan Historians of India,' 152.]

[3] ['Asár-oos-Sunnádeed,' p. ۴۸. The curious orthography of these names may be appropriately noted in this place. My readings will not, however, be found to correspond with those given by Said Ahmad's pandit; hence it may be necessary to state that my transliterations are derived independently from a corrected copy of the original inscription:—

1. शहाबुद्दीन
2. कुतबुद्दीन
3. शमशुद्दीन
4. फैरोज शाह
5. जलालुद्दीन
6. मौजदीन
7. अलाउद्दीन
8. नसीरुद्दीन
9. शीहन्मीरगयासदीन]

but, on the other hand, I can claim a still more definitive support in an item of testimony contributed by the consecutive suite of the selfsame fabric of coins, where the हमीर: is replaced by the word षलीफ—Khalífa. As far as I have yet been able to ascertain, this transition *first* takes place on the money of 'Aláud-dín Masa'úd (639-644 A.H.): and here again, I can afford, in all frankness, to cite further data that may eventually bear against myself, in recording that this reverse of श्री षलीफ is combined in other cases with a broken obverse legend of ....अमीरलिम.... which, being interpreted to stand for the امير المومنين of the Arabic system, may either be accepted as the Sanskrit counterpart legend of Altamsh's anonymous coins in the Persian character,[1] or be converted into a possible argument against my theory, if supposed to represent the independent spiritual supremacy claimed by subsequent Sultáns of Dihlí; which last assignment, however, will scarcely carry weight in the present state of our knowledge. As regards the difficulty raised respecting the conventional acceptance of the श्री समन्त देव of the coins as an historical, rather than an individually titular, impress, I have always been fully prepared to recognise the linguistic value of the word *Samanta*, and yet claim to retain the Srí Samanta-deva—which comes down to us, in numismatic sequence, in the place of honour on so many mint issues—as an independent name or title, to which some special prestige attached, rather than to look upon it as an ordinary prefix to the designation of each potentate upon whose money it appears. And such a decision, in parallel apposition to the succession of the titles of Srí Hamíra and Khalífa just noticed, would seem to be strikingly confirmed by the replacement of this same legend of Srí Samanta-deva, on the local coins of Cháhaḍ-deva, by the style and title of the Moslem suzerain to whom that rája had eventually to concede allegiance.

The two classes of coins to which I allude, may, for the

[1] ['Pathán Sultáns of Dihlí,' by Ed. Thomas: Wertheimer, London, 1847; p. 17.

moment, be exemplified, the one in the type given in 'Ariana Antiqua,' xix., 16; the other in pl. xxvi. 31, of the present volume.

The former, when corrected up and amplified from more perfect specimens, will be found to bear the legends:—OBV. असावरी श्री समन्त देव. REV. श्री चाहड देव—while the latter will be seen to display an obverse epigraph of असावरी श्री समसोरल देवे with a reverse similar to the last.[1]

I understand this obverse legend to convey, in imperfect orthography, the name of Shams-ud-dín Altamsh—whose other coins, of but little varied type, have a similarly outlined name, with the Moslem श्री हमीर: on the reverse.[2]

My space does not permit me to enter into any more full detail of the subordinate varieties of this class of money, which extends itself over many geographical ramifications, and leaves traces of the original type among the local currencies for centuries after this epoch. But I may properly advert to two offshoots of the family of earlier development.

First—the coin, of which the annexed woodcut is a correct representation:—evincing in its typical treatment approximate alliance with the introductory mintages of Syála and Samanta—having indeed the very title of the latter monarch in Sanskrit on its obverse, with the name of Masa'úd (مسعود) of Ghazní (421 to 432 A.H.) in the Kufic character on its reverse. A similar piece—also from the cabinet of Mr. Bayley—exhibits less clearly, but with little room for controversy, the Arabic letters of the name of Muhammad, another son of the great Mahmúd!

And finally, to demonstrate by a more modern example the favor which this stamp obtained with foreign conquerors, even as it was held in honour among the indigenous races, I may

[1] [See also 'Ariana Antiqua,' xix. 31, 37; 'Pathán Kings,' p. 15.]
[2] [Unpublished.]

exhibit the accompanying sketch of a coin of 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Kh'árizmí (569 to 617 A.H.)

OBV. السلطان الا عظم علا الدنيا و الدين

REV. محمد بن السلطان

Below the horse, in a line with the spear: بامیان *Bámián.*[1]—E.T.]

SAURÁSHTRA COINS.

(pl. xxvii.)

In antiquity, the present series doubtless should take precedence of those depicted in the last three plates; perhaps it should rank next to the Behát or Buddhist group, for it has an important symbol in common with them. My only reason for delaying to notice it until the last, has been the hope of receiving a further accession of specimens from Lieut. Burnes, who lately forwarded me several coins, and afterwards wrote me that he had come on a further treasure of them in the course of some excavations in Cutch.

A few specimens of the new accessions, selected by Wathen at Bombay, did not add much to the variety with which I had already become acquainted, from the collections of Karámat 'Alí and Mohan Lál, of Lieut. Conolly, and especially of Col. Stacy. Some of these I have before made known; other varieties have been long since published in Col. Tod's plate of coins in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society; but there are many

[1] ['Kings of Ghazní,' by Ed. Thomas; 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', p. 116, 1848.]

entirely new, in the plate I am now about to introduce to my readers.

In the first place, however, I am pledged to prove that the type of this series of Indian coins is a fourth example of imitation of a Grecian original. The very style and beauty of the profile on some of the earlier specimens (figs. 1, 3, 10,) might be enough to convince an artist or a sculptor of the fact, for we might in vain seek such accurate delineations of the human features on any genuine Hindú coin: witness the degradation to which the very same device soon arrives under its Hindú adoption. But a comparison with the coins of the Arśakian and Sassanian dynasties of Persia, which are confessedly of Greek origin, may go farther to satisfy a sceptic on this point. The mode of dressing the hair belongs exclusively to Parthia: none of the genuine Bactrians even have it; and in the whole of our Indo-Scythic acquaintance, it will only be seen on the medals of Kodos, engraved as figs. 11-13, of pl. xiii. In him the likeness is perfect, and him, therefore, I would deem the progenitor of this Saurásḥtra group, so similar in size, weight, metal, and contour of the head. The marked distinction between the two is confined to the reverse. Here, a long Devanágarí inscription, encircling a curious monogram, is substituted for the standing figure with his hitherto uninterpreted motto, ΜΑΚΑΡ .... ΡΔΗΘΡΘΥ.

À-propos of this seemingly impossible Greek combination; even while I am writing this passage, the explanation starts to my imagination—like an enigma or puzzle laid aside for an interval, and taken up by chance in a position in which its solution strikes palpably

on the eye—and the wonder arises how it could have escaped detection at the first! It may be remembered that, in describing the various mottos on the reverses of the Kanerki and Kadphises group, in my last notice, I remarked a curious instance of the word OKPO, 'the Sun,' being changed into APΔOKPO, 'the great Sun.'[1]

Now AΘPO was also one of the original simple denominations of the same class, supposed to be of a like import with Mithra. By the rule of mutations, the addition of APΔA or APTA, 'great,' would lengthen the initial vowel of this word, or change it into an H, and produce the compound form, APΔHΘPO, 'the great Athra.' Giving a Greek termination, and putting it as usual, in the genitive case, we shall have MAKAPOΣ APΔHΘPOY, 'of the blessed ard-Athra.' This is the very expression existing on the coin, supplying only a single letter, A, which is cut off through the imperfection of the die. Here we have a happy illustration, as well of the connection between the several groups and their respective objects of worship, as of the gradual and necessary development which these interesting researches are calculated to produce. Further, on conversing, this moment, with a pandit from the Panjáb, I learn that the Sun is called in the Pushtú language आएत or आयत, a corruption, he says, from the pure Sanskrit आदित्य *áditya*, whence may be derived, in a similar manner, Ait-wár or Et-wár, the common Hindú expression for 'Sunday.' To all of these forms, the simi-

[1] Mr. Tregear writes to me, that he has just met with a duplicate of the gold APΔOKPO coin, pl. xxiv., fig. 6. It was stated to have been dug up by a peasant in the Jaunpur district, along with fifty others, which were immediately committed to the melting-pot. I may here take occasion to notice, that the pilgrim who sold the three coins of Kadphises in the bázár of Benáres was not a Maráthí, but a native of the Panjáb.

Hindu Coins – Saurashtra Series

Pub: by Stephen Austin, Hertford.

After J Prinsep. W. West. Lith.

larity of the Zend word Athro is obvious, and we need therefore seek no refined subtlety in admitting it to worship as the etherial essence of the sun, since it can with so much more simplicity be understood as a common denomination of the solar orb itself. It should be remarked that the effigy of APΔHΘPO, like that of AΘPO, has flames on his shoulders.

I will not stop to inquire, whether the change from the Sanskrit OKPO (Arka), to the Pushtú or Zend AΘPO (Aita), has any possible connection with a parallel change in the family designation of the Sauráshtra princes who were, in the first centuries of the Christian era, marked by the affix 'Bhatárka,' ('cherished by Arka,') but afterwards, for a long succession of reigns, were known by the surname of Áditya; but will proceed to describe the immediate contents of the plate now under review.

Figs. 1-3 are placed at the head of the series, because in them the head bears the nearest analogy to its prototype. In fig. 1, indeed, the letters behind the head may be almost conceived to belong to KWAOY. In the centre of the reverse is the so-called Chaitya symbol; which, had it only occurred on these descendants of a Mithraic coin, I should now be inclined to designate a symbol of the holy flame, trilingual and pyramidal, of the Sassanian fire-worship. The marginal writing may with certainty be pronounced to be an ancient form of Sanskrit; but I cannot attempt to read it. In figures *a*, *b*, *c*, I have copied the lines from three other coins, and have thus ascertained that a portion of the legend is the same in all, while the remainder varies. The former doubtless comprehends the regal titles; but in it there is no approach to the ordinary Indian terms of Rája, Rao, etc. The six parallel letters may be read परक्षतपस.

Figs. 4 and 5 differ from the preceding in the central device, which now bears a rude resemblance to the human figure. The letters and general execution are very imperfect.

Figs. 6-9 are one step further removed from perfection. The legend, where best preserved, as in fig. 9, appears a mere repetition of the letter *p*, with the suffix *r*, *ri*, and *y*. There are three letters behind

the head in fig. 7, which may be taken either for corrupted Greek, or for the Pehlví of the Sassanian coins, ꝏ. The central symbol has the form of a trident. Lieut. Burnes informs me that several hundred of these three species of coins were found in Katch in 1830 in a copper vessel buried in the ruins of Puragarh, twenty miles west of Bhoj, a place of great antiquity, and yet marked by the ruins of a palace and a mint.

Figs. 10-12 are of a different type, though nearly allied to the former; they are not only found in Gujarát, but at Kanauj, Ujjain, and generally in Upper India. Lieut. Cunningham has just sent me impressions of five very well-preserved specimens procured at Benáres, on which, in front of the face, are seen some letters, very like the Pehlví character, ꝏ. The Sanskrit, too, is not of the elongated form of the upper group, but exactly like that of Wathen's Gujarát inscriptions. Not having yet succeeded in deciphering them, it is needless to copy out the mere letters at present. The symbol in the centre will be recognised as the peacock, sacred to Kumára, the Mars of the Rájputs, alluded to in the preceding observations.

[I extract from the 'Jour. As. Soc., Beng.', (vi. of 1855, N.S., No. lxxvi.), my decipherment of these legends, together with some further observations on the coins and their local associations:—

Cl. 1. Kumára Gupta, xxvii., figs. 10–12.

Legend—देवं जयति विजितावनिरवनिपति कुमार गुप्तो

Dev(o) jayati vijitávanir avanipati(h) Kumára Gupto.

'His Majesty, Kumára Gupta, who has subdued the earth, rules.'

Cl. 2. Skanda Gupta, 'J.R.A.S.', xii., pl. ii., figs. 52, 53.

Legend—विजितावनिरवनिपति जयति देव स्कन्द गुप्त य

Vijitávanir avanipati(r) jayati deva(h) Skanda Gupta-y.

Cl. 3. Budha Gupta, 'J.R.A.S.', xii., pl. ii., figs. 55. 57.

Legend—देव जयति तिजितावनिरवनिपति श्री बुध गुप्तो

Dev(o) jayati vijitávanir avanipati(h) Sri Budha Gupto.

When once fairly deciphered, these legends will be seen to present but few difficulties. The lapidary inscriptions have already proved that the Gupta artists indulged in faulty Sanskrit orthography as well as in grammatical errors, so I need not detain my readers by any comments upon minor imperfections, while the general sense of the legend is sufficiently clear. I must mention that, in my Devanágarí transcripts, I have adhered servilely to the original legends impressed upon the coins; the version in the Roman type is corrected up to Sanskrit requirements.

There is a superfluous य (or possibly an म) after the गुप्त on Skanda Gupta's coins,

the use of which is not apparent, but which clearly takes the place of the final *o* in Kumára's legends.

I may note that Kumára Gupta's coins display both the old form of म and the more specially Gupta outline of that character. ('J.A.S.B.', iv., pl. xlix., figs. 10 and 12.) The च is also seen in its transition state from the triple-lined letter of early days to the almost modern form; while, at times, it appears on Skanda's money as a character not easily distinguishable from the later Kumára म just adverted to. This extensive modification of the च, in the numismatic alphabet, is the more curious, as the corresponding lapidary character retains all the essentials of its ancient outline throughout the Gupta inscriptions, from the Allahábád pillar to Budha Gupta's record at Eran; and even on to Toramána's inscription at the same place.

The weights of these coins run as follows:—

Nine fair specimens of Kumára's mintages average 30.1 grains: highest weight, 33 grains.

Eight fair specimens of Skanda's coinage average 31.7 grains: highest weight, 35 grains.

Dr. Swiney's coin of Budha (No. 55, pl. ii., 'J.R.A.S.', xii.) weighs 32 grains.

Their relative rarity may be approximately inferred by the numbers of the coins of each prince in Col. Stacy's, my own, and Mr. Freeling's collections.

	Stacy.	Thomas.	Freeling.
Kumára's	6	6	7
Skanda's	4	4	1
Budha's	0	0	0
Doubtful	2	1	1
Total . .	12	11	9

These coins of the 'peacock' type would seem to have formed the recognised silver currency of the central and eastern provinces of the Gupta dominions; for, though they are found in limited numbers amid the hoards of the local coinage of the western states, the relative proportions seem to be reversed in the 'finds' of the eastern districts of the Gupta empire. Those in my own collection have chiefly been obtained from Kanauj itself, while Mr. Freeling's centre of operations is Hamírpur on the Jamná; but all his nine pieces were obtained from the eastward of that river.

It may be useful to summarize the proved dates, discovered on the various specimens of the 'peacock' coins; the consideration of the grounds whereon these determinations are based is to be found at p. 551, 'J.A.S.B.', No. vii., 1856.

Of Kumára's coins, some bear ciphers for *one hundred, twenty*, and *one* = 121; others display figures for 124; one piece discloses a unit for 5, and another a sign which I doubtfully class as a 9, but in both these instances the decimal cipher is obliterated.

Skanda Gupta's money continues the series in the use of the same figures for *one hundred*, with the addition of two new symbols in the decimal place.

Budha Gupta, in like manner, dates in the first century of the given era, but the value of his second cipher is undetermined.

His inscription at Sanchi, it will be remembered, bears date 165.

Cl. 4.—Toramána.

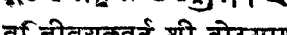
Silver: wt. 32 grains: unique and unpublished.

OBVERSE.—The usual Sáh type of profile, but with the artistic merits still further diminished. The head is turned the reverse way and looks to the left.

In front of the profile are seen the figures for *eighty* with an indeterminate symbol in the unit place.

REVERSE.—Device: Peacock greatly debased and facing more to the left.

LEGEND:—(facsimile)— (DATE)



वनीवयकवर्द श्री तोरमाण

Toramána, it will be remembered, is thus adverted to in the inscription on the Varáha image at Eran in Bhopál: "When the great rája, Toramána, the very famous and beautiful, the king of kings, governed the earth; in the first year of his reign, on the 10th day of Phálguna:" etc. (p. 249.)

Prinsep, in noticing this monument, in connexion with the Budha Gupta record on the associate pillar, prefaces his translations with a summary of the relative dates of each inscription as illustrated by their respective contexts. He observes, "The temple was built by Dhanya Vishnu, the confidential minister of Rája Mátri Vishnu, the son of Hari Vishnu, grandson of Varuna Vishnu, and great grandson of Indra Vishnu; in the first year of the reign of Toramána of Suráshtra (?): and—

'The pillar was erected by Vaidala Vishnu, the son of Hasti Vishnu, also grandson of Varuna Vishnu; and at the cost of Dhanya Vishnu, on the 14th of Asarh in the year 165, in the reign of Budha Gupta in Suráshtra, comprehending the country between . . . . the Kalindí or Jamná and the Narmada, or Nerbudda." (p. 248.)

Prinsep was clearly disposed to infer that the temple was built prior to the erection of the pillar, and in this supposition I myself was formerly inclined to concur; but the degradation of the type of Toramána's imitation of the Gupta 'peacock' coins places the matter beyond a question, and would leave me no alternative but to conclude that Toramána *followed* Budha Gupta after some inconsiderable interval; but my late admission of Budha Gupta into the direct succession of the Gupta kings, which has been freely conceded on the absolute identity of the style of his silver money with that of the newly-deciphered pieces of Kumára and Skanda Gupta, has already sanctioned the result claimed by the present discovery.

But this unique specimen of Toramána's mintage furnishes us with further matter of speculation, in such portion of the date as still remains on its surface. The cipher for *hundreds*, which should appear opposite the forehead of the profile, seems to have been worn away in the course of the ordinary currency of the piece. The decimal figure is sufficiently well preserved; and though it would be possible to read it as the ʅ for *one hundred*, yet both its position and its outline alike claim for it the value of *eighty*: lowest in order appears a symbol which equally suggests a remote doubt, and, were there any figure, or portion of a figure, in the space below, it might be taken for a θ; except that, not only is there no cross-bar to complete that sign, but there is a semblance of an up-stroke beyond the second vertical line, which assimilates it with the Gupta unit entered last in the line in the plate of fac-similes. [pl. xl. A.]

If these interpretations be correct, we have Budha Gupta dating up to 165, and Toramána issuing coin in what we may fairly conclude to be *one hundred* and *eighty* odd, or about the very period that might have been selected for his epoch upon other grounds.

The style of the coin legend also demands brief notice. It will be seen that the Gupta numismatic practice of arranging both the short and long vowel *i* above the line of mátrás (or more frequently omitting them altogether), is here so far modern-

ized that the short ि is brought down before, and the long ी after, the consonant to which it is attached. The Budha Gupta inscription at Eran, like the Skanda Gupta writing at Kuháon, still continues to use the old form of the long vowel, while the Toramána record symbolizes the sound by a character similar to that on the coin.

The short vowel, on the other hand, is already fully subjected to the modified mode of expression in the Budha Gupta inscription.

The Gujarát copper-plates of later days do not, however, accept these new forms, but adhere to the general outline of the ancient superposed vowel.[1]—E.T.]

Figs. 13-15. The popular name for these rude coins—of silver and of copper—is, according to Burnes, in Gujarát, 'Gadhia-ká paisá', 'Ass-money,' or rather, 'the money of Gadhia,' a name of Vikramáditya, whose father Jayanta, one of the Gandharbas, or heavenly choristers, is reputed to have been cursed by Indra, and converted into an ass. Wilford, in his Essay on the Era of Vikramáditya, ('As. Res.', ix. 155) endeavours to trace, in this story, the Persian fable of Bahrám-Gôr's amours with an Indian princess, whence were descended the Gardabhina dynasty of Western India (*gardabha* being the Sanskrit equivalent for *gor*, 'an ass.') The story is admitted into the prophetic chapters of the 'Agni-Purána,' and is supported by traditions all over the country. Remains of the palace of this Vikrama are shewn in Gujarát, in Ujjain, and even at Benáres! The Hindús insist that this Vikrama was not a paramount sovereign of India, but only a powerful king of the western provinces, his capital being Cambát or Cambay: and it is certain that the princes of those parts were tributary to Persia from a very early period. The veteran antiquarian, Wilford, would have been delighted, could he have witnessed the confirmation of his theories afforded by the coins before us, borne out by the local tradition of a people now unable even to guess at the nature of the curious and barbarous marks on them. None but a professed studier of coins could possibly have discovered on them the profile of a face after the Persian model, on one side, and the actual Sassanian fire-altar on the other; yet such is indubitably the case, as an attentive consideration of the accumulation of lines and dots on figs. 13, 16, will prove. The distortion of the face has proceeded from an undue relief being given by the die-cutter to the forehead and cheek: and this has by degrees apparently deceived the engraver himself, who at last contents himself with a deeply projecting oblong button, encircled by dots, (figs. 16-18)! Should this fire-altar be admitted as proof of an Indo-Sassanian dynasty in Saurásh tra, we may find the date of its establishment in the epoch of Yesdijird, the son of Bahrám-Gor; supported by the concurrent testimony of the 'Agni-Purána, that Vikrama,' the son of Gadhárúpa,

[1] [Wathen, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', iv., pl. xl.]

should ascend the throne of Málavá (Ujjain) 753 years after the expiation of Chánakya, or A.D. 441.

Fig. 17 is one of several very curious coins in Stacy's cabinet. The obverse shews it to be a direct descendant of 15 or 16, the 'Chouka-dúka' of Stacy; while the Nágarí inscription of the reverse is at once perceived to agree with the second, or Gaur, series of the Kanauj coins. I adverted to this fact before, and stated that it seemed to point to the paramount influence of the Pála family of Kanauj from Gaur in Bengal to Gujarát. The inscription has the letters श्री सा . . . . लदेव probably *Srí Sámanta* or *Sámara Pála-deva.*

Fig. 18 is a more modern variety of the 'Choukadúka,' on which the fire-altar is replaced by Nágarí letters of the eleventh or twelfth century. The reading appears श्री कौज *Srí Kauja* (?) but it is more probably श्री काल *Srí Kála,* for we find a Kála-deva in the Gujarát list towards the close of the eleventh century, whom Wilford would identify with Vísala-deva of Dihlí.

Figs. 19, 20. I have placed these two novelties from Stacy's cabinet in juxtaposition with the Saurástra group, because we see in them the evident remains of the 'fire-altar' device of figs. 13, 15. The body of the altar only is removed and replaced by the Sanskrit श्री *Srí*; the opposite face has the very legible letters—हासस ४० or ४१ *Hásas,* 40 or 41. The explanation of हासस् in Wilson's Dictionary is—'the moon (in the language of the Vedas)'; but it would be hazardous to interpret *Srí Hásas* as indicative of a lunar worship, or an adoption of a lunar motto, in contrast with the solar effigy and the fire emblems that preceded it. श्री *Srí,* by itself, is still impressed upon the Sháh-'Alam coin of Málwá, which is denominated from this circumstance the Srí-sáhí rupee.[1] It is an epithet of the goddess Lakshmí, and denotes pure Hindúism in the reigning dynasty.

Hás, taken separately, may be a contraction of Hastinápur or Hánsí, the place of coinage, and सं ४० may be 'Samvat 40' or 41, the year of reign.

Figs. 21 and 22 should rather have found a place among the Pála coins of Kanauj; for on the reverse of both, sufficient of the Gaur alphabetic characters are seen to enable us to fill up the whole reading as श्री अजय देव *Srí Ajaya-deva.* The obverse seems to be a rude outline of a horse or a bull.

At the foot of this plate I have inserted a few miscellaneous coins, which I was doubtful where to place with propriety, or which have reached me since the foregoing plates went to press.

[1] See vol. ii.—'Useful Tables,' p. 68.

Fig. 23 is in Stacy's collection, a brass coin of unique appearance; on the obverse, a seated figure, adorned with a 'glory'; on the reverse, an urn containing flowers; and, across the field, in the ancient form of Sanskrit, वगुपति *vagupati*: around the margin, on both sides, is a garland of roses.

Fig. 24 is a recent accession to Stacy's collection; on one side a bull and staff, with the unknown word सतमत; on the other side, the peacock of Kumára and a palm-tree (?) This coin is evidently allied to those found by Mr. Spiers, in the Allahábád district, and figured in pl. viii.; two of them are here re-engraved as being more in place. Lieut. Cunningham has a duplicate of 25, with a fuller inscription in the Allahábád form of Nágarí; I shall take a future opportunity of engraving it.

Fig. 27 is a copper coin found in the parcel lately received from Karámat 'Alí. It is remarkable for containing the motto of the Rajpút series—श्री समय देव *Srí Samagra-* (or *Samanta-*)*-deva*, with an elephant instead of a bull; while, on the reverse, the rude outline of a horse without a rider seems encircled by a Pehlví legend: a coin nearly similar was engraved in the plate of Burnes' coins, pl. xi. [ii.], fig. 17, p. 318 of vol. ii. 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.'

[The connecting bands joining the obverse and reverse of these coins in the engraving seem to have been erroneously inserted. The ligatures should have been perpendicular, instead of horizontal. Thus the obverse halves of the two coins resolve themselves into a single piece of Kutlugh (p. 37), while the remaining reverses represent the two surfaces of a coin of Samanta-deva.]

Fig. 28, from the same source as the last, is also nearly a duplicate of fig. 14 of the above plate, except that it has the *sinha*, 'lion,' for reverse, instead of the horse; the letters correspond exactly, but, though individually distinct enough, I can make nothing of the context.

EXTRACTS FROM THE 'SECOND MEMOIR ON THE ANCIENT COINS FOUND AT BEGHRÁM, IN THE KOHISTÁN OF KÁBUL. By C. MASSON.' (*Jan.*, 1836.)

I had the pleasure last year to submit a Memoir [see p. 80] on the coins discovered at Beghrám, and now beg to offer a second, containing the results of my collection of the present year from the same place: the observations which these coins suggest I shall preface by a few remarks, tending to illustrate the locality of the spot where they are found, as well as some other points connected with it.

I shall also submit, in this Memoir, the results of discoveries in other places, made during the year, so far as they refer to numismatology; in the hope of contributing to the farther elucidation of the history of the countries from which I write.

The *dasht* or 'plain' of Beghrám bears N. 15 E. from the modern city of Kábul, distant by computation eighteen ordinary *kos*; and as the line of road has few sinuosities or deflections, the direct distance may probably be about twenty-five British miles. It is situated at the south-east point of the level country of the Kohistán, in an angle formed by the approach of a lofty and extensive mountain range, radiating from the superior line of the Caucasus on the one side, and by the inferior range of the Siáh Koh on the other. The former range separates the Kohistán from the populous valley of Nijrow; and the latter, commencing about fifteen miles east of Kábul, gradually sinks into the plain of Beghrám. East of the Siáh Koh is a hilly, not mountainous, tract, called Koh Safí, which intervenes between it and the extensive valleys of Taghow. Through the open space, extending from west to east, between these two hill ranges, flows the river formed by the junction of the streams of Ghorband and Panjshír, which forms the northern boundary of the site of Beghrám. Through this space also wends the high road from the Kohistán to Nijrow, Taghow, Laghmán, and Jalálábád. The *dasht* of Beghrám is comprised in an extensive district of the Kohistán called Khwájah Keddrí; to the north, the plain has an abrupt descent into the cultivated lands and pastures of the Baltú Khel and Karindat Khán Khel families, which at the north-western point interpose between it and the river for the extent of, perhaps, a mile, or until the river leaves the base of a singular eminence called Abdullah Búrj, which, from the vast mounds on its summit, was undoubtedly an appurtenance of the ancient city. East of this eminence, another small space of cultivated lands, with two or three castles, called Kárahichí, interposes, between a curvature in the direction of the abrupt boundary of the *dasht*, and the direct course of the river; east of Kárahichí rises a low detached hill, called Koh Bachah, which has an extent eastward of about a mile and a half, intruding for that distance between the level *dasht* and the river; at the eastern extremity of Koh Bachah is one of those remarkable structures we call Topes. Parallel to Koh Bachah, on the opposite side of the river, are the castles and cultivated lands called Muhammad Rákhi, and, beyond them, a sterile sandy tract gradually ascending to a celebrated hill and *ziárat*, named Khwájah Raig Rawán, and thence to the superior hill range before mentioned; east of Koh Bachah, the level plain extends for about a mile, until the same character of abrupt termination sinks it into the low lands of Júlghar, where we find numerous castles, much cultivated land, and, as the name Júlghar implies, a large extent of *chaman* or 'pasture.' The lands of Júlghar, to the east, from the boundary of the *dasht* of Beghrám; to the south, its boundary may be con-

sidered the stream called the river of Koh Damán, which, after flowing along the eastern portion of Koh Damán, and receiving what may be spared after the irrigation of the lands from the streams of Shakr Darrah, Beydak, Tugah, Istalif, etc., falls into the joint river of Ghorband and Panjshír at a point below Júlghar. Beyond the river of Koh Damán, a barren sandy soil ascends to the skirts to the Síáh Koh and Koh Safi. Among the topographical features of the *dasht* of Beghrám may be noted three small black hills or eminences, detached from each other, which in a line, and contiguous to each other, arise from the surface of the soil a little north of the river of Koh Damán. To the west of Beghrám are the level lands of Mahígír; at the north west angle of the plain is the small village of Killah Buland, where reside about seven Hindú traders, some of them men of large capital; and at the south-west angle are three castles called Killah Yezbáshí, distant from Killah Buland about four miles. From Killah Baland to Júlghar a distance occurs of four-and-a-half to five miles; from Júlghar to the skirts of the Síáh Koh, about six miles; from the termination of Koh Síáh to Killah Yezbáshí, may be also about six miles; and from Killah Yezbáshí to Killah Buland, about four miles, as just noted. The whole of the intermediate space between these points—and even beyond them to the south-east and south-west—is covered with fragments of pottery, lumps of dross iron, etc.; and here are found the coins, seals, rings, etc., which so much excite our curiosity. Notwithstanding the vast numbers of such reliques discovered on this extent of plain, we have hardly any other evidence that a city once stood on it—so complete and universal has been the destruction of its buildings. But in many places, we may discover, on digging about the depth of a yard, lines of cement, which seem to denote the outlines of structures, and their apartments: on the edge of the plain, where it abruptly sinks into the low lands of Baltú Khel, from Killah Buland to Kárahíchí, is a line of artificial mounds; on the summit of the eminence called Abdullah Búrj are also some extraordinary mounds, as before noted; and, contiguous to the south, is a large square described by alike surprising mounds; on one side of this square, last year, a portion sank or subsided, disclosing that these mounds were formed or constructed of huge unburnt bricks, two spans square and one span in thickness. This circumstance also enabled me to ascertain that the original breadth of these stupendous walls—for such we must conclude them to have been—could not have been less than sixty feet; probably much more. Among the mounds near Killah Buland is a large tumulus, probably a sepulchre, which appears to have been coated with thin squares of white marble; and near it, in a hollow formed in the soil, is a large square stone, which the Muhammadans call Sang-Rustam, (or the stone of Rustam), and which the Hindús, without knowing why, reverence, so far as to pay occasional visits to it, light lamps, and daub it with *sindúr*, or 'red lead.' . . . The traditions of the country assert the city of Beghrám to have been overwhelmed by some natural catastrophe; and while we vouch not for the fact, the entire demolition of the place, with the circumstance of the outlines of buildings discoverable beneath the surface, seem not to discountenance the tradition. It is not, however, improbable, that this city, like many others, may owe its destruction to the implacable rage of the barbarous and ruthless Genghiz, who, like Attila, described himself as the Ghazb-i Khudá, or 'Scourge of God.' That it existed for some time after the Muhammadan invasion of these countries is evidenced by the numerous coins of the Khalífs found on its site. That it ceased to exist at the period of Timúr's expedition into India, we have negative proof furnished by his historian, Sharíf-ud-dín, who informs us that Timúr, in his progress from Anderab to Kábul, encamped on the plain of Bárán (the modern Báyán, certainly); and that while there, he directed a canal to be cut, which was called Mahígír, by which means the country, before

desolate and unproductive, became fertile and full of gardens. The lands thus restored to cultivation, the conqueror apportioned among sundry of his followers. The canal of Mahígír exists at this day, with the same name it received in the time of Timúr. A considerable village, about one mile west of Beghrám, has a similar appellation. This canal, derived from the river of Ghorband, at the point where it issues from the hills into the level country, irrigates the lands of Báyán and Mahígír, and has a course of about ten miles. Had the city of Beghrám then existed, these lands immediately to the west of it would not have been waste and neglected, neither would Timúr have found it necessary to cut his canal, as the city when existing must have been supplied with water from the same source—that is, from the river of Ghorband; and from the same point—that is, at its exit from the hills into the level country; and the canals supplying the city must have been directed through these very lands of Báyán and Mahígír, which Timúr found waste and desolate. The courses of the ancient canals of Beghrám are now very evident, from the parallel lines of embankments still to be traced. The site of Beghrám has, to the north, the river formed by the junction of the Ghorband and Panjshír streams; and to the south, the river of Koh Damán; but neither of these rivers are applicable to the irrigation of the circumjacent soil, the former flowing in low lands, perhaps one hundred and fifty feet below the level of the plain, and the latter scantily furnished with water flowing in a sunken bed. It may be further noted, with reference to Timúr's colonization of Mahígír, that the inhabitants of the district of Khwájah Keddrí, while forgetful as to whom their forefathers owed their settlement in this country, acknowledge their Turkí descent, and alone, of all the inhabitants of the Kohistán, speak the Turkí language. We might expect to detect a notice of Beghrám in the Arabian records of the early Khalífs, in the histories of the Ghaznaví emperors, and in those of Genghiz Khán.

That Beghrám was once a capital city, is evidenced by its Tope, a sepulchral monument of departed royalty; while a second, situated in Tope Darah, about nine miles west, may probably be referred to it, as may perhaps a third found at 'Alísalí, at the gorge of the valley of Nijrów, distant about twelve miles east. The appellation Beghrám must also be considered indicative of the pre-eminence of the city it characterizes; undoubtedly signifying the chief city or metropolis. About three miles east of Kábul, we have a village and extensive pasture retaining this name, which indicates the site of the capital in which Kadphises and his lineage ruled, and whose topes we behold on the skirts of the neighbouring hills. Near Jalálábád, a spot called Beghrám, about a mile and a half west of the present town, denotes the site of the ancient Nysa; or, if the position of that city admit of controversy, of Nagara, its successor in rank and consequence. Near Pesháwar we have a spot called Beghrám, pointing out the site of the original city; and that this epithet of eminence and distinction was continued, up to a recent date, to the city of Pesháwar, we learn from Báber and Abú-'l-Fazl.

We have indications in the Kohistán of Kábul of two other ancient cities, which were undoubtedly considerable ones, but which we cannot suppose to have rivalled Beghrám in extent or importance. The principal of these is found in Perwan, about eight miles N., nineteen W., of Beghrám, and consequently that distance nearer to the grand range of Caucasus, under whose inferior hills it is in fact situated. The second is found at Korahtass, a little east of the famed hill; and Ziárat Khwájah, Raig Rawan, distant from Beghrám about six miles N., forty-eight E. There are also many other spots in various parts of the Kohistán which exhibit sufficient evidences of their ancient population and importance; but these must be considered to

have been towns, not cities. In the valley of Panjshír we have more considerable indications, and we are enabled to identify three very extensive sites of ancient cities; but which, from the character of the country, and the limited extent of its resources, we can hardly suppose to have flourished at the same epoch. In the Koh Damán of Kábul, or the country intervening between that city and the Kohistán, we discover two very important sites, which unquestionably refer to once capital cities; both occur in a direct line from Beghrám to Kábul, under the low hill ranges which bound Koh Damán to the east, and contiguously also east to the river of Koh Damán; the first commences about eight miles from Beghrám, and is known by the name of Tartrung-Zar; the second is about the same distance farther on, and has no particular name, but is east of the seignorial castles of Luchú Khán and the village of Korinder; at this site we find a topo, an indubitable evidence of royalty; and connected with it is a stupendous artificial mound on the west bank of the river, constructed with elaborate care: the base appears originally to have been surrounded with a magnificent trench, supplied by the stream with water. Here, no doubt, was some important structure, a palace or citadel. At this day the summit is crowned with dilapidated mud walls of modern construction, and the spot is known by the name of Killah Rájput. In the district of Ghorband, west of the great hill range, which, radiating from the Hindú Kosh, or Caucasus, forms the western boundary of Koh Damán, we have very many important vestiges of antiquity, both in the principal valley and in its dependencies, particularly in one of them named Fendúkistán; we have reasons to believe that coins are found there in considerable numbers, and that there are some interesting mounds; but as we have not seen this spot, we refrain from speculating upon its character.

We have thus enumerated the principal ancient sites of cities in Koh Damán and Kohistán, both as shewing the former importance and illustrating the capabilities of these fine countries, and as exhibiting the fluctuations, in ancient times, of the seat of royalty in them. Beghrám, Perwán, Tartrung-Zar, and Killah Rájput have no doubt in succession been the abodes of sovereigns, as have most probably Panjshír and Korahtás. Our minuteness may moreover be excused, because in this part of the country we expect to detect the site of Alexandria ad Caucasum *or* Ad calcem Caucasi. It may be remarked, with reference to the sites of Beghrám and Perwán, that the former is called by the Hindús of the country 'Balarám,' and is asserted by them to have been the residence of Rája Bal; the latter they call Milwán, and assert to have been the capital of Rája Milwán. Milwán may be a Hindú appellation, but it has been also assumed by Muhammadans. . . . . .

It had been my intention this year to have secured every coin of every description that should be picked up from the *dasht* of Beghrám, and this purpose would probably have been effected, had I not been compelled to be absent at Jalálábád. A young man was however despatched thither, with recommendatory letters to my friends in the Kohistán, and to him was confided the collection of all he might be able to procure. On my eventually reaching Kábul, the young man joined with 1320 coins, from the appearance of which it was evident he had selected, and not, as ordered, taken all that were offered. It also appeared, that in consequence of the distracted political state of the Kohistán in the spring, the Afghán pastoral families had not as usual visited the plains of Beghrám at an early season. In the autumn, moreover, from apprehensions of a rising in this part of the country, the Afgháns sent their flocks to the Safí hills, the persons tending which are the principal finders of these coins. Under these unfavourable circumstances, I twice repaired to Beghrám, and at various intervals despatched my young men, and the total result of our collection this

year was five silver and 1900 copper coins. These are, of course, generally of the same description and types as those previously referred to (p. 80) . . . My stay at Jalálábád was, during the season of the year, unfavourable for the collection of coins; yet, independently of those extracted from topes, were procured 248 copper coins, among which two or three are novel ones, to be noted in their place.

Subsequent to my arrival in Kábul, I purchased in the bázár there, six gold, 176 silver, and 142 copper coins: some of these are important ones. I had also the fortune to secure a large parcel of silver Bactrians, a deposit discovered in the Hazárehját: among these are coins of a type likely to excite some interest. . . .

The coins of Eucratides I., so numerously found at Beghrám, are not to be discovered at Jalálábád any more than those of Apollodotus and Menander, considering always a single specimen no evidence that coins of that species were once current there, but rather that they were not. . . .

It may be noted that these two coins of Demetrius, the only ones, we believe, hitherto discovered,[1] have been elicited at Bukhárá. Among the coins obtained by M. Honigberger at Bukhárá, and which he thought worthy of enumeration, probably as being both Greek and silver ones, are transcribed in his memorandum,

1 Vasileos Antiochu.
1 Vasileos Dimitriu.
1 Vasileos Megalu Hiokraksu.
3 Vasileos Euthidimu.
5 Eucratides.

I have mentioned the discovery of a parcel of Bactrian drachmas and hemidrachmas in the Hazárahját, which we purchased from a Hindú at Charrakár, who some three years since received them from a Hazárah. I have not yet been able to ascertain the spot, or under what circumstances these coins were found. The parcel, 120 in number, comprised seven quadrangular silver coins of Apollodotus, 108 silver coins of Menander, and five silver coins of Antimachus. The day preceding that on which this parcel of coins came into my possession, I received from the dashts of Beghrám, a silver coin of the last-named prince, Antimachus. The beauty of the coins of Antimachus, the excellence of their execution and designs, with the purity of the Greek characters of the legend, allow us not to place this prince subsequent to Eucratides, whose coins in these particulars they surpass. Among 5000 or more copper coins, procured from the dasht of Beghrám, we have not discovered one of Antimachus; and the detection of a single silver coin does not seem to afford evidence that he ruled there, when the absence of his copper coins seemed to prove that he did not.

EXTRACTS FROM THE 'THIRD MEMOIR ON THE ANCIENT COINS DISCOVERED AT THE SITE CALLED BEGHRÁM, IN THE KOHISTÁN OF KÁBUL. By C. Masson.'

Two notices on the site of Beghrám, and of the nature of the coins found at it, have already been given. The collection of its antique treasures having been continued for three successive seasons, the results may be worthy of being presented in one view, both for exhibiting the exact state of discovery up to this time, and for

[1] There is a beautiful little Demetrius in the Ventura collection; see vol. iv.—J.P.

providing data on which to found inferences or to hazard conjectures on the curious and intricate subject of Bactrian history and antiquities.

It is not the object of this memoir to convey a full account of the present state of knowledge on these and other points, upon which, in truth, light is only beginning to dawn; but simply to narrate the fruits of our own labors, happy if they prove useful to those who, with superior advantages, and when sufficient materials are collected, will, no doubt, favor the world with some important work. We have, therefore, only to descant upon the coins found at Behgrám, and such, allied or connected with them, which may have been procured by ourselves in Afghánistán; and refrain, in the same spirit, from the delineation of any coins not actually found by us; and if such are alluded to, it is from necessity, and to direct attention to them.

The site of Beghrám, whatever its original name may have been, and whoever may have been its founder, yields evidence, from the coins found at it, of its existence as a city, which must, at least, have flourished from the epoch of Euthydemus, the king of Bactria, to that of the Muhammadan Khalifs—or for a period of nine hundred years. We have speculated on the probability of its pointing out the situation of Alexandria ad Caucasum, or Ad calcem Caucasi, and see no reason to change the opinion, viz., that the honor of being considered such, must be assigned to it, or to Nílâb of Ghorband. The detection of a coin of one of the Antiochi may prove that it flourished prior to the age of Euthydemus, as it undoubtedly will have done; and certain Hindú Bráhmanical coins[1] described as Class Bráhmanical, may, perhaps, verify that it existed subsequently to the Muhammadan Khalifs, or to the duration of their sway in Afghánistán,—at all events, it would appear to have been destroyed, in whatever manner, before the era when coins with Persian legends became current in these regions; as our aggregate collection of nearly seven thousand coins from its site has not been contaminated with a single Persian coin, unless fig. 9 of the just noted Hindú series have a Persian legend, which may seem to intimate that the city's extinction was about the period of the introduction of the language, which may have been contemporaneous with the rise of the Muhammadan sovereignty of Ghazní. The coins of its princes have Persian legends, to prove which, we have inserted a silver coin of the celebrated Sultán Mahmúd: none of his coins or of his father, Sabaktagín, have been found at Beghrám, where those of the Khalifs so numerously occur.

Although Beghrám, inferring from the presence of topes or sepulchral monuments on its site and in its vicinity, may be supposed at some period to have been a capital, which its name testifies, it will generally have been only a provincial capital; and this is worthy of note, because there may be reason to suspect that many of the former rulers in these countries, particularly the Greek-Bactrian princes, had distinct provincial coinages. Certain coins of Apollodotus, Antilakides, Ermaios, and Eucratides seem to countenance the suspicion.

It is presumed that coins constantly found, and in number, on any known spot, afford proofs of their having once been current there, and that the princes whom they commemorate, whether as paramount or tributary sovereigns, held also authority at that spot. The numbers in which coins may be found, may, perhaps, furnish a criterion upon which we may calculate,—first, generally, the duration of the dynasties denoted by the various types of coins; and next, particularly, that of the reign of each individual prince. A collection of one year would not furnish this criterion; a

[1] Of the Rájput, or 'bull and horseman' group.—J.P.

collection of many years might,—a statement is therefore annexed of the numbers in which the several descriptions of coins found at Beghrám have, during three years, been obtained;—and if it be seen that they are found annually in due numerical proportion, it may be of service in our speculations, assisted by the coins themselves. Indeed, of the recorded kings of Bactria, the coins are found in just the numbers we might expect, and confirm what we know as to the length of their reigns; and in some other instances of unrecorded princes, their coins and the frequency or rarity of their occurrence corroborate the conjectures as to the extent of their reigns, which other accidental discoveries seem to authorise.

The coins of Beghrám fortunately admit of ready classification, and may be reduced to five grand classes—I. Greek-Bactrian; II. Indo-Scythic or Mithraic; III. Ancient Persian, whether Parthian or Sassanian; IV. Hindú or Bráhmanical; V. Kufic or Muhammadan. The last class may chronologically be entitled to stand before its predecessor, the Bráhmanical one.

ENUMERATION OF COINS COLLECTED FROM BEGHRÁM DURING THE YEARS 1833, 1834, AND 1835.

	1833.	1834.	1835.
Greek Syro-Bactrian.			
Antiochus			1
Recorded Greek Bactrian.			
Euthydemus	1	2	3
Apollodotus	19	31	23
Menander	39	56	58
Eucratides	70	92	107
Unrecorded Greek Bactrian.			
Pantaleon	2	2	3
Agathocles	10	19	14
Lysius	6	5	3
Antilakides	8	16	13
Ermaios the Elder	34	31	27
Ermaios the Younger (?)	10	5	13
Ermaios	1		
Dika (?)	6	14	13
Lion and Elephant coins	20	23	24
Chaitya Symbol coins			11
Unadpherros	19	16	20
BAEIΛEVC BACIΛEWN CWTHP MEГAC	171	267	257
Analogous coins, fig. 104 to fig. 106	1	1	
Ditto fig. 107 to fig. 110	8	24	20
Ditto fig. 111	1	1	
Ermaios of Nysa, and his family	136	179	278
Archelius			1
Diomedes		1	
Ipalirisus	1	1	1
Antimachus		1	1
Adelphortos. (Spalyrius, J.P.)	1		1
Azilisos		1	
Azos [1]			

[1] It is a very remarkable circumstance that none of the coins of Azos, which were so numerous in the Ventura collection from the Panjáb, should have been met with at Beghrám.—J.P.

Indo-Scythic or Mithraic.	1833.	1834.	1835.
Kadphises	37	Numbers not preserved.	62
Kanerkos	24		4
Kanerki family	44		67
Series 3. Obverse, figure seated in native fashion	10		19
Series 4. 'Couch-lounger,' one foot up	56		175
Series 5. 'Elephant-rider'	56		73
Series 6. Reverse, bull and priest: Okro	254		492
Series 7. Very rude—reverse, female with cornucopia	113		161
Parthian (?) *and Sassanian.*			
As fig. 1 to fig. 6.[1] Small, head and fire-altar: As fig. 44 to fig. 51. and large, of all types.	161	"	278
Kufic and Brâhmanical	122		171

Beghrâm has not yielded one coin of the Arsacidæ, or one coin that we dare positively to affirm to be Parthian.[2] Coins with the Sassanian symbols on the reverse, or the distinguishing fire-altar, are very numerous; but it may be questioned whether they are coins of the Sassanidæ of Persia, and whether they may not rather refer to distinct princes, that we believe Persian authentic history attests to have flourished in these countries, as at Zabulistân, etc.

[1] [Pl. iii., vol. v., 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.'; 'Ariana Antiqua.' xvi., 18, 19, 20.]

[2] [One doubtful one is noticed at p. 546, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. v.]

XII.—NEW VARIETIES OF BACTRIAN COINS, ENGRAVED AS Pl. XXVIII., FROM MASSON'S DRAWINGS AND OTHER SOURCES.

(SEPTEMBER, 1836.)

Instead of pursuing Masson's recapitulation of all the coins hitherto found by himself at Beghrám, we have preferred selecting those only which were new in name or type, for illustration; on the present occasion confining ourselves to those bearing Greek inscriptions of the earlier class, and leaving the Mithraic, of which our author produces some highly interesting novelties, for a subsequent plate.

Fig. 1. A silver coin of Archelius, similar in character to the coins of Menander and Apollodotus.[1]

OBVERSE.—Bust of king; head bound with fillet or diadem; legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (δικα) ΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΛΙΟΥ. [ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ.]

REVERSE.—Jupiter Tonans, seated, holding sceptre in left hand. Compound monogram: legend in the Bactro-Pehlví character. The name is faint in the drawing, but is read with confidence by Masson from the coin itself. It may be read *A'lakiyo* (or *jo*); but if the second and third letters can be made *kali*, the word will represent very tolerably the pronunciation of the Greek name, A'kaliyo. The equivalent for Νικηφορου is an old acquaintance, Ajalado; but the middle letter is altered in form. The remaining epithet לשולק, which I have supposed to be represented in the Greek by δικαιου, is, in fact, found standing for this title, 'the just,' [Dhamikasa] in a coin of

[1] Col. Stacy writes, while we are correcting this proof, that he has just added another name to this group, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΜΥΝΤ. . . . but of this we are promised casts in a day or two: it is too late for the present plate.

Miscellaneous *Bactrian Coins.*

Pub. by Stephen Austin. Hertford.

the Ventura collection, figured as No. 9, of pl. xxi. [xv.] vol. iv. A more perfect and legible specimen will be noticed below in Masson's series (fig. 6), in which thes econd syllabic letter, *mi*, decides the identity; but the initial is more like *n*; and the penultimate is ו *a*, instead of ה *k*; but as the vowel *a*, according to our former observation, never occurs in the middle of a word, it should probably be read ב *d*, and we should thus have additional evidence of ה being the same letter affected with some vowel-mark.

Masson remarks on this coin: 'This silver drachma is an unique specimen found at Beghrám in 1835. It is evident that king Archelius must stand high in the list, but there is difficulty in locating his empire: if it be extended to Beghrám, why do we not meet with his copper coins?'

The same epithet, as Masson points out, may be observed on one of the Azos group of coins having the 'horseman' obverse (fig. 22) of pl. xvii. In our coin the legend was indistinct at the top, but in his drawing it is clearly [illegible].

In this the thirteenth letter should probably be ק, unless by some rule of orthography the epithet 'just' is combined by a permutation of its final, and duplicated with the commencing consonant of the following word, which may be recognised without difficulty as the representative of μεγαλου, 'the great.' We are indebted to Masson for the restoration of the inscription, which we have introduced in this place, because no other opportunity may occur of noticing this Azos coin.

Fig. 2. A silver drachma of Antilakides, discovered by Masson in 1835.

Obv.—Head of the monarch, with the peculiar hat or helmet common on coins of Eucratides, Philoxenus, Menander, etc., but rather flatter: mustachios on the upper lip (?); legend—as in the copper coins of the same prince—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΛΑΚΙΔΟΥ.

REV.—Jupiter seated, holding a small 'Victory' in his right hand: in his left a sceptre or trident: monogram compounded of the Greek letters P and K: native legend—. . . . [illegible] . [illegible] . . . . [illegible] . [illegible]—as on the copper coins.

Dr. Swiney possesses in the collection lately purchased by him from Karámat 'Alí a duplicate of this coin, which shews the completed Pehlví legend to agree with that given in my former notice. The device on the reverse of the square copper pieces of this prince—two beehives and palm branches, denoting, as Masson conjectures, Plenty and Peace—has been met with on a similar coin of Eucratides; in whose near association, therefore, it is probable the unknown Antilakides should be classed.

Fig. 3. An unique coin of Diomedes, found by Masson in 1834, and described by him in vol. v., 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', p. 24. In the memoir now before us he applies our system to the reading of the native name, which he makes out [illegible] *ajamido*, and argues thence that the Sanskrit equivalent for Diomed may be Aja-medha, a prince of the lunar race, who reigned at Kanyá-kubja. 'This remark,' he writes, 'is elicited from an observation in Mill's historical note on the Allahábád pillar ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', July, 1834), that the Chronicles of Marwar represent Nayana Pál as having conquered Kanauj in the year 470 A.D. from king Aji-pála, a descendant of Aja-medha. We here find a dynasty bearing the common name of Aja (identical with the Greek Azos), and suspected by Tod to have been of Scythic origin.'

We may remark, however, in opposition to this ingenious conjecture, that the Sanskrit name Aja is but a corruption of Ajaya, 'the unconquered,' and therefore might more appropriately represent the Greek ανικητος than Azos, which latter I have, indeed, elsewhere conjectured might be found in the Yavana-aso of Hindú tradition.[1] Moreover, the first letter of the present legend

[1] In the Kashmír list of the 'Rája-taranginí,' there is a prince named *Axa* (transcribed *Aj* in the Persian of the 'Ayín-i Akbarí'), whose date by Wilson is 100 B.C.,

may probably be 𐨗, which would give the reading 𐨗𐨪𐨫𐨗𐨯 *daya-mido*, in exact accordance, as to pronunciation, with the Greek.

Fig. 4 is taken from a drawing by M. Court, who has been fortunate in finding a new type of this curious copper coin, the reverse of which usually presents the figure of a naked horse. (See 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. iv., p. 343).

The present reverse exhibits the prince holding an olive-branch and spear, implying peace or war, in either hand. From the collation of many specimens of the 'horse' variety, and one small one like the above, Masson makes out the full inscription to be ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΠΑΙΥ the Η apparent at the commencement of the lower line being the missing Σ of the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. This reading is confirmed by more than a dozen examples, but still it leaves us with a most unpronounceable appellation. It may possibly be only a preservation of the epithet ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. In Masson's small coin the monogram ⊓ appears to be the triple blade of a trident reversed, which the figure is holding.

Fig. 5—an unique—is also extracted from Court's collection. It assimilates with the numerous class of Azos coins having on the obverse a horseman with extended arm. The inscription has much the appearance of Pehlví, but this may proceed from the indistinctness of the Greek letters. The monogram is very peculiar and curious, from the circumstance of its constant occurrence on the degenerate gold coins of the Kadphises group.

The reverse is quite in the Roman taste. Two soldiers seem to be crowning their successful chief, who rests on a kind of club. The name in the legend below is, happily, most distinct, 𐨟𐨁𐨪𐨁𐨗𐨯; the fourth letter is doubtful, but if read 𐨁 the combination may be hesitatingly transcribed Yatilariko.

Of fig. 6 three examples are known; one in the Ventura collection was depicted in pl. [xv.] It was copied hastily, and I have now reason to think I must have omitted a letter, having then engraved the name ΑΔΕΛΦΟΡΟΥ. The two new drawings, one by Court, the other by Masson, (both agreeing perfectly) from which the present engraving has been taken, leave no doubt of the correct reading being ΣΠΑΛΤΡΙΟΥ [ΣΠΑΛΤΡΙΟΣ] ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, 'Spalyrius the just, brother of the king.' The first letter may possibly be an Ε, or it may be superfluous,

but when corrected for the epoch of Asoka, about A.D. 180. He, too, may be one of our Azos family;—but if we go by resemblance of name only, we shall be liable to lay hands on the great Asoka himself as the founder of the line!

and the name be read Palyris, but the ϒ on the right hand of the coin is too distinct to permit Masson's reading of the name, ΑΔΕΛΦΟΡΤΟΥ, or my former reading, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΡΤΟΥ. It is a very curious circumstance that the prerogative of coining should thus have been delegated to a brother, and we have, unfortunately, no further means of ascertaining who this indulgent sovereign may have been, further than he probably belonged to the numerous dynasty of Azos and the 'great king.'

On the reverse, we have either Hercules with his club, or more probably, from the attitude, a musician playing on a kind of guitar. The Pehlví is very distinct on three sides; and, in conformity with the Greek on their parallels, the word for 'king' is wanting. It would doubtless have been found in the lower compartment. The remainder, borrowing two first letters from Masson, reads [illegible] (𐬀𐬭). All that can be certainly extracted hence is that [illegible], as before noticed, is equivalent to ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. The name is unintelligible, and the word for brother, *ulafarmo*, approaches to no fraternal etymon with which we are acquainted, unless the first letter be ב *d*, with a vowel-mark, which would express something like the Greek itself, *delpharmo*! [Spalhára Putrása Dhamiása Spalagadamasa.]

Fig. 7. Here again our author's labours of 1835 have enabled him to clear up one of our doubtful names (pl. xv., fig. 9,) and to correct his own reading of last year, (see 'J.A.S.B.', vol. v., p. 25) where he supposed it to be ΠΑΛΗΡΚΟΥ. From the native legend I had supposed the word might be read *ulidizou*. The real name and title is now made out from six very distinct samples sent to Masson from Munderaur of Lughmán which were in excellent preservation, having still upon them the lime cement which had been used in depositing them in some tomb. It runs thus; ΒΑϹΙΛΕѠΝ ΒΑϹΙΛΕѠϹ ΜΕΓΑΛ□Υ ΙΠΑΛΙΡΙϹ□Υ, a name which betrays a kind of patronymic affinity to the last mentioned Spalyrius; while in the style of coin there is also a remarkable similarity. The divinity on the reverse is, however, a Jupiter in his celestial chair. The native legend is easily brought to agree with the Greek, through the facile mutation of letters of acknowledged similarity; thus the ה *u* must be a ו *p*; and the ד *di* must be ל *ri*: and thus the context will become [illegible] *malakáo malakko palirijo*, the epithet *μεγαλου* seeming to be omitted [Máhárajasa Máhátakasa Spalirisasa.]

Figs. 8 and 9. These two coins, made known in Masson's first memoir, I have now had an opportunity of engraving from specimens in Swiney's purchased cabinet. The Pantaleon of fig. 8 is quite legible, and the curious and unknown letters of the reverse are distinct, and perfectly accordant with Masson's original drawing. The word

ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ however, is only partially visible on fig. 9, and is completed on his authority. In other respects the two coins are identical, having a dog or panther on the obverse, and a clothed female on the reverse, with a flower in the right hand. The similarity of the native character to the alphabet of the Indian láṭs has been before noticed, as well as the frequent occurrence of the Swastika and Chaitya symbols on coins of this group (see pl. [xx]).

Fig. 10 is introduced from Masson's plates as a more perfect specimen of the Hercules-reverse type than any in my former plate [xviii.], as regards at least the Greek legend, which is here evidently ΒΑΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡ□Σ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙ□Υ. This Ermæus differs from his namesake in the reverse, and in the great corruption of the Greek; but it is possible that the piece may have been contemporaneously struck at a provincial mint; and in such case, if cities may be recognised—as among the Greek coins—by their tutelary deities, we shall find a clue to the appearance of Ermæus' name on the following coin, fig. 11, which bears the reverse of the naked horse. It might, perhaps, be allowable to assign this horse as the armorial symbol of Bucephalia, while the Hercules might be attributed to some town conspicuous for his worship: the 'Victory' to Nicea; and Jupiter to one of the Alexandrias (being the general reverse of the Alexandrine coins.)

The native legend on fig. 11 is the genuine Pehlví one of Ermæus; but that on fig. 10 is of the modified character so puzzling to the decypherer. It passes unaltered through a succession of princes, and may perhaps therefore embrace only their titles.

Fig. 12. It was from dubious authority that I added the name of ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ to this group. Masson's researches have now given authentic evidence that I did so justly. He has, this year, fallen upon two coins in which the name is quite distinct. It is remarkable, however, that the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is here for the first time omitted, and the foreign expression ΧΟΡΑΝΟΥ introduced. This, it will be remembered, is precisely the transition that is traced in the Indo-Scythic or Mithraic series of Kanerkos; and thus we have pretty strong grounds for inferring that the change was simultaneously effected in various provinces of the empire of the foreign (or domestic) usurpers who supplanted the dynasty of Bactrian descent.

There is, however, another very curious circumstance to be noted in regard to fig. 12. The Greek legend is Κ□Σ□VΛ□ ΚΑΔΦΙΖ□Υ Χ□Ραvου. Now, as good luck would have it, Mr. Neave, of the Civil Service, has just favored me with a few old coins picked up in the Mofussil, among which is one, in excellent preservation and well executed, of the ΚΑΔΑΦΕΣ.... kind described in my former paper [pl. xviii.] The name

on this coin (which I have engraved as fig. 14), is very clearly KOZOAA KAAAΦ . . . which is just such a deviation from the orthography of Masson's coin, KOΣOΥAO KAAΦIZOΥ, as a provincial dialect, added to the difficulty of expressing native names in a foreign alphabet, would justify and explain. The name on two of the coins of pl. xviii. may be also read KOZOAA.

Among several coins of the same class in the collections of Cunningham and Swiney, as well as in Masson's plates, other variations of the spelling occur, KOΣΣΥAO, KOZOVAO, etc., until at last the word becomes utterly illegible.

In a private letter from M. Jacquet, of the Paris Asiatic Society, that gentleman expresses his conviction, after seeing Dr. Martin Honigberger's coin, that the name we have called KAAΦIΣHΣ should be written MOKAAΦIΣHΣ, which he supposes equivalent to the Sanskrit Mahatrishi; but I think we have abundant evidence against such a conclusion, since we can now produce at least three individuals of the family name of Kadphises. Thus—

Fig. 13, copied from a drawing in Court's memoir, has the legend ZAΘOΥ KAAAΦEΣ(ου) XOPANOΥ; while, on the gold coins, we have already adduced numerous instances of MO, OOHMO or OOKMO, attached to the same. We shall take some future occasion to place all these varieties under review together; meantime the French ships[1] of the season will, it is hoped, enable us to profit by the disquisitions of the learned of Paris on this highly interesting question.

Figs. 15, 16. Small coins found by Masson in 1835, at Beghrám. The execution is neat, and evidently Bactrian, but the names are defaced. The caduceus of fig. 15 is to be met with on the coins of Menander, and particularly on those of Mayos.

It must not be supposed that Masson's labours during the past year have been productive of no other novel results than those above-mentioned. He has brought to light many new types of the Mithraic series, which I shall reserve for a future plate; besides a very numerous series of what he has correctly designated Indo-Sassanian coins, to which, hitherto, we have paid too little attention. To make their study useful would involve the necessity

[1] [These were the days when India was dependent on sailing vessels for news as well as merchandise. The ninety days' passage at a given period of the year is now exchanged for a fortnightly communication seldom exceeding forty days.]

of reviewing carefully the well-known Sassanian coins of Persia proper; a task, unfortunately, rendered almost hopeless by the great indistinctness and perplexity of the Sassanian alphabet. I must not, however, on this account keep back the new and curious coins with Nágarí characters of which the Beghrám collection boasts.

In conclusion, I must once more offer a tribute of admiration for the indefatigable and successful exertions of the collector of these Bactrian relics; and express a hope that his extensive collection, now consisting of 7000 coins, may be deposited in our national museum by the East India Company, to whom it is presumed they have been annually consigned.

XIII.—NEW VARIETIES OF THE MITHRAIC, OR INDO-SCYTHIC SERIES OF COINS, AND THEIR IMITATIONS.

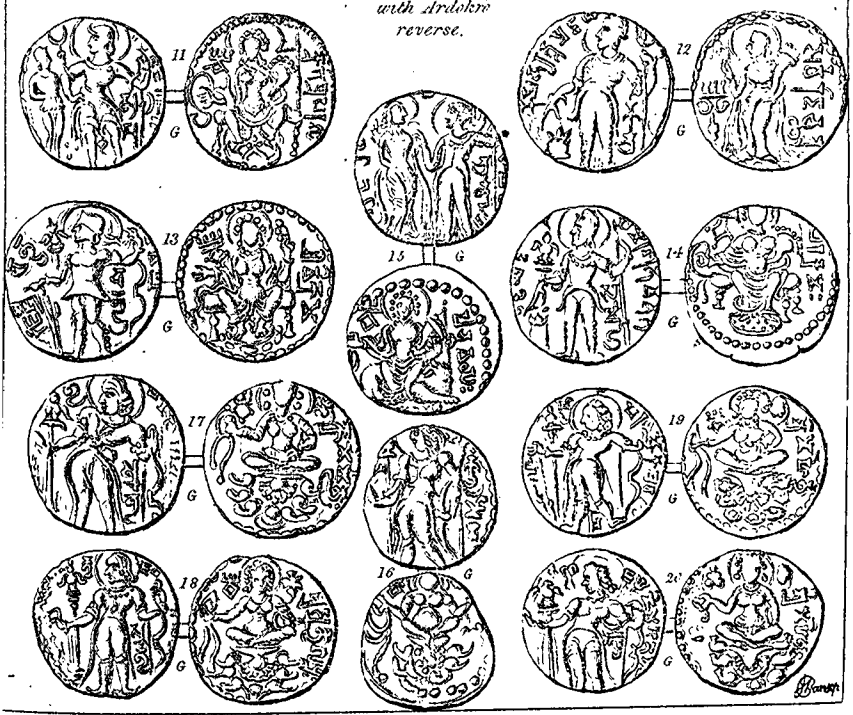
From the variety of the Mithraic reverses already made known, it might have been imagined that the series was nearly exhausted. Every year, however, adds a few new types to our previous list, or produces finer samples of those hitherto considered indistinct. So multiplied, indeed, are our resources at the present time, that we can afford to be fastidious, and not only reject coins of the baser metals, but limit the admission even of golden novelties to those of one size, weight, and value!

My object in pl. xxix. is to develope more fully the transition from the Mithraic or Indo-Scythic coinage to the Hindú series, for which my numerous friends have furnished even more unequivocal links than those engraved in my former plate, xxvi. (xxxviii. of vol. iv). I must begin, however, with a few novelties of the true Mithra type.

Fig. 1 is the first to rivet our attention and curiosity. It is an unique of MASSON'S discovery. The obverse has the usual standing figure of the Rája sacrificing, with the legend PAO NANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO. The reverse has an armed figure, nearly the counterpart of the other, but without any altar, and with the usual monogram: the legend being, in Masson's drawing, OPAAΓNO. Not having the coin

MITHRAIC & HINDU COINS.

Hindu Coins. Canouj Series.
with Ardokro reverse.



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itself before me, the reading I venture to substitute for this is, of course, liable to correction; but the strong similitude between the commencement of this legend and of the two curious ones formerly noticed, namely, APΔOXPO and APΔHΘPO, leave little doubt in my mind that the one before us should be read APΔAΓNO; the word AΓNO representing the Sanskrit अग्नि *agni*, the god of fire; whom we may reasonably suppose to be substituted for Athra, as the Sanskrit अर्क *arka* has been for Mithra, in the Indianized designation, OKPO. The Pehlví affix APΔ *arda* (generally written APTA by the Greeks), implying 'the great,' has an evident connection with अर्य्य *arya*, a common Sanskrit epithet of the same signification, 'excellent'; or आर्य्य *árya*, 'holy, venerable'; as अर्य्यमन् *aryaman*, 'the sun,' आर्य्यवर्त्त *áryavarta*, 'the holy land,' (India) etc. 'Aria' also occurs, in combination, in Persian names beginning with consonants, as Ariobarzanes, king of Armenia,—a derivative from Berzin, the planet Jupiter of the Mithraic system.[1]

Further search, should these conjectures be well grounded, will probably bring to light coins with the single appellation AΓNO, which has not hitherto been observed.

Fig. 2 is misplaced: for the imperfection of the Greek legend on the obverse ought to condemn it to a lower grade in chronological order. All those legends which have the family name of KANHPKI are clear and better formed than those of OOHPKI, to which this coin belongs. The latter, too, have generally the bust of the sovereign substituted for the full-length sacrificer. The name on the reverse of fig. 2, ΦAPO, is new; nor is it at first very obvious what meaning it may be intended to convey. It cannot well be a corruption of AΘPO, because the standing figure faces the opposite way, holds a spear, and wants the flames on his shoulders. Masson observes, on this coin: 'Here is another peculiar legend, but evidently signifying the Sun as source of light and majesty. *Pharos* was the term applied to the Alexandrian light-house, and Pharoah is the well-known scriptural title of the old Kings of Egypt. The bust on this coin affords a remarkable contrast to other coins of the family.' It is certainly probable that the word has some affinity to the Greek φαος, *lumen, dies, solis ortus*, but no more than is naturally found between languages of a common origin. The word *Phraa*, or something like it, certainly existed in the ancient language of Persia, as the personification of light or heat, analogous to Mithra, the sun.[2] In compounds it is frequently found, as in Phraates, Phraortes, Farnaces, and Phradates; the latter

[1] Vaillant, 'Ars. Imp.' i. 183.

[2] *Phre*, in Egyptian, has precisely the same meaning as *mihr* in Persian, 'king, prince.'

being altogether congenerous with Mithradates, or, as the Greeks translated the name, Apollodotos. From the same root are descended the modern Persian verb افروختن 'to inflame,' whence افروز 'illuminating,' so often employed in compounds. Perhaps the uncouth name of Unad-Pherrou, on a numerous class of the deteriorated Bactrian coins, may spring from the same root.

Vaillant, however, gives a different, and, I think, a less satisfactory etymology of the above class of names in his history of the Arsacidæ. 'Phriapates seu et Phrapates, idem ac Aphra Pates, seu et Papatius; nam apud Persas idem Aphra est, ac Pa apud Turcas Scythasque, scilicet elevatus, supremus, maximus, quæ nominibus propriis ut et *art* præponuntur.' ('Arsac. Imp.' i. 2). Now, if the word Aphra be merely an intensitive preposition, like the Sanskrit पर् *para*, the Persian بر *bar*, the Greek παρα, and the Latin *præ* or *per*; the word to which it is affixed should be a significant adjectival noun, as पराक्रम: *parákrama* 'the very heroic'; اردشير *Ardashír* (Artaxerxes) 'the great lion' or 'very valiant,' etc. The participial nouns Mithradates (*quasi* مهرداد 'the given of Mithra'), and Phradates (افراداد 'the given of Phrá'), require the first member of the compound to be a noun.

Fig. 3. A type familiar to us, in copper; and known before in gold of a smaller size. It was, in fact, one of the two coins first extracted by Ventura from the Manikyála tope. In Masson's coin, the spelling accords with the vernacular pronunciation MIIPO, and the solar glory is irradiated on its edge, to shew more plainly its reference.

Figs. 4 and 5. Two more gold coins of Masson's collection, having the legend of the reverse respectively NANO PAO and NANA, both proved to be equivalent to NANAIA by the peculiar attitude of the allegorical image. The introduction of PAO in the first of the two would almost seem a mistake of the engraver, who had in his mind the PAO NANO PAO of the obverse. I have nothing to add to my former remarks on the word itself, except to draw attention to an extract from the Armenian Chronicles with which Mr. Avdall has favored us, proving that NANAIA and the Persian Anahid were not positively identical, each having her separate temples and votaries, even in Armenia. 'Anahid was the tulelary goddess of our country, and was known equally by the names of Artemis and Aphrodite in our mythological works. She was always considered identical with the planet Venus, though possessing all the attributes of Diana.' As *nanea*, on Mr. Avdall's authority, means 'maternal' or 'motherly,' it would hardly be proper to ascribe such a designation to the moon, the chaste Diana; neither has her effigy on our coins the lunar emblem, so distinctly portrayed on the MAO and some other types. Rather, then, let her be constituted the

Venus of the group, who plays an equally conspicuous part in the Mithraic system.[1]

Fig. 6 is a gold coin, from Court's drawing, of the AΘPO reverse. The obverse legend is PAO NANO PAO OOHPKI KOPANO.

Fig. 7 is likewise from Court's collection. In it I was struck by the strong resemblance of the head-dress to that of the Parthian or Sassanian coins. The legend is wanting, and that of the reverse is quite illegible, though the monogram and device are in a perfect state.

Fig. 8 has been already engraved in my plate of the Manikyála relics; but as one of the most interesting of the Mithraic series, it could not be denied admission in a plate exclusively devoted to them. I wished, further, to place it in juxta-position with the sitting figure of the APΔOKPO reverse, because it might be conceived to be the parallel Hindú lunar coin to that form of the Hindú solar effigy, OKPO.

Like OKPO, this figure has four arms, and is therefore Indian: further, it is a male divinity; and thirdly, it is identified with MAO, 'the moon,' by the crescents of that luminary arising from its shoulders. It must therefore be the Soma or Chandra of the Hindú Pantheon, who is represented with all these characters in Moor, though the later work of Coleman makes him to be a two-handed divinity.

The appellation MANAOBAΓO, which so puzzled me on the former occasion, has at length, I think, found a satisfactory explanation. مانگ *máng*, in Persian, is an ancient name of the moon; and भग *bhaga*, in Sanskrit, means 'splendour, glory'; and is given as a synonym of the moon as well as of the sun. In the Zend, then—the link between the Persian and the Sanskrit—we may naturally look for a compound of these two terms, such as *manao-bago*. It is well known that the mythology of the Saxons was derived from a Scythic or Central-Asiatic source, and their male deity Mona (whence our modern term, moon[2]), has been, by the learned, referred to the Persian *máng*. I have, however, found a much more convincing proof than these analogies afforded, that such is the correct explanation, in the Baron Von Hammer's Prize Memoir 'Sur le culte de Mithra, son origine, sa nature, et ses mystères,' Paris, 1833; for a copy of which I am indebted to the learned author's perusal of my observations on the curious relics from the Panjáb.

[1] The Baron von Hammer says that the word *neith* of the Egyptians is evidently the same as the Persian *nahid*—whence also may be traced the German *nacht* and the English *night*.

[2] In like manner I feel strongly disposed to connect the strange OAΔO of our coins with Odin or Wodin of the Saxon mythos, an acknowledged derivative from the Sanskrit बुद्ध *Buddha*, Mercury. It is not a little curious that the verbal root of two of our present days of the week, Monday and Wednesday, should thus be discovered among a parcel of old coins dug up in the Panjáb!

In the catalogue of Mithraic inscriptions discovered in various parts of Europe, the Baron points attention to one in particular among Gruter's collection, in which the word MENOTYRANNUS denotes the deified moon:

'Cette inscription est une des plus interessantes, à cause des deux mots de Menotyrannus et de Persidicus: le dernier indique l'origine persane du culte de Mithra: le Menotyrannus peut se traduire par 'seigneur du mois'; mais malgré les objections de M. Rolle contre l'existence du dieu Lunus, je crois que cette existence peut très-bien être prouvée, non seulement par tous les monumens astronomiques des orientaux modernes, dans lesquels la lune est représentée sous la figure d'un jeune garçon de quatorze ans; mais, encore par la coincidence de la mythologie Egyptienne, dans laquelle la lune, d'après les découvertes de M. Champollion, est une divinité mâle. Enfin, le mot MHN, dans lequel M. Rolle ne voit que le nom d'un mois, est effectivement un nom persan de la lune, qui s'appelle *máh* et *máng;* c'est le *moon* des Anglais et le *mond* des Allemands, lesquels lui ont conservé son genre oriental.'

After this we can have little hesitation in translating MANAOBAΓO 'lord of the months':—indeed, if we derive BAΓO from the Persian or Scythic بیگ *beg*, 'lord *or* prince,' we shall have precisely the corresponding term to *tyrannus*.

Fig. 9. A gold coin of Kanerkos from a drawing by M. Court. The *rao* in this seems to have a case for his bow strung behind his back. The reverse is similar to that of a fine coin of OOHPKI in Ventura's series (fig. 9, pl. [xxii.] xxxviii., vol. iv.), which, however, differs in having the bust in lieu of the full-length of the prince. The legend APΔOXPO has been before explained as 'the great sun.'[1] One of his attributes, it may be presumed, rather than the god himself, is intended, by the female holding the cornucopia—typifying the fertility he bestows on the earth.

Fig. 10 is a most important acquisition to our Mithraic series, as being the very link of connection between them and the Kanauj coins. Immediately after the publication of my former plate, Lieut. Cunningham wrote to me from Benáres, pointing out a coin in his cabinet of the class I had designated 'links,' having the seated female with the cornucopia, but more perfect than those I had engraved, inasmuch as the legend to the left was preserved and legible as APΔOXPO, the same as that of the standing figure. A duplicate of the same coin was also in Stacy's cabinet, and on reference to the 'Asiatic Researches,' pl. i., the letters of APΔOXPO were clearly legible on the reverse of fig. 6, a gold coin procured by Wilson from the bed of a tank in the Húglí district.

The cornucopia, as a device, seems to have been copied from the

[1] The OPOOKPO of the copper coins may be deemed a still closer imitation of the Sanskrit आर्यक *áryarka*. APΔ is the Persian orthography.

Roman coins of the Emperors. It is seldom or never to be seen on the genuine Greek coins; nor is it found on our Bactrain series until the age of Azos (with the exception of the copper coins of Antimachus and Philoxenus, the date of which is uncertain). Whether it bears any direct allusion to the legend may be doubted,—at least such allusion is entirely lost sight of the moment we pass the boundary into the Indian series.

HINDU COINS IMITATED FROM THE 'ARDOKRO' TYPE.

Since my former paper on the Gupta coins of Kanauj appeared, very important acquisitions have been made to our knowledge of this before unknown dynasty, through the medium of coins and of inscriptions; for both of which we are almost entirely beholden to the researches of Lieut. Cunningham and Mr. Tregear in the neighbourhood of Benáres.

The inscription, in an ancient character, upon the column at Allahábád, interpreted by Captain Troyer and Dr. Mill in vol. iii., 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' had made us acquainted with the four first of the family;[1] namely, 1, Gupta, a Rája of the solar race; 2, Ghaṭot Kacha, his son; 3, Chandra-gupta, his son; 4, Sámudra-gupta, the fourth in descent;—and there the Allahábád record broke off with an intimation that a son was expected.

The Bhitárí Láṭ brought to notice by Messrs. Tregear and Cunningham, fills up the line of succession for three generations further (see pl. xxx., vol. v. 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', October, 1836). We may so far anticipate the translation of this highly important record promised to us by Mill [see p. 240], for the illustration of our sub-

[1] See vol. iii, p. 344. [Prinsep's revised translation of this inscription is to be found at p. 233, *ante*.]

ject, as to state that the infant of Samudra was named Chandra-gupta II. His son was, 6, Kumára-gupta; after whom followed, 7, Skanda-gupta—and there again this new authority breaks off.

Now, to all of these (excepting, perhaps, the first), we can at present assign their respective coins from undoubted and numerous specimens; and the succession of the devices on the obverse and reverse will be seen to follow just so much of modification from the original Mithraic model of the Ardokro coin as would be expected when the normal source was nearly forgotten, and Hindú ideas ruled predominant. Moreover, we can, from our coins, add the name of Mahendra-gupta, and perhaps of Assa-gupta, to the list, and there is presumptive evidence of a second Samudra as of a second Chandra. Altogether we may reckon upon nine or ten generations, which, at an average of eighteen years, will fill a space in Indian history of nearly two centuries, of which no written account can be met with;—unless the passage in the 'Vishnu Purána,'[1] that the Guptas, a Sudra family, reigned over a part of Magadha, at the time of its compilation, be regarded as alluding to our dynasty. The sites whence their coins have been most frequently obtained, certainly agree with this description; but the date assigned to the Purána must in this case be carried back a few centuries;[2] and,

[1] See Wilson's analysis of the Vishnu Purána, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', i. 440.

[2] [I annex Prof. Wilson's full opinion on the probable date of the Puránas:—'The Puránas are also works of evidently different ages, and have been compiled under different circumstances, the precise nature of which we can but imperfectly conjecture from internal evidence, and from what we know of the history of religious opinion in India. It is highly probable, that of the present popular forms of the Hindú religion, none assumed their actual state earlier than the time of Śankara Áchárya, the great Śaiva reformer, who flourished, in all likelihood, in the eighth or ninth century. Of the Vaishnava teachers, Rámánuja dates in the twelfth century, Madhwáchárya in the thirteenth, and Vallabha in the sixteenth; and the Puránas

by the Mlechchhas of the Indus, must be understood the Indo-Scythians rather than the Musalmáns. But I had intended to confine myself to an enumeration of the new coins, and to postpone speculation until we are thoroughly acquainted with them. To proceed therefore:—

Fig. 11. One of two gold coins of Cunningham's cabinet (the first procured at Benáres, the second in Calcutta, now with Dr. Swiney). It is a duplicate of my own (from Conolly) with the unintelligible legend engraved as fig. 23 of pl. xxiii. It was then alluded to as having the letters a little different from mine, and was read *Kragipta Paragu(pta)*. Upon full consideration of each individual letter as compared with those of other coins, I do not think the second letter a *g*; it is rather a *bh*, and the reading altogether कुभावुपरगुज, *Kubhávu paraguja* (adding the *ja* from the obverse of my own coin, where it is quite distinct). Now, we have gained experience enough from our reading of this class of coins to expect that the legend, where it does not merely embrace the titles of sovereignty, will express some extravagant epithet. The final *ja* also (implying 'born of,') shews that the said epithet belongs to his father; and this will account for the omission of *ja* on one side of the coin, which would have the effect of making the epithet apply to the son also. The present compound may thus be made up of कु *ku*, a diminitive particle; भाव *bháva*, 'the mind'; उप *upa*, a particle implying similitude; रगु *Ragu* (for Raghu) the grandfather of Ráma, and ज *ja* 'born of'[1] or, united by,—*Kubháv-uparagu-ja* 'of the humble-minded, resembling-Raghu-born.' The name is unfortunately cut off from the margin. Two letters of it are visible under the rája's arm on the obverse, and look like ऋस *asa:* but on reference

seem to have accompanied or followed their innovations, being obviously intended to advocate the doctrines they taught. This is to assign to some of them a very modern date, it is true; but I cannot think that a higher can with justice be ascribed to them.'—Wilson's 'Vishnu Purána,' preface, ix. x.: London, 1840.—'Another evidence of a comparatively modern date must be admitted in those chapters of the Puránas which, assuming a prophetic tone, foretell what dynasties of kings will reign in the Kali age. These chapters, it is true, are found but in four of the Puránas, but they are conclusive in bringing down the date of those four to a period considerably subsequent to Christianity. It is also to be remarked, that the Váyu, Vishnu, Bhágavata, and Matsya Puránas, in which these particulars are foretold, have in all other respects the character of as great antiquity as any works of their class.' p. x.—'A very great portion of the contents of many, some portion of the contents of all, is genuine and old. The sectarial interpolation or embellishment is always sufficiently palpable to be set aside, without injury to the more authentic and primitive material.' p. vi.]

[1] I have worked out this solution, dictionary in hand; for the pandits could not aid me in the least: it is therefore quite open to criticism.

to my own coin, I have there no hesitation in reading it समुद्र *Samudra.* The coin is in this case wrongfully placed at the head of the group in the plate; but, as there are two coins to one in favor of the reading *Asa,* I still hesitate to remove it; for Assa-gupta is a known name in the Kashmír list; and it is, moreover, so like our Azos, that one feels inclined to discover in it a coin of Yavanaso himself, the supposed founder of this Kanauj dynasty.

Fig. 12. This beautiful coin is an unique in Tregear's possession. It is valuable on every account: as giving an additional link with the Mithraic coins (fig. 9), in the standing 'cornucopia' female; as adding a new and much desired name to the coin list; and as teaching a good lesson, in the most unequivocal and well-formed Nágarí, of the style of legend adopted by these sovereigns; to whom—whether from their extra-Indian, or their low origin, or their limited sway—the panegyrist seems to have avoided applying the usual epithets of royalty, Mahárájádhirája.

On the reverse, the reading seems to commence सर्वराजोच्छत्र *sarva-rájochchhatra,* 'the chhatra or overshadower of all the rájas'—then, on the right of the obverse, कामनरुत्तमज घ . . . . *Káma-naruttama-ja Gha(ṭot?)*; and, under the left arm, written perpendicularly in the Chinese fashion कच *Kacha,* 'Son-of-an-excellent-man-resembling-Káma, Gha(ṭot) Kacha.' The only portion of this inscription missing is the second syllable of Ghatot, which may be replaced with confidence. The rája is sacrificing on the small Mithraic altar, and is dressed much in the Kanerkos style, though more fashionably.

Fig. 13. Next in succession to Kacha comes Chandra. Of his coins I have already supplied several examples (see pl. xxii. fig. 18, also Marsden MLVII.), but to keep up the comparison of the reverses, I here insert a very perfect sample from Cunningham's cabinet, procured at Mírzápur. Legend, on the obverse—राजश्रीचन्द्र *Rája Srí Chandra* (the rest only partially visible), and, under the arm again, चन्द्र *Chandra*; on the reverse—श्री विक्रम *Srí Vikrama.* I do not find any instance of the name on this form of coin being written Chandra-gupta, although it is distinctly so on the Pillar Inscriptions. He is the first to change the 'trident' standard of OOHPKI for the *quasi* Roman eagle. He also prefers the bow to the spear.

Fig. 14. Cunningham's, from Gaya, similar to my own (Capt. Wade's) of fig. 16, pl. [xxii.] xxxviii. vol. iv. Fig. 17 of that plate is another; and seven are now known of the same type, dispersed among us: but few, if any, have the marginal inscription so well developed. As all the coins bearing simply 'Vikrama' on them may be set down to Chandra-gupta, so all having पराक्रमः *parákrama* may be

assigned to his son Samudra-gupta I. This legend is attached to the same sitting female as before on the reverse. The rája on the opposite face is just like his predecessors in costume and attitude, with 'spear and eagle' standard.

By means of Messrs. Cunningham's and Tregear's coins, added to my former specimen, the long legend on the obverse can be nearly all restored; it appears to be समर शत मतग .... विजयजतर .... *Samara śata mataga(ja)* .... which may be translated 'having the strength of 100 *mast* elephants,' and on the opposite margin *vijaya-jatara* .... In my former specimen, however, the final portion read *aparajita-davaja.*

Under the arm, the word समुद्र *Samudra* is written in the perpendicular form, the *u* being apparently placed above the *m*, because the *d* had taken its proper position below.

Fig. 15 is another Chandra-gupta, from Stacy's box, of which Tregear has a duplicate. Another is engraved in Marsden, fig. MLVIII. From the alteration of the device, and particularly the omission of the fire-altar on this coin, we might with plausibility set it down to Chandra-gupta II., but, on the same authority, we might make two Samudras; for these princes seem to have imitated one another so closely, that we find the device of the rája and his wife (?)—like that of the 'rája and eagle' standard—repeated on the Samudra coin (fig. 12) and, at a later period, on a coin of Skanda-gupta (fig. 24 of pl. [xxiii] xxxix. vol. iv.) with a change of costume. The rája's name on this coin is disposed in two perpendicular lines, one on each side of the spear—चन्द्र|गुप्त *Chandra-gupta*: the second line, not very clear in Stacy's coin, is quite distinct in Tregear's, which reached me just too late to be substituted in the engraving. On the reverse, the 'cornucopia' lady is seated on a sleeping lion, as if to express 'all will go on prosperously if ye rouse not the wrath of your ruler.' On the left hand are the words पच्छवय: in the ancient character. The upper prolongation of the *p* perhaps indicates an *anuswára*, and thus the reading may be पंच्छवय: *panch-chhavaya*, 'the five excellences' to wit, of a king. There is a fault in orthography, however, here, as in the legend of Ghatot-kacha: the words should be written पञ्च छवय: *pancha chhavayas.* Whether the word *chhavaya*, 'light,' may have any allusion to the five luminaries of the Mithraic worship—the Sun, the Moon, Fire, Jupiter, and Venus—it is impossible to say; but that a king should possess five virtues we learn from various Hindú authorities.

Fig. 16. An unique in Cunningham's collection from Gaya. The female of the reverse having, in the last, quitted her Grecian seat, has been here installed in one of a more genuine Hindú character—the

lotus-flower. There is a peculiarity also in her attitude, both hands being turned up, and the elbows resting on the knees. The legend is unfortunately cut off. On the obverse, however, to the left of the usual rája, we have, in very conspicuous letters, superposed in the usual style, कुमार: *Kumára*—proving that this is a coin of Kumára-gupta, the successor of Chandra-gupta II., and thus far in accordance with the Bhitárí monument. Lieut. Cunningham has another of the same prince, of quite a different type (described in vol. iv. p. 637) [p. 280, see fig. 28, pl. xxiii.]; but what confirms Kumára's succession to Chandra II. is, that there are devices common to the two, which belong, as far as our researches yet go, to no others; as if, on the accession of the new prince, the mint had continued the preceding device, *mutato nomine*, until another was subsequently selected by the rising monarch. (See figs. 27 and 28, pl. [xxiii.] xxxix. vol. iv., 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.')

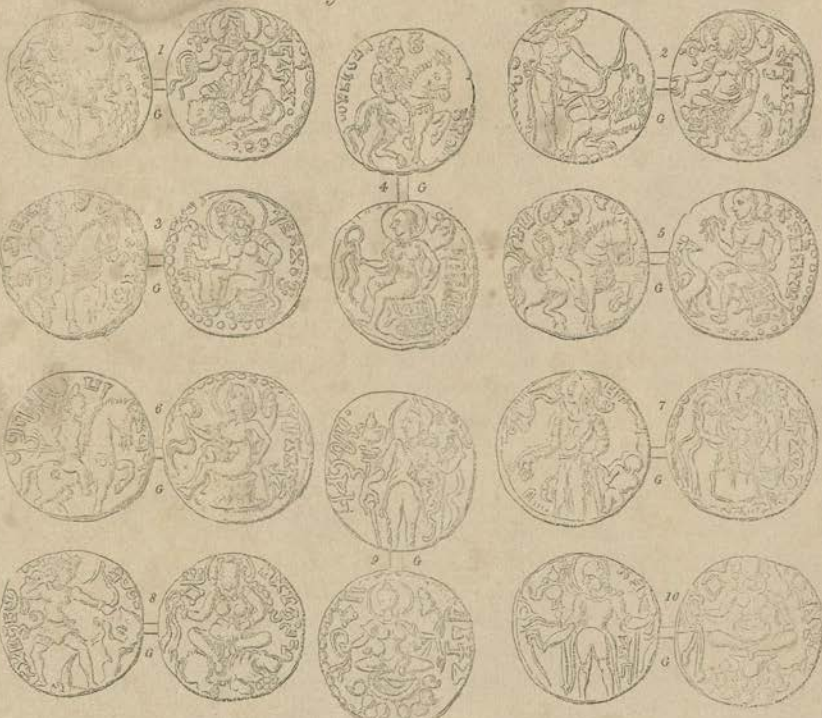
Figs. 17 and 18. For our acquaintance with the owner of the next coin in our series we are entirely indebted to Lieut. Cunningham. He first extracted his name from the Bhitárí Lát inscription, and subsequently traced it on these two unique coins in his own, and on one of my collection, already published (fig. 24 of pl. [xxiii] xxxix. vol. iv.). Fig. 17 is from Gaya, and fig. 18 was dug up near a village four *kos* from Gházípur.

On the obverse, the general attitude of the rája is the same as usual, the waist a little more fashionable, the gaiters absolutely those of the last century! and the hair or wig commencing to be curled in parallel rolls, as will be more fully developed hereafter. The name, perpendicularly disposed under the arm of both figures, is quite clear, स्कन्द *Skanda*; while on the reverse of fig. 18 it is as decidedly (in the old character) श्री स्कन्द गुप्त *Srí Skanda-gupta*, the very name of the Bhitárí lát successor to Kumára.

On comparing the plates—in the 'Asiatic Researches' and the 'Journal'—of the coin given me by Mr. Bacon, many years ago, and then thought rather suspicious, Lieut. Cunningham soon found its legend to be identical with his own,—a fact fully confirmed by re-examination of the coin itself. These three, however, are the only coins yet known of this name. One of them, 17, exhibits a new name on the reverse, for, unlike 18, it is certainly not Skánda-gupta, but क्रममन्द: *Kramamanda*, which may be looked upon as a rhyming epithet—'equal to (or surpassing) Manda' (Saturn or Yama). Mr. Tregear has lately got a duplicate of this coin, in which the reading is rather क्रमंवान्द:—one and both may possibly be intended for श्री महेन्द्र: *Srí Mahendra*.

Figs. 19, 20. We now pass to another new acquaintance made out

Canouj Coins. Continued.



Copper Coins of Chandragupta.

Second Series of imitations from the 'Ardokro' type.

Pub by Stephen Austin, Hertford.

jointly by Cunningham and myself on a general inspection of the Gupta coins. Fig. 19 is in the Society's collection, and is engraved as 14 of the plates in the 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xvii., unread by Wilson. Upon recognizing the final letter, न्द्र *ndra*, we soon perceived the preceding letter—which I had before mistaken for a *ph* or *n̈*—to be the old ह *h*; and thus, with the vowel above it, the name was immediately cleared up as श्री महेन्द्रः *Srí Mahendra*. Another coin from Gaya, belonging to Cunningham, turned out to be of the same individual as to the reverse, with some variations in the legend of the obverse. Under the arm of the latter, the letter कु *ku* seems to denote a Kumára; but, on the margin, are evidently the words जयते महेन्द्र *jayate Mahendra*. On the Society's coin, fig. 9, the marginal inscription is more complex—परमरजतर, as yet unintelligible; then, between the feet, श्री *Srí*; and, near the hand, the letter गु *gu* of 'Gupta,' the intervening name being cut off.

Pursuing the examination, we found the coins 29 and 30 of pl. [xxiii.] xxxix. vol. iv.—with the rája on horseback, and the seated female feeding the peacock—to belong also to Mahendra-gupta. 'Ajita Mahendra' on the reverse, and 'Mahendra-gupta' on the obverse of 30, are quite clear. I was before only misled by the letter *h*, which I read as the nasal *n* of the lát alphabet.

I shall have occasion to recur to this name in the next plate, which contains those new forms of the Kanauj coin that are without the 'cornucopia' female, and have not such direct analogy to their Mithraic prototype as is palpable in the whole of the reverses included in the lower half of the present plate.

(pl. xxx.)

Figs. 1, 2. These two coins, from Tregear's cabinet, are variations only of the original coin given to me by Conolly, now become celebrated as having opened the door to the understanding of the whole group. In that coin, however, the archer holds his bow in the wrong hand, whereas in the two present coins, and the one following, the position is rectified and the lion is better developed, particularly in fig. 2. Besides adding these fine specimens to our series, Tregear has made out the true reading of the legend on the reverse. Instead of *sacha* or *pradya* the word is सिंहविक्रमः *Sinha-vikrama*, 'the lion-hero,' which is consistent with the device, for it may be also understood as 'conqueror of the lion.'[1] To whom, however, this title is to be applied,

[1] It is remarkable that in most cases the word *sinha* (or more properly *simha*) is written with an unknown letter superposed to the ह. This must be the nasal *m*, for

would still have remained doubtful, but for the fortunate discovery of another coin, by the same indefatigable collector, in the prolific neighbourhood of Jaunpur, even while I was engraving the present plate.

Fig. 8, the coin here alluded to, bears precisely the same device, with variation only of the attitude of the warrior. The legend is different, the part visible being, on the obverse, श्री . . त महेन्द्र जय *Srí . . ta Mahendra jaya*; and, on the reverse, श्री महेन्द्रसिंह *Srí Mahendra Sinha.* Whether the Mahendra here designed be distinct from the Mahendra-gupta of the 'cornucopia' reverse, remains to be ascertained.

Figs. 3, 4, 5. From Tregear's collection. These three coins—bearing the rája on horseback on the obverse, and a female seated sideways on a *moṛhá* or wicker 'stool' on the reverse—are essentially the same as were lately published, (figs. 29, 30, pl. [xxiii.], from Burt's and my own coins) which I was then, however, unable to read satisfactorily, from misapprehension of the letter *h*. The legend is in all exactly the same on the reverse, अजित महेन्द्र *ajita Mahendra:* 'the unconquered Mahendra.' The female holds, in her right hand, variously, a flower, a noose, or food for an attendant peacock, like that of the Kumára coins.

On the obverse the legend is more variable.

In 3, we have the letters	अजित पुव	तविक्र . . . .
In 4,	not legible . .	तवि
In 5,	हय	. . not legible.

Fig. 6. (Tregear). This coin resembles in all respects the foregoing, excepting as to the legend, which is, on the obverse, beginning at the top, परमेश . . . . न्द्रगुप्तः *parameṣ(vara? Cha-* or *Mahe-)ndra-gupta.* On the reverse (the second letter being very clear on a duplicate coin in Cunningham's cabinet) अजित विक्रमः *ajita Vikrama.* This name so closely resembles the common pronunciation of Vikramajit (correctly written Vikramáditya), that, although it may not belong to that celebrated sovereign, it is very possible that matters appertaining to the history of the one may have been transferred to the other, and hence some of the confusion, so perplexing to the historian, have originated.

Fig. 7. An unique lately procured by Tregear. The rája on the obverse is of a peaceful character, with hand extended, but no altar. A diminutive attendant holds a *chhata* over his head. The letters on the margin are not legible. On the reverse, is the standing 'cornucopia'

which the anuswára is now substituted. In fig. 2 the letter is palpably an X *m*, to which is subjoined the ꣳ *h*; but in figs. 1 and 8, and in my coin, the letter has the form of ⊏.

female holding a well-depicted lotus-flower, with a lateral inscription which may be read विक्रमादित्यः *Vikramáditya*; but although the length of the subjoined *y* exceeds that usually found in the *d*, and the *di* is not much like the *ch*, it is probable that the word is, after all, only विक्रम चन्द्रः *Vikrama Chandra:* and we must not allow our sanguine imagination to rejoice in having at length hit upon a veritable coin of the author of the Samvat era; against which there is also a cogent chronological obstacle, in the date hitherto assigned to our dynasty of Guptas.[1]

Fig. 9 (Tr.) is introduced as a new variety of the Chandra-gupta coinage: only differing from the numerous class before described, in the legends, which are, very clearly, on the obverse श्री चन्द्र गुप्तः . . . . *Srí Chandra-gupta,* (the titles not legible) and, on the reverse, श्री विक्रमः *Srí Vikrama.*

Fig. 10, of Tregear's collection, was engraved as a doubtful name, but I think it may be set down as belonging to Skanda-gupta.

Figs. 11 to 15. This curious class of copper coins has not yet been brought to notice. They are, indeed, much more scarce than the gold coins of the same age, and hitherto only those of one individual of the family have been met with. It was not until Tregear's highly-curious specimen, fig. 11, had furnished us with the style of Chandra's copper coins, that we were led to re-examine our several collections, in which were found, and became legible, a few rare specimens of the same character.

Fig. 11 has the portrait of the rája on one side, with a smaller, perhaps female, figure on his left hand. On the reverse [a peacock]: below which, in very well defined characters, ... महाराज श्री चन्द्र गुप्तः (*Srí ma*)*hárája Srí Chandra-gupta.*

Fig. 12 is a demi-coin of similar stamp, one of two belonging also to Tregear; but, on the reverse of this, as in all that follow, the device is a bird, the same that figures on the military standard of the gold coins, and which, Wilson says, 'looks more like a goose than a Roman eagle.' The inscription is very well preserved, श्री चन्द्र गुप्त *Srí Chandra-gupta.*

Fig. 13 is from Stacy's cabinet: the obverse, well executed, represents the bust of the rája holding a flower; beneath श्री विक्रम . . . *Srí Vikrama*; the next letter may be च or म; but on the reverse are distinguishable the initial letters श्री च . . *Srí Cha* . . . . proving that the coin belongs to Chandra-gupta.

Fig. 14 is from Swiney's cabinet, in all respects a duplicate of the

[1] Mr. Tregear has since written that, on re-examination, the word is, palpably 'Vikramáditya.'

last, but the reverse legend is even more distinctly .... चन्द्रगुप्त the lower part of the *ndra* only is effaced.

Fig. 15 had escaped notice in my own cabinet. The head is more highly finished than in the other specimens, but the legend could not have been understood without their aid: it is .... न्द्रगुप्त .... *ndra-gupta.*

Before quitting this very interesting group of coins, I must not omit to notice the only silver specimen which has yet come under my observation; it belongs to Swiney, and is .... a forgery!—not a modern one, but an actual false coin of the period when it was struck. It is of copper thickly plated, but the silver plate is worn through in several places, exposing the interior nucleus. I have depicted it in pl. xxxi. fig. 21.

OBVERSE.—The rája in the original sacrificing attitude; under his left arm, the letters अजय *ajaya* or राजय *Rája y* ...

REVERSE.—Goddess (Durgá?) seated in the native fashion with cornucopia (or flower) and 'glory'—a small elephant with trunk uplifted for protection, on her right shoulder. The marginal inscription श्री प्रकणौ .... *Srí prakaṇau* .... the last letter may be double *n*, but in neither manner does it present an intelligible word.

SECOND SERIES OF IMITATIONS.

We now pass to another series of coins evidently descended from the same 'Ardokro' type coin to which the early Kanauj group has been so satisfactorily traced. In the latter case, we have seen that the Hindú artists soon quitted their original, and exercised a fertile invention in varying the device during several generations of princes: but in the coins we have now to notice, no claims to ingenuity can be advanced, unless it be for gradually barbarizing and disguising the original type, so that it would have been absolutely impossible to recognize the character of the extraordinary symbols on the later pieces, had we not a numerous train of specimens to produce, in evidence of the gradual deterioration. I had already more than once engraved specimens of this

curious series, thinking them to be merely the link coins between the *rao nano rao* and the early Kanauj series. Among the Manikyála coins was the only silver coin of the set on which I had particularly remarked legible Sanskrit characters; which were of a form and age differing essentially from the Kanauj coin alphabet (so called). But now, through Cunningham's careful scrutiny of all our available collections, I am enabled to produce a host of variable legends, which may be the means of developing by-and-bye a second royal dynasty of some other Indian locality, as successfully as has been the case with the Gupta family.

Henceforward my readers should understand, and they will, doubtless, soon perceive the fact, that my coin essays are joint productions, and that I have an auxiliary at my elbow, far better acquainted with the contents of, I may say, all the collections of coins in India, than I have leisure to become. With his zealous aid in hunting out the unpublished varieties of every class, I hope to make these notices complete as far as discovery has yet proceeded, and to do fuller justice to the numerous contributions I continue to receive from my numismatic coadjutors in the interior.

That the present class is totally distinct from the last, may be argued on many grounds: those are discovered in greatest quantity at Kanauj, Jaunpur, Gaya, and even occasionally in Bengal:—these are chiefly met with in Upper India, and in the Panjáb. Cautley has sent me one dug up in the foundations of his residence near Saháranpur; Mr. Dean dug up some at Samehana, near Dihlí: but the most important fact in their history is

the extraction of one of the lowest members of the group from the Manikyála tope by Ventura. Masson's large collection in Afghánistán does not contain one of this type, nor any of the first or Kanauj series. They are, therefore, purely of Indian growth. To Upper India, the Panjáb or Kashmír, then, we must turn our view in seeking the *nidus* whence they issued, and fortunately we have authentic lists of the sovereigns of some of these places to consult.

But first, to enumerate the coins:—

Fig 18. A gold coin (Stacy), weight 120 grs.,[1] deserves to be mentioned first, because the workmanship is nearest in perfection—in imperfection we might rather say—to the *nano rao*, or *Ardokro* original. The legs of the couch, cornucopia, and drapery, are well defined. The rája on the obverse has his 'trident' standard, and his right hand outstretched as over the fire-altar, but the altar is omitted. Under the right hand of the rája, both in this coin and in figs. 16 and 20, occur the letters **पश** *paśa*, either side by side, as in 16, or superposed, as in 20. Under the left arm, which is elevated to hold a spear, is another perpendicular combination of two or three consonants, apparently **स क** and **द्** with the vowel **ए** *e*. The same monogram (or rather polygram) continues through the whole series. I formerly took it for a sword-handle, which it exactly resembles when the lowermost letter is hid.

Fig. 20. (Stacy), the next best in execution, has the letters **श्री ह** *Śrí Kri* . . . . visible on the left of the female.

Fig. 19. (Tregear: duplicate, Cunningham), continues the word; **ह्रगोधाय** *Krigodháya* (?) or *Kribhodháya*.

Figs. 16 and 17 of my cabinet have the letters **श्री विश्व** . . . . *Śrí Viśva* . . . , or *Vikha* on the former; and **पसल** . . . . *Pasala* . . . (or perhaps *Visala*?) on the latter.

Numerous other specimens in gold might be enumerated, but they generally contain even less satisfactory fragments of names than the above. All that can be

[1] The weight of all these coins is nearly the same, being in fact the didrachma of the Greeks.

positively asserted is that the letters are Sanskrit, and—on these, at least—of the same alphabet as that we have designated No. 2 of the Allahábád Lát.

The silver coins of this second series are much more scarce than the gold and copper ones. The three I possess—represented in figs. 1, 2, and 3—appear also to be of a very debased standard, and to belong to a much later period. None of them retain more than the rudest semblance of the rája figure, and still less of the goddess: the latter has even been taken for a dagger, the former for a scorpion! The letters also are of a more modern formation, not differing much from those of the tenth century, found at Sárnáth and other places. Capt. Cunningham first pointed out to me the words श्री प्रताप *Srí Pratápa* . . . . on figs. 1 and 2.

[As proposed at page 232, I now avail myself of the opportunity of supplementing a revised catalogue of the Gupta gold coinage, prefixing in each case the references to the plates in the present volume, and inserting notes of any other examples of the different specimens to be found in the works of Marsden and Wilson. In regard to the plan adopted for the serial classification of types, I may premise that the alphabetical letters determine the leading characteristics of the coin devices peculiar to each class. Modifications from the standard exemplar are defined by distinguishing italics suffixed to the indicative letter; and mere varieties are marked by numerals prefixed to the literal denomination of the mint series to which they belong.

GHAṬOTKACHA.

CLASS A. Pl. xxix. 12. 'Ariana Antiqua,' xviii. 14.

OBVERSE:—Full-length figure of the king, clothed somewhat after the fashion of the Indo-Scythians: the right hand is extended towards

a small Mithraic altar, the left clasps a standard emblematic of the full moon.[1]

The marginal inscriptions on these coins are still imperfectly determined. The six coins I have had an opportunity of examining contribute the following letters:—

कमभिरुत्तमैर्जय कचोभुमवजत्य द्र or द्य.[2]

Prof. Wilson suggests the following reading:—

कर्मभिरुत्तमैर्जय[ति] कचोभूमिमवजित्य

'Kacha, having subdued the earth, secures victory by excellent deeds.'

LEGEND: (under the left arm)—क / चा

REVERSE:—Female figure erect, holding a flower in the right hand, and supporting a cornucopia on the left arm. The latter is supposed to identify the figure with the Párvatí of the APΔOKPO reverse of No. 9, pl. xxix., and No. 9 of pl. xxii. Monogram, variant of 155, 'Ariana Antiqua.'

LEGEND:—सर्वराजोच्छेत्त 'The exterminator of all rájas.'

CHANDRA GUPTA I.

CLASS B. Pl. xxx. 7. 'Ariana Antiqua' xviii. 1. Freeling[3] B.M. Eden.[4]

OBVERSE:—The king standing erect, his left hand rests upon his *khaṇḍá*, or straight 'sword,' while his right is advanced in the act of casting incense on the usual miniature Scythic altar. A *chhata*, the Indian emblem of sovereignty, overshadows his head. The attendant introduced below his left arm grasps the staff of the umbrella.

LEGEND:—व. क. मादित्य क्षितिमवजित्य सुचरत

Proposed modification:—

विक्रमादित्यः क्षितिमवजित्य सुचरति

'Vikramáditya, having conquered the earth, prospers.' (H.H.W.)

[1] ['Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', iv. 375. Inscription from the Temple of Harsha in Shekávatí, par. xviii. 'By whom was placed on the top of the house of Siva, his own appropriate emblem, the golden figure of a full moon.']

[2] [There is one letter, which I have been unable to identify, after the concluding द्य of the above transcript, which, as far as mere forms go, represents द्य or ह्य. The name of Kacha in the field has an आ over the upper consonant.]

[3] [Mr. G. H. Freeling, of the Bengal Civil Service—one of our most devoted numismatists—has liberally placed his entire cabinet at my disposal for publication.]

[4] [The citations thus noted refer to a collection made some years ago by Lieut. Cunningham, from whose hands it passed into the possession of the late Lord Auckland. It is now in the British Museum.]

REVERSE :—Female figure, similar to that in Class A., with the exception that the left hand holds the flower, while the right extends a regal fillet. Monogram, No. 159, 'Ariana Antiqua.'

LEGEND :—विक्रमादित्यः *Vikkramáditya.*

2 B. A second coin, also in the possession of Mr. Freeling, contributes the concluding portion of the obverse legend inserted above.

The reverse device, though identical in character with that of coin B, offers a modification in the attitude of the figure, which is here exhibited in full front view, and draped with the transparent garments of Mao and others of the Kadphises group (pl. xxii. 10). Otherwise, it is far more Indian in its treatment than the copy, from the Græco-Scythic models, to be found on the other coin. The monogram also differs from that in coin B, and assimilates to those found on the Ghaṭot Kacha pieces (pl. xxix. 12), except that it has the second crossbar as in No. 160, 'Ariana Antiqua.' The *Vikramáditya* has but one क instead of the double letter (क्क) in B.

These coins have been attributed by Major Cunningham to Chandra Gupta II.; but, on typical grounds alone, they must clearly be assigned to the first prince of that name; and I further draw the distinction, in regard to the titles, that the full *Vikramáditya* seems to belong to the third monarch of the family, while the *Srí Vikrama* remains special with the fifth of the race.

CLASS C. Pl. xxix. 15. 'Ariana Antiqua,' xviii. 3. Marsden, No. MLVIII.

OBVERSE :—Device: King leaning on his spear; facing him is a female figure.

LEGEND :—Marginal writing imperfect. (Under the arm) च|गु / क्र|त

REVERSE :—Párvatí, with cornucopia, seated on a recumbent lion.

LEGEND :—पंचवयः 'The five excellences.'

I assign the coins classed under C. to Chandra Gupta I., but with some hesitation; my chief ground for the attribution being the title on the reverse: there are, however, some minor typical indications that give strength to the assignment, especially the appearance on Masson's coin of the standard of the full-moon otherwise peculiar to Ghaṭot Kacha: or even supposing the staff, upon which the King's left hand rests, to be an ordinary spear or javelin, it is to be remembered that these weapons have definitively been superseded, in this position, on the coins on the Chandra Gupta II., by the bow, which he adopts from his predecessor, Samudra Gupta. In Marsden's coin, the family name of Gupta is inscribed in a line with the Chandra on the opposite side of the standard-shaft, a practice which seems to have been discontinued after the introduction of the bow into the coinage devices by Samudra Gupta.

SAMUDRA GUPTA.

CLASS D. Pl. xxii. figs. 16 and 17, xxix. fig. 14. 'Ariana Antiqua,' xviii. 6 and 9.

OBVERSE:—The usual standing figure of the king: to the left of the field is seen the small altar of the Scythian prototype, associated now, for the first time, with the 'peacock' standard (fashioned like a Roman eagle). The king's left hand rests upon a javelin.

Legends restored (margin):—

समरशतवततवजयजितरेपरजतदेवज

Proposed modification:—

समर शतवर्त्ततविजये जित्वरे पराजितदेवज

'Overcoming hostile kings in triumphant victory (over those) opposing in a hundred battles.' (H.H.W.)

LEGEND: (under the arm)—स मु द्रे.

REVERSE:—Párvatí seated on a raised throne, with cornucopia and regal fillet.

LEGEND:—पराक्रमः 'The powerful.'

2 D. British Museum.

Obverse device as usual, but the marginal legend is inserted in a direct line parallel to the javelin, instead of following the circle formed by the edge of the piece. The characters may be transcribed thus:—**ततविजयोजितरे**.

3 D. Major Bush.[1]

OBVERSE:—Device as in class D.

LEGEND:—As in class D. (On the sides of the javelin)—**स मु द्र | गु प्त**

REVERSE:—As usual in class D.

CLASS E. Pl. xxxiii. fig. 19. 'Ariana Antiqua,' xviii. 7 and 8.

OBVERSE:—The general outline of the device is the same as in class D, except that the 'peacock' standard is now adorned with pennons—and a further modification occurs, in the substitution of a bow for the previously current javelin, while the arrow in the right hand of the king supersedes the Indo-Scythic altar, which is henceforth usually discarded.

The legends are, ordinarily, defective, but a well preserved specimen in the Eden collection, B.M., supplies the following letters: **वत . . वजयत : य अप्रतिरथ वजत्यजितिमव**.

REVERSE:—Párvatí, as in class D.

LEGEND:—**अप्रतिरथः** 'The invincible in his war-chariot.'

This term is applied to Samudra in the Allahábád Lát inscription—**पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य**—'whom in his war-chariot none in the world can rival or withstand.' ('J.A.S.B.,' vol. vi., 975; *suprâ*, p. 234.)

CLASS F. Pl. xxxiii. 23, xxix. 11. 'Ariana Antiqua,' xviii. 10. Major Bush, etc.

OBVERSE:—Figure of the king, in a slightly varied attitude; the right hand rests on the hip-joint, the left is placed on the head of the battle-axe, which now appears for the first time: to the front of the

[1] [To Major J. T. Bush, of the Bengal Army, it will be seen that I am indebted for many of my illustrative specimens of this class of money.]

monarch is a standard surmounted by the device of a new moon, below or beyond which is the figure of a youth.[1]

(The 'Ariana Antiqua' coin reverses the position of the two figures.)

LEGENDS: (Margin)—क्षतान्त परशु राजाधिराज. 'Sovereign of kings, whose battle-axe is like Yama's.'

(Under the arm) स मु द्र

REVERSE:—The ordinary Párvatí figure, but her feet rest on either 'seeming flame,' according to the 'Ariana Antiqua' coin, or more usually on 'the leaves of the lotus,' in the Prinsep specimens.

LEGEND:—क्षतन्त परशु 'The battle-axe of Yama.'

2 F. B.M. Eden.

OBVERSE:—Type as usual.

LEGENDS: (left margin)—. जजतज .

(right ,,)—. क्षतन्तप .

(Under the arm)—क्ष.

REVERSE:—As usual.

CLASS G. Pl. xxiii. fig. 26.

OBVERSE:—The king is seated on a species of couch, or chair, and is engaged in playing on the *viṇá*, or Indian 'lyre.'[2]

LEGENDS: (Margin)—महाराजधिराज श्री समुद्र गुप्तः On the footstool are the letters सि.

REVERSE:—Párvatí, with cornucopia and regal fillet, seated on an Indian *moṛhá*.

LEGEND:—समुद्र गुप्तः (A coin in the Eden collection expresses the name समुद्र).

CLASS H. Eden collection. Unique.

OBVERSE:—The king, to the left, encountering a lion, against whom he is in the act of discharging his arrow.

LEGEND: (Margin, right)—व्यघ्रपराक्र(म) . . 'The tiger hero.'

REVERSE:—Párvatí standing on a fish, or some marine monster; on her right, a 'crescent' standard (as on the obverse of F.); on her left, a flower.

LEGEND:—राजा समुद्र गुप्तः

[1] ['Of him (Samudra Gupta), when the accepted son was pronounced to be the son of Devi, daughter of Mahádaitya—' Bhitárí Lát Inscription, p. 243.]

[2] [Samudra's 'accomplishments in singing and playing' are adverted to in the 24th verse of the Allahábád Inscription.]

CLASS I. Pl. xxiii. 31, 32. 'Ariana Antiqua,' xxiii. 2. Freeling.

OBVERSE :—A richly bedecked horse standing before an altar.

LEGEND :—**नवजमधः राजधिराज पृथिवी विजयत्य पृ**; below the horse, **सी**.

REVERSE :—Female holding a *chauri*; the figure is draped in the light garments of the Chandra Gupta I. style.

LEGEND :—**अश्वमेध पराक्रमः** 'The hero of the Aṣwamedha.' [1]

I have but little hesitation in attributing this coin definitively to Samudra Gupta. The 'Parákrama' title on the reverse would, in itself, go far to justify such an assignment, but the obverse title of Prithiví Vijayatya distinctly associates the identity of the monarch with Samudra, who has applied to him a similar style of eulogy in the Allahábád Pillar Inscription, where we read, **श्री समुद्र गुप्तस्य सर्व्वपृथिवी विजयनितोदय** etc. [2]

CHANDRA GUPTA II.

CLASS E. Pl. xxiii. 18, xxix. 13, xxx. 9. 'Ariana Antiqua,' xviii. 4. Marsden, No. ML.

OBVERSE :—Figure as above, E.

LEGENDS, imperfect. The following is a restored reading obtained from Col. Stacy's coins. (Margin) **देव श्री महराजाधिराज श्री चन्द्र गुप्त**.

'His Majesty, the auspicious sovereign of great kings, Chandra Gupta.'

(Under the arm) **च न्द्र**

REVERSE :—Párvatí seated on an elevated throne with cornucopia and regal fillet (in No. 18). The cornucopia is replaced by a flower in the later specimens (No. 13), and the throne is superseded by the 'lotus' seat (No. 9.)

LEGEND :—**श्री विक्रमः** 'The illustrious hero.'

2 E. No MLVII. Marsden.

The obverse device presents a modification in the arrange-

[1] [Wilson observes in regard to this type of coin :—'That the steed represents one dedicated to the Aṣwamedha, or solemn sacrifice of a horse, performed only by paramount sovereigns, cannot be doubted, from the inscription 'Aswamedha-parakrama,' 'he who has the power of the Aṣwamedha rites' ('Ariana Antiqua' 421.) See also Tod, i., 63, 76, 583, etc.]

[2] ['J.A.S.B.' vi. 978, *ante*, p. 235.]

ment of the bow, which is turned inwards and touches the side of the figure, while the चन्द्र is inscribed in the field outside of the bow-string. Legend, to the left, श्री चन्द्र गुप्त.

CLASS E *a*. B.M.

OBVERSE:—Figure seated somewhat as in class G, but the *vinâ* is wanting, and the left-hand rests on the couch, while the right is upraised.

LEGEND: (Margin)—देव श्री राजाधिराज श्री चन्द्र गुप्तस्य.

REVERSE:—Párvatí, as in Class D.

LEGEND: श्री विक्रमः

CLASS J. Pl. xxx. 6.

OBVERSE:—King, on horseback, proceeding to the right, with lance at the charge.

LEGEND:—परम भग . . . जा श्री चन्द्र गुप्तः[1]

REVERSE:—Párvatí, to the left, seated on an Indian *moṛhá*, with fillet and flower.

LEGEND:—अजित विक्रम 'The unconquered hero.'

KUMÁRA GUPTA.

CLASS D *a*. B.M.

OBVERSE:—Device similar to that in class D, with the exception that the king has the *khaḍḍá* as in class B, in lieu of the javelin.

LEGEND: (Margin)—गमव जित्य सुचरत कुमारा.[2]

(Outside the arm)—कु

REVERSE:—Párvatí, as in the modified form of F (XXX. 9).

LEGEND:—श्री कुमार गुप्त.

CLASS E *b*. Freeling.[3]

OBVERSE:—Device as is usual in class E.

LEGEND: (Margin)—महाराजधिराज . . .

(Below the arm) के म र

[1] [परम भगवतो appears as one of the prefixes to Chandra Gupta II.'s name in the Bhitárí Lát inscription: 'J.A.S.B.' vi. 4, *ante*, p. 240.]

[2] [The first and third letters conjecturally transcribed in the above legend are not to be absolutely relied on!]

[3] [This coin, though a cast, and in so far a forgery—appears to have been reproduced from a genuine original.]

REVERSE:—Párvatí, seated cross-legged on a lotus: the right hand holds a fillet, or at times, a flower: the left rests either upon the knee or on the side of the figure.

LEGEND:—श्री महेन्द्र *Srí Mahendra.*

5 E *b*. Pl. xxix. 20. 'Ariana Antiqua,' xviii. 12.

OBVERSE:—Device, as usual.

LEGEND:— . . जयति महेन्द्र . . . . (under the arm)—कु.

6 E *b*. Freeling.

OBVERSE:—Device, as in No. 3 E *b*.

LEGEND:— . . . व विजितावनिरवनिपति.

The full legend on the silver coins gives:—

देव जयति विजितावनिरवनिपति कुमार गुप्तो

Dev(o) jayati vijitávanir avanipati(h) Kumára Gupto

'His Majesty Kumára Gupta, who has subdued the earth, rules.'

7 E *b*. Col. Stacy.

OBVERSE:—Device, as usual. The name of कुमार गुप्त occupies the left margin. There is no name or initial under the arm.

E *c*. Pl. xxix. 16. 'Ariana Antiqua,' xviii. 11. The name of the king is given, in this coin, as above, but it offers the peculiarity of being placed in a line with the bow-string outside the arm of the figure, as in 2 E of Chandra Gupta II.

CLASS K. Type, similar to pl. xxx. 1.

(Unpublished coin of Col. Stacy's cabinet.) [1]

OBVERSE:—King, facing to the right, armed with a bow, shooting a lion.

LEGEND:—सिंहविक्रमकुमार [गुप्तपरिधि] सिंह महेन्द्र, 'Kumára Gupta, of might like a lion's, most prosperous.'

REVERSE:—Párvatí, seated on a lion; her right hand extends the fillet; the left, which rests upon her knee, holds a flower.

LEGEND:—सिंह महेन्द्र *Sinha Mahendra.*

[1] [This coin is also a cast from a genuine original.]

K *a*. Pl. xxx. 8.

OBVERSE: LEGEND— . . न महेन्द्र जय . . श्री . . . .

REVERSE: LEGEND — महेन्द्र सिंह

CLASS L. Pl. xxiii. 25.

OBVERSE:—The king, facing to the left, armed with bow and arrow, attacking a lion.

LEGEND:—महाराजाधिराज श्री . . .

REVERSE:—Párvatí, with fillet and flower, seated on a lion.

LEGEND:—श्री सिंह विक्रमः *Srí Sinha Vikramah.*

CLASS K *b*. Pl. xxx. 1, 2.

OBVERSE, as above, class K.

LEGEND:—?

REVERSE, as above, class K.

LEGEND:—सिंह विक्रमः

CLASS H *a*. Pl. xxiii. 28.

OBVERSE:—Erect figure of the king, discharging his arrow at a lion.

LEGEND: (Under the arm)—कु.

REVERSE:—Female figure standing, with flower in the left hand; the right is extended towards a peacock.

LEGEND:—कुमारगुप्त . . . *Kumára Gupta* . . . .

SKANDA GUPTA.

CLASS E *b*. Pl. xxiii. 22; xxix. 17; xxx. 10 (?) Marsden MLV.

OBVERSE, as in class E *a*.

LEGENDS:—Imperfect. (Under the arm)—स्कु

REVERSE:—Párvatí, seated, cross-legged, on lotus flowers.

LEGENDS: (on 22 and 17)—क्रमादित्यः *Kramádityah.*

,, (on 10 and 18)—श्री स्कन्द गुप्तः *Srí Skanda Gupta.*

CLASS M. Pl. xxiii. 24.

OBVERSE:—King, to the left of the field, holding a bow: the 'peacock' standard occupies the centre, and a female figure fills up the space on the right.

LEGEND:—Illegible.

REVERSE:—Párvatí, on lotus leaves, with flower and fillet.

LEGEND:—श्री स्कन्द गुप्त *Srí Skanda Gupta.*

MAHENDRA GUPTA (?)

CLASS J *a*. Pl. xxiii. 30. Marsden, MLIX.

OBVERSE:—Horsemen as in class J, but without the lance.

LEGEND:— . . त महेन्द्र गुप्त.

REVERSE:—Female seated on a *moṛhá*, feeding a peacock.

LEGEND:—अजित महेन्द्र *ajita Mahendra.*

VARIANTS. Pl. xxx. figs. 3, 4, 5. 'Ariana Antiqua,' xviii. 16, 17.

CLASS J *b*. Unpublished. Freeling.

OBVERSE:—Device, as is usual in this class, with the exception that the horseman is proceeding to the left instead of to the right.

LEGENDS:—Undeciphered.

REVERSE:—Párvatí, with peacock.

LEGEND:—अजित महेन्द्र. —E. T.]

(PLATE XXXI.)

On fig 3, on a former occasion I had already read श्री यग .... *Sri yag* . . . but, as there are traces of a cross-line to the loop of the third letter, I am inclined to adopt rather the reading यश .... *yaṣa* .... 'glory', forming, in composition, many Indian names, as Yasa Vigraha, Yaso Varma, Yaso Pála, Yaswant, etc.

The two earliest specimens of the copper series, figs. 4 and 5, are from Stacy's and Cunningham's cabinets respectively. The first has several letters in the old character: under the left arm, perpendicularly, सयध . . *sayadha*; and, on the exterior, मक . . *maka.*

Fig. 5 is, in reality, a forgery of a gold coin: the remains of the ancient gilding are still perceptible in the angles. The monogram is the same as in fig. 18 of the last plate.

Figs 8 and 9 are selected from Stacy's box as examples of the name of श्री प्रताप *Srí Pratápa* in the two forms of alphabet. Probably they belong to different individuals of the same family name.

Fig. 8 is a valuable unique in Dr. Swiney's drawers, with a multitude of letters that have usurped the natural position of arms, cornu-

copia, throne, and all such appurtenances! On the obverse are the letters जय *jaya*: on the opposite face, श्री विनद *Srí Vinada* or विरव *Virava*. . and, to the right, म(?)न्देद *manded*. . . .

Fig. 9. The word Srí is still perceptible.

Fig. 10 is introduced (from my collection) merely to shew the complete barbarism that finally prevailed. Such rude pieces are to be had in plenty, for one that contains a trace of writing. 'Pratápa' is the commonest name on those that are by any means legible.

THIRD SERIES OF IMITATIONS.

The next five coins of my plate represent a very numerous class of Hindú coins, grotesque but very bold in execution, and attempting refinement in the position of the right hand of the rája, and in the sitting posture of the reverse. Having pointed out the prototype—of the European coat, pantaloons, gaiter and wig—on one series, I must not pass unheedingly the epaulette so faithfully and curiously portrayed on the obverses of this series! I am induced to consider them a third instance of imitation of the 'Ardokro' type, from their general aspect and attitudes:—moreover, the cornucopia is traceable in the earlier pieces, as figs. 13 (Stacy) and 14 (J.P.) As they deteriorate, the limbs are lopped off, as usual, to make way for Nágarí characters! This is well exemplified in fig. 11 (Cunningham) and 12 (Stacy). Fig. 17 (Swiney) may be regarded as the ultimate degradation of the type.

Of legends, we have, in fig. 15, on the margin . . यो. . *yo*. . On fig 16, reverse, the letter ज *j*. On fig. 11, on either arm of the sitting figure, श्री दि *Srí di* (?) and on fig. 12, several uncertain letters scattered about, म य त च. In the last of the set, the letter ग stands alone.

It would be vain to attempt any explanation of such vague symbols. Of this series of coins, M. Court's drawings contained many good samples. They are plentiful in the Panjáb, less so in Upper India, and comparatively rare in Afghánistán. Masson has only given one, and that very degraded.

[Lieut. A. Cunningham, whose name is so frequently cited in laudatory and thankful acknowledgment by Prinsep, has since achieved a *spécialité* in this department of numismatics, by his comprehensive article attributing the third series of imitations from the APAOKPO type to their legitimate domain, the kingdom of the Rájas of Kashmír.[1] I insert an abstract of the decipherments published in that paper, leaving the modifications in the chronology of Kashmír, proposed by the author, for notice in their proper place in the 'Useful Tables.'

LIST OF COINS PUBLISHED BY LIEUT. CUNNINGHAM.

1. TORAMÁNA....	.....(common)	Obv.	*Srí Toramá(na)*
		Rev.	*Jaya.* [pl. xxxi. 13, 14.]
2. SANKARA VERMMA	(very rare)	Obv.	*Sanka(ra)*
		Rev.	*Vermma.*
3. GOPÁLA.....	(very rare)	Obv.	*Gopála*
		Rev.	*Vermma.*
4. SUGANDHÁ..	(very rare)	Obv.	*Srí Sugandhá*
		Rev.	*Devá.*
5. CHAKRA VERMMA ..	(unique)	Obv.	*Cha(kra)*
		Rev.	*Vermma.*
6. YASASKARA.....	(unique)	Obv.	*Yaskara*
		Rev.	*Devá.*
7. KSHEMA GUPTA.....	(rare)	Obv.	... *di Kshema*
		Rev.	*Gupta Deva.*

[1] ['Numismatic Chronicle,' vol. vi. p. 1, (1843)]

8. ABHIMANA GUPTA... (unique) Obv. *Abhima(na)*
Rev. *Gupta.*
9. NANDI GUPTA.....(very rare) Obv. *Nandi Gu*
Rev. *pta.*
10. DIDDÁ RÁNI (very common) Obv. *Srí diddá*
Rev. *Devá.* [pl. xxxi. 11.]
11. SANGRÁMA... (very common) Obv. *Sangráma Ra-*
Rev. *ja Deva.* [pl. xxxi. 12.]
12. ANANTA..... (rare) Obv. *Ananta Ra-*
Rev. *ja Deva.*
13. KALASA..... (common) Obv. *Kalasa Ra-*
Rev. *ja Deva.*

This coin was called Pádáka during this reign. A.C.

14. HARSHA..... (very common) Obv. *Harsha Raja*
Rev. *Deva.*
15. SUSSALA..... (very rare) Obv. *Srí Sussa(la)*
Rev. *Deva.*
16. JAYA SINHA.....(rare) Obv. *Srí Jaya Sinha*
Rev. *Deva.* [*Sinha*
Variant (very rare) Obv. *Srí Mesuta* (?) *Jaya*
Rev. *Deva.*
17. JAGA DEVA..... (very rare) Obv. *Jaga* [pl. xxxi. 15.]

MUHAMMADANS.

1. ZAIN AL 'ÁBIDÍN, A.H. 841, A.D. 1437.
Obv. السلطان الاعظم زين العابدين
Rev. ضرب كشمير في شهور سنه احد واربعين و ثمانماية
2. HAIDAR SHÁH.
3. HASAN SHÁH, dated A.H. 874.
4. MUHAMMAD SHÁH.
5. FATEH SHÁH.

I myself have had but few opportunities of improving the list of published illustrations of the coinage of Kashmír, but I

may mention the acquisition, some years ago, of a novelty, in a piece bearing the name of Bhíma Gupta. Mr. E. C. Bayley, whose cabinet is peculiarly rich in this series, has favoured me with the following note on 'The new names recently discovered on the coins of Kashmír:'—

'In the British Museum is a coin of Avanti Deva, who is placed by Major Cunningham in 1159 A.D.

'In my cabinet are several coins yet undescribed: of these one bears the name of Harya, a reading confirmed by a similar but less perfect coin in the cabinet of Sir H. M. Elliot. It is of an execution more nearly approaching to the Indo-Scythic coins than any yet discovered, and may, perhaps, therefore belong to Árya Rája, whose date, by Major Cunningham's calculation, ranges from 360 to 383 A.D.

'Another coin, reading *Srí U..*, can, from its execution, be only assigned to Unmatti Varmma, who, in Major Cunningham's table, is placed between 936 and 938 A.D.

'A third reads, apparently, Galhana, but is possibly Salhana, who is, perhaps, the Salha or Sahla of the lists, and whose date is 1110-11 A.D.

'Besides these, there is a coin of similar type and execution to the last, and of about the same period, which reads, clearly, *Pratápa*. No such name appears, however, so low down in the Kashmír lists, and it must belong, therefore, to some petty usurper; or is, perhaps, an indication that the type of the Kashmír coinage was adopted also by some of the small neighbouring kingdoms.

'In addition, moreover, to the coins of the Muhammadan kings of Kashmír enumerated by Major Cunningham, my cabinet contains specimens of Sikander Butshikán, Bahrám (an usurper during the time of Hasan Sháh), Názuk Sháh, Ibráhím, Ismaíl, and Yúsuf Sháh Chukk.'

To dispose of an interesting series of coins of proximate locality, though of more modern epoch, I further avail myself of

Mr. Bayley's aid, and insert an original memorandum of his on the Coinage of the Kings of Kangra :—

Amongst the coins most abundant in the neighbourhood of the Upper Jalandhar Doáb, may be cited a series in copper and billon, which is evidently descended from the 'bull and horseman' type.

The earlier examples are, in fact, merely coarsely-executed imitations of this original, and bear, in appropriate identity, the common superscription of 'Srí Samanta Deva.'[1]

Later and more degraded examples bear also, in various positions, other proper names, and at last one side is exclusively occupied by the legend.

In the proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta for February and April, 1853 (Nos. 2 and 3 'J. A. S. B.' for 1853, vol. xxii.) will be found two notices of mine, identifying this series as the coinage of the Hindú rájas of Nagarkot, or Kangra, the Trigartta of the ancient Hindús.

These kings were Rájputs of the Kutoch tribe; and the last sovereign of any note among them was the Sansar Chand, of whom honorable mention is made by the traveller Moorcroft.

I then reported that I had been able, by the aid of the local Bansávalís, or 'genealogies,' to decypher seven of the names which occur on the coins, viz. :—Rúp Chand, Prithí Chand, Hari Chand, Sringár Chand, Trilok Chand, Mégh Chand, Apúrvva Chand.

In the latter number of the 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' there was likewise printed a communication from Major Alexander Cunningham,[2] from which it appeared that he had previously been working in the same track, and that his identifications had, some years before, been forwarded to the then Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, though their publication had, for various reasons, been deferred.

Major Cunningham further stated that he was able to extend the list of names occurring on the coins, to fourteen; and it is understood that he is in a position to illustrate much of the ancient history of the dynasty, by inscriptions (of which there are several in the Kangra valley,) and by notices extracted from various Sanskrit and Mahomedan authors.

His memoir will doubtless be of much value;—the chief interest, however, which these discoveries possess, is the general fact they establish that, in the isolated locality of Kangra, the old conventional type of Hindú coinage maintained its ground long after it had fallen into disuse on the plains of India.

There, even as modified by the Mahomedan emperors, it probably did not survive beyond the reign of Naṣír-ud-dín Mahmúd, which closed in 1266, A.D.

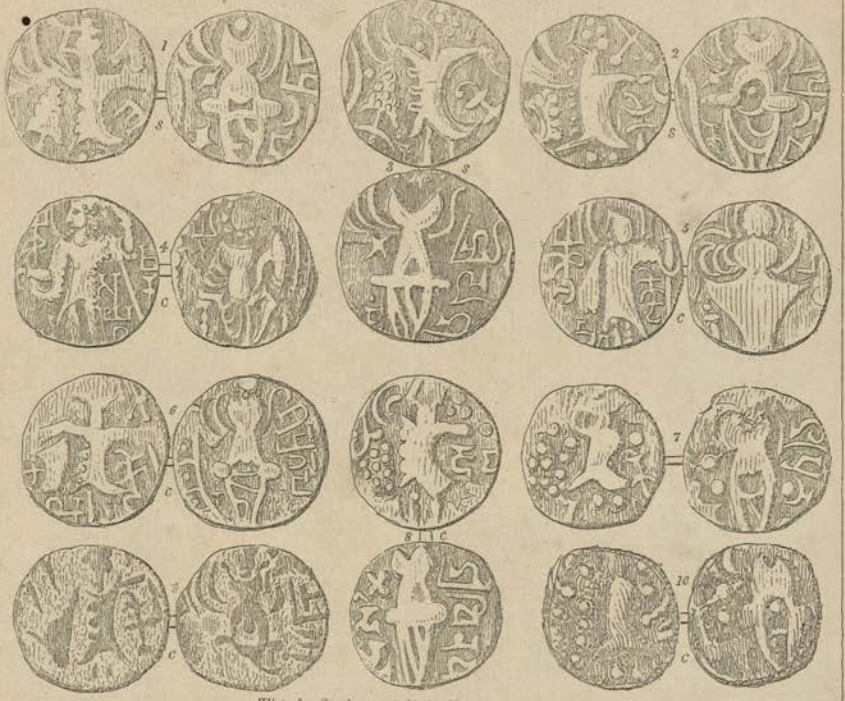
On the other hand, the kings of Kangra impressed their name on coinage of this type as early, at least, as the reign of the Sultán Fíroz Tughlak of Dihlí, which monarch reigned from 1351 to 1388, A.D. Some of the anonymous coins are probably of a considerably earlier date.

Again, on the coins of Trilok Chand may still be traced the rude outline of the horseman's figure.

Now, Trilok Chand is stated by the local chroniclers to have revolted against Aurangzéb, and to have paid the penalty of his revolt by defeat and death. This

[1] [*Cf.* 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xix., figs. 17, 22, 30.—E.C.B.]
[2] [Vol. xxii. pp. 310-681.]

Second Series Continued.

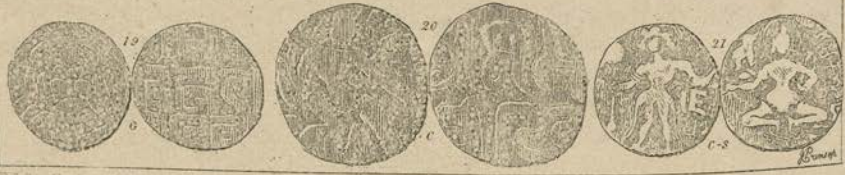


Third Series, of imitations.

Fourth Series, of imitations.

Deva dynasty of Canouj

See 1st Series.



Pub by Stephen Austin, Hertford

probably occurred early in Aurangzéb's reign, say about 1660 A.D., for there is abundant evidence to show that during the latter part of his reign, his power was supreme in the Kangra hills.

This extreme date, however, is very possibly somewhat lower than that to which the *continuous* use of the derivatives from the 'bull and horseman' type can be traced.

Trilok Chand's coinage was most probably a mere revival, in assertion of his attempted independence; at least, it would appear, from the account given by Ferishta, that Akbar established his authority completely throughout the Kangra Hills, almost immediately after his accession. Indeed, the then Rája of Kangra (Dharm Chand) fell at the battle of Pánipat, which gave to Akbar the empire of Hindústán, and it was not improbably his adhesion to the cause of the Afghán dynasty, which induced Akbar to carry his arms into the mountains.

Neither is it probable that, having rendered himself paramount in this ancient kingdom, and in the flush of his recent success, that Akbar would have left to the Rája the coveted privilege of coining; and his immediate successors were not likely to have relaxed their authority.

Probably, therefore, the consecutive use of the old type ended about A.D. 1556; but even this date brings us to a period of nearly three centuries subsequent to the time when it had become obsolete on the plains of Hindústán.]

FOURTH SERIES.

These shadows of the Kanerkan king are like Duncan's issue:—'A fourth?—start eyes! what, will the line stretch out to the crack of doom? another yet?' Such is, however, the singular fact; whether they 'reigned in this kingdom' consecutively, or in subdivided portions of it, there can be no doubt of the common source whence this numerous progeny have borrowed their family features. Amid the hundreds of each kind, now open to our examination and selection, the progress of deviation can readily be followed: and it is not a little curious to see the different results of corruption arrived at by different engravers or moneyers, in the course, perhaps, of a few generations. In one case, we come to a kind of dagger; in another, to a few dots and strokes; and, in the present instance, to a kind of heart, formed of the knees and petticoat of the seated female! The best of the three coins depicted in the

engraving are from Mohan Lál's collection; the worst from Cautley's disinterred Behat relics, where a large proportion of these 'heart' coins was found in association with the supposed Buddhist coins described in Art. X. I can find but one approach to a letter on any of them, viz., the वि to the left of the well-formed 'rája' in fig. 16. It is hardly sufficient to confirm their Indian origin: and it must be noted that this species is found in abundance farther to the north-west than any of the others.

Thus, Masson says of them: 'This series is very extensively found in Western Afghánistán. The obverse has a rude figure of the prince, clad in mail, with the accompaniment of the fire-altar,' (not visible in ours, but clearly so in Masson's drawings) 'and, on the reverse, a figure seated on a throne with her foot on a footstool. On no one coin of the class have I been able to detect the legend, although they appear in some instances to have had characters intended for such. Figs. 61 to 63,' (those that shew the chair, the cornucopia and noose) 'are generally found at Beghrám: figs. 64 to 65,' (those having only the outline of a heart) 'are the types prevalent on the banks of the Indus and in the Panjáb,'—and, as we have stated above, near Saháranpur in India proper. This series has, undoubtedly, a better claim to be considered the genuine descendant of the 'Ardokro' coin *in situ* than any of the three preceding series.

To sum up my review of these coins, I cannot help remarking how great an analogy exists between the circumstance of these several adoptions, by subordinate imitators, of a prominent form of coinage that had pre-

vailed for centuries under a paramount rule; and the nearly parallel case of the Sháh 'Álam coinage of the last century, the very words and form of which were copied by the numerous rájas and nuwábs who assumed the privilege of coinage upon the dismemberment of the Dihlí monarchy. In many places, a few years only have sufficed so to disfigure the Persian letters as to render them quite illegible and barbarous.

PÁLA OR DEVA DYNASTY OF KANAUJ.

By way of filling the plate, I have engraved at foot two new specimens of this dynasty, brought to light since the publication of pl. xxvi.

Fig. 19 is taken from a cast of a gold coin in Col. T. P. Smith's possession. Some of the letters are new in form, but they may possibly be read श्री मद् विग्रह पालदेव *Srí mad Vigrahapála deva.*

Fig. 20 is an unique copper coin of Cunningham's. On the obverse, the four-handed god is crushing a demon, instead of being seated in the usual serene attitude. The legend on the other side may be read, श्री मत्पृथ्वी देव *Srí mat Prithví deva,* a name occurring in the Dihlí list as having reigned at Láhor A.D. 1176-1192: but not to be found among the many names which inscriptions have given us of the Bhúpála family of Kanauj and Benáres. [At the time my note on these coins (page 292) was set up, I was unaware that Prinsep had already published in this article a decypherment of the coins of Prithví Deva.]

Masson has figured a third new name of the same group, which I have inadvertently neglected to introduce in this plate, as I had intended. The letters that are visible are श्री म . . . मीरमरस . . देव *Sri ma . . . míramaras . . . deva.* The first and last letters are half cut off, and the vowel may be an *á*, so that the reading may possibly be *Sri m(at Ku)mára mah(á Rája) deva.* Masson says

that 'at Kábul, coins of this peculiar type are met with occasionally in the bázár, generally of gold. A large parcel was dug out of the soil, three or four years ago, near Korinder, a village of Koh-damán.' He places them as the last of the Indo-Scythic series, not having, at the time of writing, seen what had been made of them here. If the sitting female be indeed a far descendant from the Mithraic goddess, the long interval of six or eight centuries will fully account for the magnitude of her transformation.

It is a great pity that the hoard discovered at Korinder was not secured at once. It might have contributed very materially to our classification of this second Kanauj dynasty. A great many specimens of the same sort must also be scattered about in the cabinets of retired Indians at home; and we may hope, now that Prof. Wilson has commenced upon the task of examining the coins in the Royal Asiatic Society and India House collections, that specimens will flow in to him from all quarters to be deciphered and described.

Bactrian Coins.

Kodes

after J. Prinsep. W. West Lith.

Published by Stephen Austin, Hertford.

XIV.—NEW TYPES OF BACTRIAN AND INDO-SCYTHIC COINS, ENGRAVED AS PL. XXXII.

I did not expect to be so soon summoned to resume the graver in the department of Bactrian medals; but to do so when such novel and interesting specimens are handed to me is no less an obligation than a pleasure.

The two main attractions of my present plate are represented, with scrupulous regard to fidelity, from the coins themselves, which were entrusted to me for the purpose by their fortunate possessors, as soon as they were discovered.

No. 1 is an unique of Amyntas, a name entirely new to Bactria: it is a square coin of bronze lately procured by Stacy from the Panjáb, in excellent preservation.

OBVERSE:—Bust of the prince, wearing a curious cap, which may possibly represent the head of an elephant, but, from the surface being worn, cannot exactly be made out. Legend, on three sides of the square, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΜΥΝΤ(ου)

REVERSE:—A standing figure of Minerva, with helmet, shield and spear; her right hand extended in token of peace. Square monogram. Legend, in Bactro-Pehlví — [illegible]; (quasi) *malakáo ájalade amído* [Máhárajasa Jayádharasa A'mitasa]. It will be at once perceived that the native epithet corresponding to *νικατορου* is the same as that for *νικηφορου* on the coins of Archelius (page 352), and, before, on the coins of Antialkides and Antimachus, with the exception only of the first letter. The word was there read [illegible]; the initial [illegible] *a* being substituted for the [illegible] *á* of the Archelius and Amyntas coins. The third letter in those cases is also rather [illegible] *l* than [illegible], of which the value is as yet unknown. I have called it *l, ad interim.*

Fig. 2 is, if possible, a more valuable acquisition than the above, being the first queen of Bactria yet discovered. Dr. Swiney obtained the coin among Karámat 'Alí's collection. It was thickly coated with the rust of ages, and, from the helmeted head on the obverse, was looked upon as a Menander, until the Doctor set about cleaning it carefully with a hard brush, and, perceiving a variation of the legend, showed it to Capt. Cunningham, who immediately recognized, with a feeling of intense delight, the undoubted title of a female sovereign—ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠ(ης) [ΘΕΟΤΡοΠοΥ] ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ, 'of the queen Agathoclea, the god-nourisher.' This very curious epithet, *θεοτροπη*—a word not to be found in the lexicon—must have been coined on purpose for the queen-mother, after the Oriental style of flattery, in allusion to her royal offspring.

REVERSE:—Hercules seated on a rock (or a *moṛhá*), resting his club on his right knee. The Pehlví legend is, most unfortunately, so indistinct in one or two places, as to preclude the possibility of our making out the true reading. The first word seems to differ in no way from the ordinary ܡܠܟܐ *malakáo*, 'king': and the second would appear to be ܪܒܟ *radako*, *σωτηρος*: then follow two short words which I am totally at a loss to expound, though the individual letters are clear enough. [Máhárajasa Tradatasa Dhamikasa Stratasa.[1]]

To these two uniques I have subjoined some new types of Euthydemus, Menander, and Eucratides, which have not yet been engraved, though some have appeared in the lithographs of Masson's drawings.

Fig. 3. A silver tetradrachm of Euthydemus, now in Dr. Swiney's cabinet, having a standing Hercules on the reverse, in lieu of the seated figure. The coin must have been originally very beautiful, but we learn from the memorandum of Karámat 'Alí, who purchased it at Kábul, that it was taken to Dr. Gerard, who deemed it spurious or not silver;[2] this induced the vendor to put it in the fire (cased in clay) to ascertain the fact, and the smoothness of surface and clearness of outline were thus destroyed. The *beaux restes* are still sufficient to excite admiration.

Fig. 4 is from Masson's drawing of a small copper piece of Euthy-

[1] [We are now able to cite several new specimens of this interesting type f coin; I may quote one in the possession of E. C. Bayley, Esq., Bengal Civil Service; and a second in the collection of Capt. Robertson, Bengal Engineers. Wilson, in 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vi. fig. 10, reproduces Dr. Swiney's coin!]

[2] Probably it was covered with a coat of muriate, like my Euthydemus.

demus. The reverse has a naked horse prancing. Legend as usual, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ. Masson has another similar, but larger.

Fig. 5. A square copper coin of Menander, procured by Dr. Swiney at Agra; in good preservation.

OBVERSE:—The usual helmeted head with the legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

REVERSE:—The circular shield of Minerva with Medusa's head: the features of the face worn smooth: legend, in Pehlví, שורצק רברק ש[illegible]ש.

Fig. 6, from Masson. The reverse here presents the bird of Minerva, so common on the Athenian coins; in all other respects the coin is similar to the last.

Fig. 7. Obverse of a smaller copper coin from Masson. In the centre is a wheel with eight spokes, distinctly so delineated, otherwise we might have supposed it the shield with Medusa's head; the Greek legend surrounds it. The reverse is the same as that of fig. 9.

Fig. 8. In this larger square copper coin Masson gives, as a new reverse, a dolphin; but, from the appearance of the sketch, it is possible that the original may have been an elephant's head, a common device on Menander's coins.

Fig. 9. On this the sovereign's portrait is replaced by a boar's head, according to Masson's sketch; and, on the reverse, is a simple feather or palm-branch: monogram H: legends Greek and Pehlví as usual.

Figs. 10 and 11. Two specimens from Masson's collections, one silver, one copper, to shew that the coins of Eucratides sometimes bore the emblem peculiar to Antialkides,[1] two conical beehives and two feathers or palm-branches.

Fig. 12. An addition to our Indo-Scythic group of the 'elephant-rider,' or Kenranos. Stacy has just obtained four from the Panjáb, all evidently from the same die, but not one containing the legend complete. To save space I have filled it up from the united specimens, and there can be no doubt of a single letter, barbarous as the context appears.

OBVERSE:—Rája astride on a small elephant, legend (commencing from the right of the head) ΟΙΛΗΩΗ ΟΙΛΡΟΙΛΗΙΛΗΡΟΛΙΩΗ, of which nothing can be imagined but a barbarous attempt at ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, the syllables ΙΛ, ΩΣ, or ΩΝ, and ΡΟ being the only happy conjunctions seized by the ignorant die-cutter.

[1] This name has hitherto always been written (on Masson's authority) Antilakides. M. Jacquet corrected it from the Ventura coins and on re-examination of the silver coin in Dr. Swiney's possession, his reading is corroborated. It also corresponds better with the Pehlví, which is—[illegible] (quasi) *ati-alikudo*.

On the reverse, the standing figure of ΑΘΡΟ is depicted, with the common monogram, but the legend differs; being ΛΟΗ, or, inverted, ΗΟΥ. The same is met with on one of the 'couch-lounger' coins extracted from the Manikyála tope (see fig. 29, pl. vi.) It may possibly be a perversion of the tri-literal ΜΑΟ. But the horns of the moon do not appear on the shoulders.

Fig. 13. A rare and valuable variety of the Kenranos coin in Dr. Swiney's cabinet, of which Cunningham has a less perfect duplicate; the obverse legend, hardly legible, must be ΡΑΟ ΝΑΝΟ ΡΑΟ, etc. The reverse has the standing female figure with the horn of plenty, and legend ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ, as on the gold coins of the same device.

Fig. 14 should have been introduced in my last plate, among what I have supposed the fourth series of ΑΡΔΟΚΡΟ imitations. This coin, of which Swiney possesses several equally legible, has the legend, ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ, quite distinct, proving that this group must be regarded, not as an imitation, but as the direct descendant of the Mithraic series in the Kanerkan line. The appearance of Nágarí on one of my coins must be regarded therefore as Greek. It is curious that Masson should not have detected a single letter on all the specimens he amassed. Some faint remains of characters are traceable on those from Behat.

Fig. 15 is a duplicate of Masson's coin—fig. 15 of my last Bactrian plate—in Swiney's possession. A few of the Pehlví characters are better made out, but the proprietor of this coin still eludes us.

Fig. 16, 17, 18. I terminate this plate with three coins of Kodes—in Cunningham's cabinet, purchased from the late Gen. Arnold's collection—of an entirely new reverse. They are all of silver, deeply indented, to throw the head out. The letters ΚΩΔ . . are visible on the smallest of the three, which is, otherwise, of the best execution. The horse's head of the reverse gradually deteriorates until it can be no longer recognised (as in 18) without the earlier coins as objects of comparison. On cleaning one of my Kodes coins, it was found likewise to have 'the horse's head' reverse; and the horse has been since traced to the Chauka-Dúka, or degraded Saurástra series, in some specimens also purchased from the estate of the late Gen. Arnold.

POSTSCRIPT.—I cannot delay one moment announcing a very successful reading by Prof. Lassen of Bonn, of the native legend on the coin of Agathocles, depicted in pl. ii., fig. 17, by Masson, and again engraved as fig. 9, of pl. xxvii. The following is an extract from the Professor's

letter, this moment received: 'The legend on the coin of Agathocles is, in my opinion, in another character, and I think we may recognise in it the letters अगथुक्लराज *Agathukla râja* [Agathuklayesa], reading from the left to the right. The first two letters are self-evident; the third is similar enough to the Tibetan and Páli forms of *th* with *u* below; the fourth letter expresses *kl* quite in the Indian manner. If I am right in this, it will be necessary to give to Agathocles a very different position from that assigned to him by M. Raoul Rochette.'

The principal objection to this highly plausible solution of the Agathoclean legend is, that nearly the same characters also appear on the coins of Pantaleon. There are differences to be sure, and it might be possible to assimilate the word to the Greek, on the supposition of the first syllable being wanting:—thus will form .. *talava* or .. *talao* ... the next letter, on Masson's coins, is , and on Dr. Swiney's a *t* or *n* [Pantalevasa], but on both coins there are three letters to the left of the female which still remain an enigma.

I have also just had the opportunity of perusing M. Jacquet's first paper on the Ventura coins,[1] but as this merely enumerates their Greek legends, postponing the consideration of the Bactro-Pehlví, there is nothing in alteration or correction of my own list excepting the termination of some of the names, Kodes, Lysias, Venomes (?), for Nonus, Azes, etc. M. Jacquet had remarked the connection of the Hindú coins with their Indo-Scythic prototype when examining Tod's collection, but had not published his sentiments.

[1] [Jacquet, 'Journal Asiatique,' Feb. 1836. Gen. Ventura's collection, by a strange misadventure, has been placed, by the Páris officials, to the credit of M. Allard.]

XV.—SPECIMENS OF HINDÚ COINS DESCENDED FROM THE PARTHIAN TYPE, AND OF THE ANCIENT COINS OF CEYLON.

Among the coins extracted from the Manikyála tope were two that excited more than ordinary curiosity, from their having marginal inscriptions in Sanskrit characters around a device in all other respects of the Sassanian type. The inscription (which will be found in pl. v., pp. 94, 123, *ante*) baffled all attempts to decipher it. The repetition of the word Srí left little doubt of its language being Sanskrit, but neither with the aid of modern nor ancient alphabets could the sentence be made out. The individual letters seemed to be

श्रीहितिविरधेरभवद्रपविर श्रीयहितिणचद्वजारि:

Shortly afterwards, among the coins procured for me by Karámat 'Alí, another instance of the mixture of legends was discovered [pl. vii. fig. 6, p. 123]; and here the name was, clearly, श्री वसुदेव *Srí Vasudeva*, either denoting the god Krishna, or the Indian monarch of that name alluded to in the Persian histories. Masson's last memoir, containing one or two coins of the same class, led to a fresh scrutiny of our respective cabinets, whence, with Cunningham's aid, I have now assembled

a tolerable group of Indo-Sassanian specimens; for inspection at least, though it will be difficult to say much about them.

The distinctive characters of the Sassanian or Parthian coins are, the 'fire-altar' reverse, the peculiar headdress of the king with flowing fillets,—the latter sometimes attached to the shoulders,—and a legend in the Pehlví character. There is, however, as Masson has pointed out in a memoir ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol v., p. 711), a marked difference between our coins (called by Tod 'of a Parthian dynasty unknown to history') and the genuine series of Persia proper.

Sassanian coins, of the type common to Persia, are never found at Beghrám, according to Masson, although they are brought for sale in abundance to the bázár of Kábul. Two exceptions, however, are noted—one, an extensive series of small copper coins having a crowned head on the obverse, with a name in the same character as that on fig. 3, greatly resembling the corrupted Greek of the deteriorated *nano rao* group:—the commonest inscription can be exactly represented by the English type **poSopo.** One of this group, supposed by Masson to bear the 'Bámián' name, was depicted in his note on the antiquities of that place in vol. v. On the reverse of all these is the fire-altar without supporters, 'demonstrating, at least,' as Masson writes, 'that they were adorers of Mithra; while from the numbers in which these coins occur at Beghrám, it may be further inferred that they were current there, and that the sovereigns they commemorate ruled there: although the difficulty then presents itself to determine at what period to introduce their

sway, with the mass of Greek and Indo-Scythic coins before us. The coins themselves, however numerous, may be reduced into three series with reference to the nature of the head-dress: the first class bearing a helmet; the second a crown with a ball above it; and the third a tripartite crown surmounted by an arch of jewels.' All these head-dresses, it must be remarked, are met with in the regular Sassanians of Persia, and it may therefore be possible that they were but a provincial coinage of the same dynasty. It was under this impression that I omitted to engrave the figures of these coins, reserving them for a Sassanian series; although some of them would have served remarkably well as the precursors or prototypes of the copper coins about to be described in pl. xxxiv.

The second exception noted by our countryman at Kábul is the Indo-Sassanian group, figs. 3, 5, and 6,[1] of pl. xxxiii.: 'The strongly-marked Indian features of the busts, and their plentiful occurrence at Beghrám, especially of their copper money, prove these princes to have ruled here. The heads are remarkable for the bulls' (or buffaloes') skulls around them, some having four or five of these ornaments, but in general one only surmounts the cap. The legend is in a peculiar and unknown type. The reverse is distinguished by the wheel over the heads of the altar-defenders.' A great many of the type No. 5 were extracted from the principal tope of Hiddah near Jalálábád. (See vol. v. p. 28, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.')

[1] [See also 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xvii. fig. 8, p. 399, 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', xii., pl. iii. and p. 345.]

Masson ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' v., 711, and 'Ariana Antiqua,' xvi., 18, 19, 20,) refers them to the Kaiánían dynasty of Persian historians, to whom he would also attribute the Bámían antiquities. He cannot of course here allude to the early branch, which includes Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius Hystaspes, for it is very evident that the coins before us cannot equal, much less surpass, in antiquity the celebrated Daric archers of Spartan notoriety. He must rather speak of their far descendants, to whom the present independent chiefs of Saístan still proudly trace their origin. This race, under the name of Tajik, claims proprietary right to the soil, though encroached upon by the Afgháns on all sides; and at Bámían they are found inhabiting the very caves and temples constructed by their infidel progenitors.

As to the probable date of these coins, then, little more can be conjectured than that they were contemporaneous with the Sassanian dynasty in Persia, viz., between the third and sixth centuries. Their frequent discovery in the Panjáb topes, accompanied by the Indo-Scythics having Greek legends, should give them a claim to the earlier period; but, as far as the fire-worship is concerned, we learn from Price's Muhammadan history, that 'as late as the reign of Masa'úd, son of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazní (A.D. 1034), a race, supposed to be the remnant of the ancient Persian stock, submitted to his arms,' who had doubtless maintained their national faith to that time unchanged.

The intimate relation between the worshippers of Mithra and the followers of the Vedas, is established by the affinity of the language in which the books of

Zoroaster is recorded, with the Sanskrit. The learned restorer of this ancient text, indeed, cites some reasons for giving priority to the Zend as a language, and he finds many occasions of interpreting the verbal obscurities of the Vedas from analogies in the latter. I cannot refrain in this place from noticing—in allusion to Masson's location of the Kaiánians—a passage in Burnouf's most elaborate 'Commentaire sur le Yaçna,' just received from Paris, bearing upon this point, and leading to the unexpected conclusion that the Kaiánians of Persia, and the Súrya-vansas of India, are the same, or have a common origin; the word *kai*—prefixed to so many names (as Kai-umar, Kai-kubád, Kai-kaous, Kai-khusrau, etc.)—having the same signification as the Sanskrit कवि *kavi*, 'the Sun.' Against such a hypothesis, however, M. Burnouf confesses that the Gujarátí translator of the 'Yaçna,' Neriosingha, renders the word كي *kai* simply by the Sanskrit equivalent for 'king.' I give the passage at length, as of first importance in a discussion on a mixed Indo-Sassanian coinage:—

'Je n'ai pu, jusqu'à présent, determiner si les Kaïaniens, ou les rois dont le nom est precédé de *ké* (en Zend, *kavi*), sont les rois *soleil* ou des rois *descendant du soleil*: en d'autres termes, si le titre de *soleil* a été joint au nom du chacun de ces rois, uniquement pour indiquer la splendure de leur puissance; ou bien, si le chef le cette dynastie a passé pour descendre du soleil, et s'il a laissé ce titre à ses successeurs, comme cela a eu lieu dans l'Inde pour les 'Suryavança.' Je ne veux pas ajouter une hypothèse étymologique aux traditions fabuleuses, dont les Parses ont mélé l'histoire de ces rois; mais il serait intéressant de retrouver la forme Zende du nom du premier des Kaïaniens, de Kobâd قباد, nom dans lequel on decouvrirait, peut-être, le mot *kavi* (nom. *kavâ* et *kava*), 'soleil.' Si 'Kobâd' pouvait signifier 'le soleil' ou 'fils du soleil,' la question que nous posions tout-à-l'heure serait resolue, et les autres Kaïaniens n'auraient reçu le titre de *kavi* (*ké*) que parceque la tradition

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les regardait comme issus d'un fils du soleil. Je remarquerai encore, sans attacher toutefois beaucoup d'importance à ce rapprochement, qu'on trouve, dans l'histoire héroïque de l'Inde, plusieurs rois du nom de *kavi*, et notamment un fils de Priyavrata, roi d'Antarvêdí. Hamilton, dans l'index de ses 'Genealogies of the Hindús' cite quatre personnages de ce nom, sans parler de deux autres rois, dans le nom desquels figure ce même titre de *kavi*.[1] Enfin M. Rosen a cité un vers, extrait d'un hymne du Rigvéda, dans lequel le mots *viçám kavim*, voisins du composé *viçpatim*, doivent peut-être se traduire plutôt par *hominum regem* que par *agricolarum vatem*.'—'Commentaire sur le Yaçna,' chap. i. p. 455.

I now proceed to particularize the coins inserted in my plate.

INDO-SASSANIAN COINS, Pl. xxxiii.

Fig. 1, a silver coin in my cabinet of an unique type: OBVERSE:—the prince on horseback, head disproportionate in dimensions. On the horse's neck is a flower-vase,[2] which is probably supported by the man's left arm; on the margin are some indistinct Pehlví characters, and on the field a monogram, resembling the Nágarí letter ञ. The device on the reverse is nearly obliterated.

Fig. 2, a copper coin, also unique: it escaped my detection among a number of old Bukhára Musalmán coins, or it should have appeared along with the 'bull and horseman,' or Rájput series, of December, 1835. It seems to link this curious outline group with the full-faced Sassanians of Vasudeva, etc.; for on the border of the obverse are Pehlví letters. The features of the supposed face are barely admissible as such, even to the lowest estimate of native art. The horse on the reverse is more palpable, but it seems more like a *tughrá*, or flourish of Persian letters, than ever. It is also reversed in position, and has no Nágarí legend.

The coins of this genus, although we have found them connected with Dihlí sovereigns and Málwa rájas

[1] "'Genealogies of the Hindús,' p. 77. On trouve dans le Rik- et dans le Yadjourvéda, un roi nomme Cavasha (Colebrooke, 'Asiatic Researches,' viii. 399), et ce qui peut faire penser a quelque monarque Bactrien, c'est que ce Kavacha est père de Tura, dont le nom rappelle le Touran. Mais je ne crois pas, pour cela, que Kavacha puisse être identifié avec le mot Zend et Sanskrit *kavi*."

[2] Perhaps the *Kámakumbha*, or 'vase of abundance,' of Tod, 'Annals of Rájasthán,' i. 603.

at one end of the series, evidently reach at the other to the bráhmanical rulers of the Panjáb, and probably Kábul. They are procured much more abundantly at the latter place (and on the site of Taxila, according to M. Court) than in any part of India. Some of them exhibit on their reverse the style of Arabic now known to belong to the Ghaznaví Sultáns, while others agree rather with the Ghorí type, and contain known names of that dynasty.

[In the absence of the coin itself, it would be rash to speculate upon the true purport of this obverse, or the tenor and language of the partially-visible legend. The reverse figure of the horseman, however, offers tempting material for the exercise of analytical ingenuity.

That the lines of which the device is composed were originally designed to convey, in more or less intelligible cypher, some Moslem formula, there can be little question. How much latitude in the definite expression of the letters was conceded to the needful artistic assimilation to the normal type, it may be difficult to say. But, though I should hesitate to pretend that my eye could follow the several letters of the full *kalimah* of محمد رسول الله, I have no doubt that those words are covertly embodied in the lines forming portions of the general outline. The Kufic محمد is palpable, when reading upwards from the front of the butt-end of the spear; portions of the رسول may be traced along the spear itself, and the rest may be imagined under the reasonable latitude already claimed; and, lastly, the الله may be conceded in virtue of its very obvious final لله, which appears over the horse's hind-quarters.[1]

[[1] While on the subject of Ṭughrás, I may claim excuse for noticing a most interesting example of the numismatic employment of early Kufic characters in the construction of a Sassanian device, which, though possibly emanating from a different site, and due to another period, connects itself not inappropriately with the

The practice of reticulating words and names into device embellishments for the coinage was in high favour with Sámání mint-masters;[1] and we have numerous instances of a similar tendency among the Muhammadan races who succeeded to much of the civilization of the Bukhárá empire, with the modified boundaries or altered seats of government, incident to their progress towards the richer provinces of the South. To confine myself to a single exemplification, however, I may cite the Ghaznaví (Láhor) currency, with the recumbent bull in Ṭughrá on the obverse, and with a Kufic legend on the reverse. In the lines of this ancient and revered Hindú device, may here be read, in all facility and in two several directions, the name of the prophet of the Arabs—محمد.[2]]

outlines of some of the figures in the present plate (xxxiii. 7, etc.) The coin to which I allude is in the cabinet of the late Col. Stacy: it is of copper, and imperfect striking or extended circulation has rendered its epigraph illegible in some of its most important details.

The obverse device consists of a mutilated Sassanian head, looking to the right, obviously composed of the words— محمد / رسول / الله arranged in three lines.

A dot in the open portion of the الله suffices for the eye, the ز serves for the chin, and the initial ا symbolises the eyebrow and the lower line of the tiara. Of the exterior legends the only word I am able to read with certainty is the الاسود in the front of the profile.

On the reverse, expressed in jumbled letters, may be traced the words لا اله / الله وحده / لا شريك له while the margin supplies the opening term, العدل, and, doubtfully, the introductory portion of the central legend, لا اله الا, and the remaining two sides are occupied by the date—سنة اربع و مية = 104 A.H.

Although I am unable to discover any similitude between this reverse device and the conventional fire-altar and supporters, I cannot but infer that some such notion was intended to be conveyed; otherwise, it is difficult to account for the needless transposition of the legends, and the sacrifice of the normal forms of the Kufic letters in the centre of the piece, while the side portions of the design, which have nothing to do with the main device, are expressed in excellently-fashioned characters. (See also Frœhn, 'Die Münzen,' pl. xvi. figs. א and ב; 'Novæ Symbolæ,' tab. ii. 14; 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', 1840, Capt. Hay's coins, figs. 6, 7)]

[1] [Frœhn's 'Recensio Numorum Muhammedanorum:' Emiri Samanidæ. Petropoli, 1826.]

[2] [*Ex. gr.*, see 'Kings of Ghazní:' *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, pl. iii. 153.]

Fig. 3, a silver coin in my cabinet (Karámat 'Alí). Several of the same nature are depicted by Masson, as noticed above. The execution is very bold, and the preservation equally good. A double blow has, however, confused the impression on the reverse.

The head-dress or helmet is surmounted by the head of a buffalo, in imitation, perhaps, of Menander's elephant trophy. The two wings common on the Sassanian cap are still preserved. The prince wears a profusion of pearls and handsome earrings. In front of his face is a legend in an unknown character, which can, however, be almost exactly represented by Nágarí numerals, thus: ३।४ ० ३ ∞ २. None of the pure Pehlví is to be seen on either face, but on the shoulder in the corner is something like a Nágarí म, which is probably an *m*, not a *bh*. The fire-altar of the reverse is remarkable from the two 'wheels' or *chakras* over the officiating priests. We shall see more of these as we descend.

Fig. 4 is a silver coin in Swiney's possession: it is of inferior workmanship, the features beginning to be cut in outline. A diminutive figure (female) in front of the face holds a flower or cornucopia: just above can be discerned two small Sanskrit letters—**प्रति** *prati* (or *pratá*)—which suffice to ally the coin with our present group.

[The interesting collection of coins made by Col. Abbott of the Bengal Artillery, chiefly gathered from the Hazárah country, of which he was once in political charge, enables me to add some novelties to Prinsep's solitary specimen of the Indo-Sassanian coinage, having legends exclusively in Sanskrit characters.

The bilingual and trilingual mintages of associated types will be reserved for consideration under Art. XX., in which Prinsep records his latest advances towards their definitive explication.

Fig. 1 represents the small figure in front of the profile, as it occurs on a coin in the British Museum, which is almost identical in its other typical details with the example delineated as No. 4, pl. xxxiii. The concluding letters of the name— . . . **दित्य**—are all that remain visible on this piece.

(No. 1.)

(No. 2.)

The woodcut No. 2 is taken from a coin of Col. Abbott's. I read the name, subject to correction, as पूर्मदित्य *Púrmaditya.*

In regard to Nos. 3 and 4, I may note that the former is copied, by Mr. Austin's artist, from a coin of Col. Abbott's; while the latter was engraved by myself some years ago from a piece in the possession of Col. Nuthall, Bengal Army. The name of the monarch is here indubitable, and reads, satisfactorily, on either piece, उदयादित्य *Udayáditya.* The opening title of राजा *Rájá* is equally clear; but the succeeding three letters present a difficulty—not so much in the definition of the isolated characters, as in the purport and meaning that should be assigned to the combination. They may be transcribed in modern type by खमत, which, it is just possible, may refer to the kingdom of Lumghán, though I hardly like to suggest the association.

(No. 3.)

(No. 4.)

Of Udayádityas, there is a choice in the annals of the land; and one individual thus entitled even gave his name to an era.[1]

No. 5, in its device, exhibits an altered style of art. It is chiefly interesting as displaying on its field an umbrella—one of the Indian attributes of royalty—surmounted by the figure of Siva's bull, Nandi.[2] The trident behind the head connects the piece with the Indo-Scythian branch of local

(No. 5.)

[1] [A.D. 614. 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', p. 548.]

[2] [This emblem is noteworthy to a degree that it would not otherwise be, as furnishing us with an explanation of the meaning of its imitations on subsequent specimens of the coinage, where the umbrella appears under the similitude of an

numismatics. The legend is imperfect, and seems to commence with जयतु, which is succeeded by the letters पिह ङ or ङ.

Mr. Bayley has two specimens of later examples of this class of coinage—the one bearing the symbol of a full-blown flower (possibly the Sun), and an imperfect legend which I doubtingly transcribe as श्री श्स: रजय.

The second, which adds to its device the 'trident' emblem of No. 5, has a legend commencing जयतु . . .

Other coins in Col. Abbott's collection have the letters जय षह: and of coins containing the latter title, I can quote numerous examples.[1]]

The two succeeding figures are from Masson's drawings, some of which have already appeared in lithography. Fig. 5 represents rather a numerous class of the same type as fig. 3. The letter of the legend is sometimes omitted, and the ∞ becomes a•ᔕ; but without examining the coins themselves, it would be unsafe to argue on such differences. No. 4 represents a variation of the monogram, it may be an old form of श्र.

Fig. 6 is an interesting coin, similar to my Vasudeva and the Manikyála coins, in some respects; but hardly so far advanced towards Hindúism, inasmuch as the fire-altar is retained, and the full marginal legend on both sides is in the unknown character, while the Nágarí occupies only a secondary place on the field. This name, too, is, as it stands in Masson's drawing, wholly uncertain, with the exception of the initial *Sri Va*. . . It may be श्रीवहरवख्र. . ख्र.[2]

ordinary club—at first retaining the pennons, but eventually losing nearly all trace of its nominal derivation.]

[1] ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.' xii. 341. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xvi. 18, xvii. 611, xvi. 20, etc. In reference to this term, I may observe that Major Cunningham has announced the discovery of the name of Shápur on a coin of this series. If, however, the piece from which he professes to read this name be the one which has lately passed from his cabinet into the British Museum, I regret to be unable to confirm his decipherment; the षहि is clear enough, but the rest of the designation is certainly not sufficiently palpable to justify the rendering proposed.]

[2] [See 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' xii. 345.]

We now arrive at a class of coins of considerable interest, as well to the history of India as to the science of numismatics; for the gradual manner in which the nature of their device has been developed is as much a matter of curiosity, as the unexpected conclusion to which they lead respecting the immediate prevalence of the same Sassanian (or igni-colist) rule in Upper India, while the foregoing coins only prove the mixture of Hindúism with the religion of Bactria.

Tod has repeated an observation of Dr. Clarke the traveller, that 'by a proper attention to the vestiges of ancient superstition, we are sometimes enabled to refer a whole people to their original ancestors with as much, if not more certainty, than by observations made upon their language; because the superstition is engrafted upon the stock, but the language is liable to change.' In some respects the converse of this proposition would be better suited to the circumstances of India, where we have long had irrefragable proof of the alternate predominance of the Buddhist and Bráhmanical faith among people using the same language; and now we are obtaining equally strong testimony of the engrafting of the fire-worship upon the same local stock. The extensive spread of this worship in the North-west is supported by the traditionary origin of the Agni-kula or fire-worshiping races, whence were derived some of the principal families of the Rájputs. Indeed, some have imagined the whole of the Súrya-vansís, or 'sun-descended,' to have been of Mithraic origin, and the Indu-vansís to have been essentially Buddhists.[1] Numismatology will

[1] 'Annals of Rájasthán,' i. 63. See also preceding remarks.

gradually throw light upon all these speculations, but at present all we can attempt to elucidate is the important fact of another large series of Hindú coins, (namely, that bearing the legend श्री मदादिवराह *Śrímad ádi varáha*) having directly emanated from a Sassanian source. I say another, because the Saurâshtra coins, and the Chauka-dúkas their descendants, have been already proved to possess the Sassanian fire-altar for their reverse. The sects of the Súrya-panthís, and the Mors who are known as fire-worshippers at Benáres, have not perhaps received the attention they merit from the antiquarian; but even now the solar worship has a predominance in the Hindú Pantheon of most of the Márwár principalities. Tod thus describes the observances sacred to this luminary at Udayapur 'the city of the rising sun:' — 'The sun has here universal precedence; his portal (Súrya-pol) is the chief entrance to the city; his name gives dignity to the chief apartment or hall (Súrya-mahal) of the palace; and from the balcony of the sun (Súrya-gokra) the descendant of Ráma shows himself in the dark monsoon as the sun's representative. A huge painted sun of gypsum, in high relief, with gilded rays, adorns the hall of audience, and in front of it is the throne. As already mentioned, the sacred standard bears his image, as does that Scythic part of the regalia called the *changí*, a disc of black felt or ostrich feathers, with a plate of gold to represent the sun in its centre, borne upon a pole. The royal parasol is termed a *kirnia*, in allusion to its shape like a ray (*karna*[1]) of the orb.' Many other quotations from the same

[1] Can this have any connection with the title *korano* of our coins?

author might be adduced in proof of the strong Mithraic tinge of Hindúism in modern Rájputána; and, in fact, the Muhammadan historians tell us that the fire-worship in Gujárat was only finally uprooted in the time of 'Aláud-dín's incursions into the Dakhan.

Fifteen years ago, Col. Caulfeild sent me two coins dug up at Koṭá, where he was then Resident, which were engraved in pl. iii. (fig. 65) of the 'Asiatic Researches,' xvii. It seemed then perfectly hopeless to attempt a guess at their nature; but now we can pronounce precisely the meaning of every rude mark they contain—the fire-altar and its attendant priests, and the bust of the prince on the obverse. Stacy's collection has furnished the chief links of this investigation, but it is to Cunningham's examination of it, and careful analysis of the numerous small silver Varáhas of our several cabinets, that we are indebted for the knowledge of the balusters, parallelograms and dots being all resolvable into the same fire-altar and its attendants. Indeed, so long ago as January, 1836, he wrote me from Benáres his conjectures that this series was descended from the Parthian coins.

From the selection he had assorted to trace out and illustrate this curious fact, I have been obliged to restrict myself to such as my plate would contain; giving the preference to those that exhibit well-defined letters on some part of the field.

Fig. 7 (Silver), Stacy. OBVERSE:—The Sassanian head in its degenerated state, or cut in outline: the hair is represented by a mere ball, the ear by a curve, etc.; the two stiffened muslin lappets rise from each shoulder as in figs. 3 and 5, and would be utterly unintelligible but for the light thus afforded. Above the head is the Sanskrit श्री (resembling the Gaur or Bengálí form), and in front of the mouth

the letter ध which is most probably भ *bh*. On the reverse of this coin the fire-altar is very discernible; and it is instructive to study the configuration of the two supporters, the flame, and the altar itself, so as to be able to follow out the subsequent barbarization they were doomed to undergo. Thus in fig. 8 (Stacy) they lose a little more;—in 9 (ditto) the two breast dots and the curve of the arm separating them from the body, are barely traceable. In Stacy's copper coins 11 and 12, the engraver has collocated the various dots and lines without any regard to their intent or symmetry. Then in 13, 14—which are precisely similar to the class engraved in figs. 17, 19, 20, pl. xxvi.—the fire-altar is transformed into a kind of spear-head, or the central shaft taken out and supplanted by the old Nágarí letter म *m*; but the side figures, where the die permits of it, can still be readily made out. These general remarks will save the necessity of describing the reverse of each coin in detail. There are equally grotesque varieties in the contour of the face on the obverse, which none but an experienced eye could trace; for instance, in figs. 11, 13, and 14, where the eye, nose, lip, and chin resolve themselves into elementary dots, very like those on the Saurâshtra coins.

Fig. 9 has the letters श्री लध *Srí Ladha*. . .

Fig. 10, a small copper coin belonging to Dr. Swiney, is in a far superior style, with the exception perhaps of an unaccountable substitution of the *chakra* for the head of the attendant at the altar! Can it thus denote the Sun himself? There are letters in front of the face, श्री दट . . . . *Srí Daṭ* . . . or some such name.

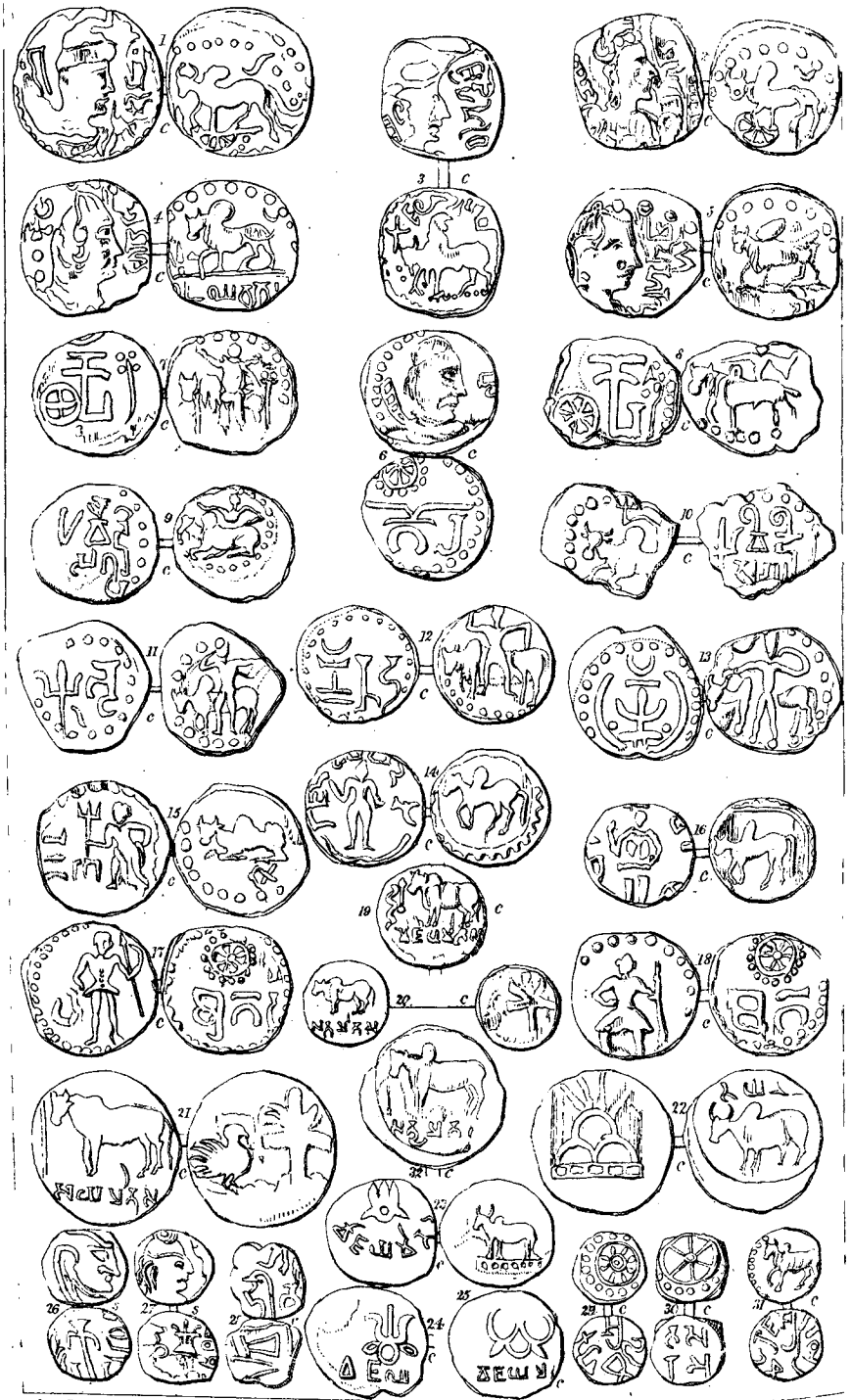
In figs 11 and 12 (which latter gives the lower portion of the same die), there are more letters than usual: enclosed in a circle, on the cap or crown, the letter स *s*: then, in front of the nose, the usual श्री, and below it, the ह *h* of the same alphabet.

In the lower series (13, 14) the shoulders and hand are generally replaced by letters. On some the context seems to make श्री विग्र. . *Srí Vigra(ha)*; on others श्री यो. . *Srí Yo*, and श्री पि . . *Srí Pi* . . . None are complete enough to give us a cognate name.

Having conducted this line of Indo-Sassanians down to its amalgamation in the Varâha series of my former plate, we may recede, once more, back to the period when the Indian artists could execute a less imperfect copy of the Grecian or Sassanian portrait-die.

Figs. 15 and 16 of this plate, and 6 of the ensuing one, are types of a distinct group of copper coins, plentiful in the Swiney and Stacy cabinets. The appendage to the shoulder decides the Sassanian origin, and the wheel on the reverse seems to be borrowed from the emblem above the fire-altar. I incline to think it the solar effigy, rather than

Indo-Sassanian Coins.



after J. Prinsep.

W. West. Lith

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the symbol of a Chakravartti, or ruler of universal dominion. It is probable that this common emblem is still preserved in the sun of the Ujjain and Indor coins of the present day. There is the appearance of a letter in front of the face, but it is ill-defined. On the opposite side, however, the two large letters under the wheel are, most distinctly, तोर *tora*, the meaning of which remains a mystery. They are not in the same alphabet as that of the preceding coins, but of the more ancient lát character, which accords, so far, with the comparative superiority of the engraving.

(pl. xxxiv.)

Figs. 1, 2, 3, from Stacy's drawings, and 4, 5, from Swiney's coins, are closely allied to the series just described; the Indian bull only being brought on the reverse, generally with the retention of the *chakra* under his feet or on his haunches. The name in front of the rája's face in figs. 3 and 4 contains several recognisable letters; on fig. 5 they are still more distinct, श्री प्रहेर कु. It may possibly be intended for श्री महाराजा *Srí mahárájá*, leaving us still in the dark for a name. [श्री महारकुस ?]

On the reverse of fig. 4, under the bull, are the letters विजयवग *vijaya vag*. . . a form that will be found more developed in another branch of this curious series below. [जयनुवष or वृष?]

In the next variety, figs. 7 and 8, of which Swiney boasts the largest supply, the Sassanian head is no longer retained, but the *chakra* remains, coupled with a kind of cross, which may be read as the syllable *ku* of the old alphabet. The bull of the reverse is now accompanied by an attendant, exactly in the fashion of the inferior Kadphises or OKPO group of the Mithraic coins.

In the succeeding variety, figs. 9 and 10 (Swiney), the *chakra* gives place to the trident (of Siva?) and the bull takes an attitude of repose *à la* Nandi. The letters वीदीसगु *Vidi sagu* or *Vedesagu* are bounded by the marginal dots, and must therefore be complete, however unintelligible. Were there room for a final प्त we might conjecturally read विदेशगुप्त *Videṣagupta*, 'cherished by foreigners;' which would tally with the notion of a Parthian interloper.

In fig. 11 (which I also engraved in the Kadphises pl. [viii. 8] of vol. iii.) the trident has the letters तृ *tri*, as if for *trisula*.

In figs. 12 and 13 the symbol is more like the original fire-altar: to the former are adjoined the letters रूह, or perhaps रूद्र *Rudra*, a name of Siva.

In figs. 14 and 15 (Stacy), and 16 (Swiney), the standing figure has quitted the bull to take the chief post on the obverse—the marginal inscription of 14 commences with राज and the last letter is स.

In figs. 17 and 18 (Swiney), the bull is again replaced by the *chakra*, with two Sanskrit letters **षत** or **सुत**—sense unknown.

And now we advance, or perhaps it would be more correct to say retrogade, to a much more satisfactory group, forming, as it were, a link between these Indo-Sassanians, and what have been called the Buddhist coins.

The specimens of this series, christened the 'cock and bull' by Stacy, and first made known by him, were deficient in preservation; but Mr. Tregear, of Jaunpur, has since been fortunate enough to procure a considerable quantity of various sizes, with the epigraph beautifully distinct. They were found in company with copper coins of the Gupta series, which are in the same style, both as to the letters and their horizontal situation in what is called the exergue of Western numismatics. As pointed out by Mr. Tregear, there are three variations in the reading. On 20, and the coin below it; **सत्यमितस** *Satya mitasa.* On the fine coins, figs. 21, 22; **सयमितस** *Saya mitasa.* And on Nos. 19, 23, 24 and 25: **विजयमितस** *Vijaya mitasa.* The variable portion of these, *satya, saya,* and *vijaya,* are evidently epithets, 'the perfect,' 'the true,' 'the victorious,'—but the name to which they are applied, *mitasa,* whether of a person or thing, is, unfortunately, only open to conjecture. From the analogy of the OKPO bull, and the evident descent that has been traced in these plates to a Mithraic origin, I feel strongly inclined to read the word **मिचस्य** *mitrasya,* 'of the true, the victorious sun,' the Mithras. *Mitra* has also the signification 'ally,' if it be preferred to confine the title to a mundane ruler.

If the possessive termination be not made out, the terminal *s* may possibly be used in place of the *visarga.*

In fig. 22, the trilingual symbol brings us directly to the most extensive and oldest of our Hindú series. Of these we have, thanks to Mr. Tregear and Colonel Stacy, enough to fill another plate or two, but they must be kept distinct; while, to close the present plate more consistently, I have inserted, in figs. 26, 27, two small silver coins found by Capt. Burnes, at old Mandiví, or Raipúr in Katch, having Sassanian heads, and reverses respectively corresponding to figs. 7 and 12.

The little copper piece 28, from the same place, has the Nágarí letters **श्री भीम** *Srí Bhima;* the last letter uncertain.

To balance these, I have selected three copper coins of Swiney's store, on account of their having the *chakra,* or the bull, for obverse. On No. 31 we can read the titles **श्री . . . . महाराज** *Srí . . . mahárája;* the name, as usual, provokingly obscure! Swiney reads it *ganapati.*

CEYLON COINS, pl. xxxv.

After wading through the doubtful maze of obscurity exemplified by the foregoing coins, where we have almost in vain sought a feeble landmark to guide us, even as to the race or the country whence they sprung; it is quite a relief to fall upon a series of coins possessed of true and legitimate value as unequivocal evidence of the truth of history.

The peculiar coins of ancient Ceylon have been long known to collectors: they have been frequently described and depicted in books, and the characters they bear identified as the Devanágarí, but little more. Marsden and Wilson, as will be seen below, are quite at fault in regard to them, and so might we all have remained had not the Hon. Mr. G. Turnour published his Epitome of the Ceylon History, from the Buddhist Chronicles. Upon my publishing, in pl. xxiv. fig. 22, a sketch of the coin which ranks first in the present plate, and suggesting the reading *Srí Mayátraya Malla*, I remarked that, although princes of this family name were common in Nipál, I could find none in the Ceylon list to correspond. This observation elicited the following note from Mr. Turnour, which, in justice to his sagacious and correct prediction, ought to have been published long ago.

'NOTE ON HINDU' COIN, fig. 22, of pl. l. [xxiv.] vol. iv.—In your valuable paper on Hindú coins, you say that the name of Malla does not appear in my Catalogue. He is, doubtless, identical with the Sahassa Mallowa of my 'Epitome,' published in the Almanac of 1833. In the translation No. 6 of the Inscription published in 1834, you will also find him called Sahasa Malla. That inscription contains a date, which

led to an important correction in my chronological table, explained at page 176. He commenced his reign in A.D. 1200. His being a member of the Kalinga royal family—his boastful visits to India—and Dambodinia (which you have called Dípaldínna) becoming the capital in about thirty years after his reign, where the former similar coins were found—all tend to shew that the coin in question may be safely given to him. You will observe also by the inscription that his title was 'Sirri Sangaba Kálinga Wijaya bahu,' surnamed 'Sahasa Malla.'

Kandy, 17th March, 1836. GEORGE TURNOUR.'

There was no other Malla in the list, and therefore the assignment was probable; but I laid little stress on it from the total variance of the rest of the name. In August, 1836, Capt. Ord, of Kandy, sent me impressions of the coins he had met with, and pointed out that the first letter of the third line was not formed like त्र, but open, like द. To pursue the train of small causes leading to an important result, when lithographing the Dihlí Inscription of the 10th century in vol. v. page 726, the very first letter, स, struck me as resembling, in the squareness of its form (ᴗ) the Ceylonese letter I had before mistaken for य. The enigma was thus in a moment solved, and every subsequent reading (for coins of this prince are exceedingly common, compared with others) has confirmed the reading श्री मत्साहसमल्ल *Srí mat Sáhasa Malla*, in accordance with Turnour's conjecture. In some few specimens the *t* of *mat* is either omitted through ignorance, or worn away; but in general it is quite distinct. Marsden's reading was मया दया मल्ल *Mayá dayá malla.*

The ice once broken, it became comparatively easy to find owners for all the other specimens either published in former notices, or existing unpublished in cabinets in the Island.

Ceylon Coins.

after J. Prinsep.

W. West Lith.

Published by Stephen Austin, Hertford.

Capt. Ord, not content with sending me drawings of those in his possession, kindly transmitted the coins themselves, allowing me to retain the duplicates. Mr. Turnour also generously presented to me some coins lately dug up in the ruins of the old city of Montollee by Mr. Gifford, Assist. Surveyor General. So that, including the gold coin sent me six years ago by Sir W. Horton himself, and the coins in the Society's Cabinet from Dipaldínna (which are of the same class precisely) I am now in a condition to issue a full plate of this type, preserving a degree of chronological order in their arrangement.

The device on all these coins is the same—a rude standing figure, or rája, on the obverse, holding a flower in the left hand, and an instrument of warfare in the right. The skirts of the dress are rudely depicted on either side of the body, and the fold of the *dhotí* falls between his legs, which being taken for a tail, has led some to call him Hanumán, but I think without reason: there are five dots and a flower to the right. On the reverse the same figure is more rudely depicted in a sitting attitude. The mode of expressing the face is altogether unique in the history of perverted art.

Fig. 1, the gold coin sent me by Sir W. Horton, has the inscription, श्री लकेश्वर *Srí Lankeśwara*, on the side of the seated rája.

This name I presume to be the minister Lokaiswara of Mr. Turnour's table, who usurped the throne during the Sholian subjection in the eleventh century (A.D. 1060); but he is not included among the regular sovereigns, and the coin may therefore belong to another usurper of the same name who drove out the queen Lílávatí in A.D. 1215, and reigned for a year. The Ceylon ministers seem partial to the name: one is called Lankanáth.

Fig. 2, a copper coin, copied from Marsden, but found also in Mr.

Lizars' drawings, though I have not seen the actual coin. The name is श्री विजय वाङ *Srí Vijaya báhu.* (Marsden makes the last word गद *gada,* erroneously.)

There are several princes in the list of this name: the first and most celebrated was proclaimed in his infancy in the interregnum above alluded to, A.D. 1071, and reigned for fifty years. He expelled the Sholians from the island, and re-established the Buddhist supremacy.

Fig. 3, a copper coin given to me by Capt. Ord. One is engraved in the 'Asiatic Researches,' and is doubtingly interpreted *Srí Ráma náth,* by Wilson. From many examples, however, it is clearly श्री पराक्रमबाङ *Srí Parákrama báhu.* The first of this name was crowned at Pollonnarowe, A.D. 1153, and sustained for thirty-three years the most martial, enterprizing, and glorious reign in Singhalese history.

Fig. 4. Among the coins dug up at Montollee were several small ones of the same prince. *Srí Parákrama báhu* fills the field of the reverse.

Fig. 5. This coin, one of the new acquisitions, has the name श्री राजलीलावती *Srí Rája Lílávatí,* another celebrated person in Singhalese history. She was the widow of the Parákrama just named; married Kírti, the minister of one of his successors, not of the royal line, who was put aside, and the kingdom governed in her name from A.D. 1202 until she was deposed by Sáhasa Malla. She was twice afterwards restored.

Fig. 6, of *Srí mat Sáhasa Malla,* has already been described. The date assigned to this prince in the table is 1205 A.D. or 1748 A.B.; a date confirmed by a rock inscription at Pollonarowe, translated and published in the Ceylon Almanac for 1834, p. 190. He again was deposed by his minister Nikanga.

Fig. 7, श्री धर्माशोकदेव *Srí Dharma Aṣoka-deva,* a prince of a very imposing Buddhistic name, who was placed on the throne at the age of three months, but of whom nothing further is said. The portrait would lead us to suppose him of mature age.

Fig. 8. We here pass over a period of turbulence and continual invasions from Chola, Pandia and Kalinga, and arrive at a coin of श्रीभवानेक बाङ *Srí Bhaváneka báhu,* who seized the throne, on his brother's assassination by a minister, in A.D., 1303. In his reign, the Pandian general, Ariya Chakravartti, took Yapahu, the capital, and carried off the Dalada relic, so much prized by the Buddhists of Ceylon.

Fig. 9. We now come to a name of less certainty than the foregoing, and possibly not belonging to the Island, for it is one of a large quantity of coins found by Col. Mackenzie, at Dípaldínna or

Amarávatí, on the continent of India,—a name so similar to the Dambadinia, where many of the Ceylon coins were discovered, that, seeing the coins were identical, I supposed at first the places must be so likewise. The uppermost letter is cut off. The next two below are decidedly ज, and under the arm we find श्री and रा. The most legitimate context would be श्री (ग)ज राजा *Srí Gaja Rájá* (A.D. 1127), but the ग is hardly allowable.

There are many small coins (10 and 11) from the same place, reading, like it, the same indefinite title राज *rája*, to which no better place can be assigned.

Fig. 12. Here again is a common variety of the Dípaldínna series, which was thought utterly hopeless, until Mr. Turnour favoured me with drawings of Mr. Lizars' collection. Two of these (figs. 13 and 14), exhibit a new type of reverse, the Indian bull Nandi, which may possibly betoken a temporary change in the national religion. The legend beneath I immediately recognized as identical with the flourish on fig. 12, turning the latter sideways to read it. What it may be, is a more difficult question. The first letter bears a striking analogy to the vowel *e* of the Southern alphabets; but if so, by what alphabet is the remainder to be interpreted? for it may be equivocally read *betya, benya, chetya,* and perhaps *Chanda* or *Nanda.* The last alone is the name of a great conqueror in the Cholian and other Southern annals, but it would be wrong to build upon so vague an assumption. It is, at any rate, probable that the 'bull' device is a subsequent introduction, because we find it continued into the Hala Kanara coins below.

Fig. 15, of the Society's cabinet, a thick well-preserved coin, has a device one step less recognizable as a human figure on the obverse, but the bull very neatly executed on the reverse, and in front of him the Nágarí letters वी *vi*, as if of *Víra báhu*, 1398?

Figs. 20 and 21. In these the upright figure has quite disappeared, or is dwindled to a mere sceptre: leaving space around for the insertion of a legend in the old Kanarese character, of which an alphabet was given in my last number. It is, unluckily, not complete, but the Kanara letters . . *da cha* . . . *ráya* are very distinct.

But before touching such modern specimens, I should perhaps have noticed a few other genuine old coins; some, as fig. 16, having a bull and two fish; others, as fig. 24, having a *sinha* and four dots. They were all dug up at Montollee with the rest.

These symbolical coins without names agree in every respect with the numerous class of Buddhist coins found in India, and fellows to them may be pointed out among the Amarávatí coins, as figs. 17, 19,

of the bull kind, the reverse plain or uncertain; one much resembling a ship; and fig. 25, a prettily-executed brass coin of a horse.

One fragment, fig. 18, of the sitting bull, from Montollee, has the letters श्रीवी . . वच in the Nágarí character on the reverse.

The two very small coins, 22, 23, retain some of the Ceylon symbols, the anchor-shaped weapon (of Hanumán?) in particular; but to show how cautious we must be in receiving as equally old all the coins found buried together in the same locality, I have given as the finale to this plate, one of the Montollee specimens (fig. 26) which, however mystified by the ignorance of the die-engraver, I cannot interpret otherwise than as an old Dutch paisá, stamped on both sides ⅛ St., or one-eighth of a stiver! A Seringapatam paisá with 'XX. CASH' (written invertedly, 'HSAC XX.') has often puzzled amateur collectors in the same manner.

XVI.—THE LEGENDS OF THE SAURÁSHTRA GROUP OF COINS DECYPHERED.

[I have reprinted this article without alteration or amendment. Prinsep himself will be seen to have greatly improved upon it, in a subsequent paper (Art. xix).]

Those who would deprecate the study of old coins as a useless and uninteresting waste of time and ingenuity, frequently mistake the means for the end, and suppose us to be enamoured of the very defects of the barbarous specimens of ancient art we seek out with such ardour, rather than give us credit for being impelled by the desire of looking, through them, at the history of the times they faintly but certainly pourtray. Twice has our small band of collectors been enabled to oppose a triumphant reply to such sceptics even with the unpromising materials of purely Indian relics, without counting the splendid but more natural harvest in ancient Bactria. The dynasty of the Guptas in Central and Eastern India, and that of the Buddhist rájas of Ceylon, form two unequivocal lines of history developed, or confirmed, by the unlying evidence of coins. I am now happy in being able to produce a third series for the west of India, equally well filled as to names, and of greater interest than either of the previous discoveries, on several accounts, as will presently be manifest.

I have given the name of Saurâshtra series to the coins depicted in pl. xxviii., because they have principally been found at Mandiví, Puragarh, Bhoj, and other ancient towns in Katch, Kattíwár, and Gujarát, the 'Surastrene' of the Greeks, which comprehended from the Sindh or Indus to Barugaza (Baroch) on the confines of Ariake, or India proper, and which cannot but be identical with the Saurâshtra of Sanskrit authorities.[1] The specimens before me when engraving the plate alluded to, were not very distinct, and I could not then make out more than a few of the letters, which were seen at once to belong to a peculiar form of ancient Nágarí.

Success in other quarters brought me back to the promising field of Saurâshtra, made more promising by the accession of some fresh coins from Mr. Wathen of Bombay, and Capt. Burnes, whereon the legends were more complete.

While thus engaged, I received from Capt. Harkness, along with a copy of the Society's 'Journal,' No. vi.[2] (which also contains a notice by Prof. Wilson of one coin of this group, but without decipherment[3]) a couple of beautifully-executed

[1] See preceding note on the birth-place of Ikshwâku, p. 349.

[2] ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', vol. iv. pp. 273-397.]

[3] Prof. Wilson has inadvertently assumed in his note, on my authority, that these coins are known by the name of *Gadhia-ká paisá*, or 'ass-money.' It was not to this description, but to a very degenerate descendant of the Indo-Parthian coinage, generally of copper, that Capt. Burnes stated the name to be applied.

plates of a fine collection of these same coins in the possession of Mr. Steuart, who made a tour through India a few years since. The plates appear to have been executed in Italy; and as no explanation occurs, I presume they have been circulated to the various Oriental Societies in the hope of getting the legends deciphered. Encouraged and aided by this accession of materials, I proceeded, according to the plan that succeeded so well with the Bactro-Pehlví inscriptions, to separate and analyse the conformable portion, or the titles common to all the coins, and afterwards to classify the unconformable portion, which of course would include the proper names.

In this manner I was soon fortunate enough to discover a key to the whole in the value of one or two anomalous-looking letters which had hitherto deceived me by their resemblance to members of other ancient Sanskrit alphabets. I must acknowledge some assistance from Wathen's Sindhí Grammar, from which I found that there was an absence of vowel-marks in the modern alphabet of the country, and hence I was not unprepared to find the same omission in the more ancient one. Another preparatory step was derived from the Tregear legends of last month's plate, ending in *mitasa*, which I ventured to construe as the corrupted or Páli mode of expressing the Sanskrit possessive case, *mitrasya*. A similar स was perceived following *putra*, which left little doubt that the word was पुत्रस, for पुत्रस्य 'of the son,' which, by the idiom of the language, would be the final word of the sentence, and would require all the preceding members of it to be in the genitive case.

The letter ज *j* occurred in the body of one or two of the legends in its simple state, whereas in the initial word, which could not but be *rája*, it was prolonged below, shewing that another letter was subjoined, while, sometimes, the visarga followed it. This could be in no wise explained but by supposing it the possessive case of राजा (राज्ञः *rájnah*) the double letter being not at that early date replaced by a compound symbol.

The same observation will apply to all the other double letters, *mn*, *tr*, *dr*, *sv*, *śv*, which are, in this alphabet, made by the subjunction of the second letter without diminution. Hence the peculiar elongation of many of the letters, which was at first thought characteristic of the whole alphabet; it turns out, however, to belong only to the letter *r*, which is thus distinguished from the *n*, *i*, and *h*.

The second word of the title I read क्षत्रमस, for क्षत्रियस्य *kritrimasya*, genitive of *kritrima*; which is translated in Wilson's Dictionary 'made, factitious, an adopted *son* (for *kritrima-putra*).' The latter sense was inadmissible, because it so happened that the name of the actual father was, in every case, inserted, and the same title was also applied to him. The only manner, therefore, in which the term could be rendered was by 'elected' 'adopted'—(by the people, or by the feudal chiefs of the country)—a designation entirely new in Indian numismatics, and leading to a highly interesting train of reflection, to which I must presently recur. Sometimes the epithet *mahá* is affixed—not to rája, but to *kritrima*, as *rája mahá kritrima*, the 'great or special elected king'—as if in these cases he had been the unanimous choice of his people, while in the others he was installed merely by the stronger party in the state.

In every instance but one the rája is stated to be the son of a rája; and it is quite natural to expect that a prince, unless he were very unpopular, would have influence to secure the succession in his own family. In the case forming the exception to this rule, the rája is the son of a Swámin or Swámí, a general term for bráhman or religious person. I have therefore placed him at the head of this line, although it does not follow that in an elective government the regular succession may not have been set aside in favor of an influential commoner.

Legends on the Cutch coins with the [symbol] *symbol.*

1 [illegible]

2 [illegible]

3 [illegible]

4 [illegible]

5 [illegible]

6 [illegible]

7 [illegible]

8 [illegible]

[illegible]

Legends on the obverse.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] *in another* [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Central symbol of the Reverse.

Similarity between the Greek and Sanscrit Alphabets

Greek		Sanscrit	
A	A	H	H a
B	B	[illegible] or [illegible]	[illegible]
Γ	Γ	[illegible]	[illegible]
Δ	D	[illegible]	[illegible]
E	[illegible]	?3end	[illegible]
Z	Z	[illegible] ?s	[illegible]
H	H	?[illegible]	i
Θ	Θ	[illegible]	[illegible]
I	I	[illegible]	i
K	X	+	[illegible]
Λ	L	[illegible]	[illegible]
M	M	X	[illegible]
N	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
O	O	[illegible]	[illegible]
Π	Π	[illegible]	[illegible]
P	P	[illegible]	[illegible]
Σ	Σ	E ij	E
T	T	[illegible]	[illegible]
Υ	Υ	[illegible]	[illegible]
X		+ ?	

after J. Prinsep.

W. West Lith.

Published by Stephen Austin, Hertford.

Among all the coins hitherto examined, nine varieties only have been discovered. Of these, several can be traced from father to son in regular succession. Others again spring from the same father, as if brothers had succeeded, in fault of heirs direct, or from voluntary supersession; but we know that in Indian families the same names frequently occur in the same order of filiation; so that, unless accompanied by a date, it is quite impossible to decide whether the individuals are the same in every case of similar names.

The features on the obverse might serve as a guide in many cases, for they (as I have before remarked) are executed with a skill and delicacy quite Grecian; but it will be seen below that I doubt their representing the individual named on the reverse.

I have lithographed in pl. xxxvi. the several varieties of legend, as corrected and classified, after careful examination of Steuart's plates, with all the coins in our respective cabinets, as well as the sketches I have been favored with of others by Wathen. I have not time to engrave the coins themselves, of which indeed the former plate will give a clear idea, for they are all the same in size and appearance, varying a little in the countenance of the prince. Their average weight is about thirty grains, agreeing in this respect with the *korees* mentioned by Hamilton as struck 'in Cutch, four to a rupee, by the Raos and Jáms of Noanagar, with Hinduí characters.' [1]

Legend No. 1. Of this there are four examples in Steuart's plate. I had one from Wathen, [2] which passed into Capt. Cunningham's possession by exchange. Adding the *mátras* or vowels, and correcting the possessive termination, the legend will be, in modern characters:—

राज्ञ क्षत्रिमस्य रुद्रसाहस्य स्वामि जनदमपुत्रस्य

Rájna kritrimasya Rudra Sáhasya, Swámi Janadama-putrasya.

in English, '(Coin) of the elected king Rudra Sáh, son of Swámi Janadama.' The letter beginning the words *swámi*, in the majority of Mr. Steuart's figures, is स्व, in lieu of श्व. In one of his, and in mine (or rather Capt. Prescott's coin), the orthography is correct. There may be a little doubt about the *n* in *Janadama*, which is rather indistinct, but I think the dot at the foot of the line decisive.

Legend No. 2. Of this there are likewise four coins engraved. We have none in Calcutta. The words run:—

राज्ञ क्षत्रिमस्य आगदम्न राज्ञ क्षत्रिमस्य रुद्रसाह पुत्रस्य

Rájna kritrimasya Agadamna, rájna kritrimasya Rudra Sáh putrasya.

'Of the elected king Agadama, son of the elected king Rudra Sáh.'

The simple title, *rája*, of the father, makes it probable that he is the preceding prince, whose son therefore succeeded him under the same system of election.

Legend No. 3. Two coins in the Steuart collection:—

राज्ञः क्षत्रिमस्य वीरदम्नः राज्ञ महाक्षत्रिमस्य दमसाहस्य पुत्रस्य

Rájnah kritrimasya Víradamnah, rájna mahá kritrimasya Dama Sáhasya putrasya.

'Of the elected king Víradamna, son of the great elected king Dama Sáh.'

In these examples we have the correct orthography of the genitives, with one superfluous स्य attached to the penultimate, *Sáha*, which, being connected with the word *putrasya*, did not grammatically require the affix. Dama Sáh, the father, is most probably a different person from the Agadamna of the last coin. His title is more important, though that of his son again falls to the former level. We have as yet

[1] Hamilton's 'Hindostan,' i. 654. [2] Found by Capt. Prescott in Gujarát.

no coins of Dama Sáh himself, though, by this happy insertion of the fathers, we obtain two names with each specimen.

Legend No. 4. Four coins in Steuart's plates—none in Calcutta:—

राज्ञ महाक्षत्रिमस्य रुद्रसाहस्य राज्ञः क्षत्रिमस्य वीरदम पुत्रस्य

'Of the great elected king Rudra Sáh, son of the elected king Víradama.'

Nothing invites remark in the orthography of this legend, but the insertion of the visarga in one place, and its omission in another. Rudra Sáh is a direct descendant of the last rája.

Legend No. 5. Two coins in the Steuart list—two in my cabinet, one in Capt. Cunningham's:—

राज्ञः क्षत्रिमस्य विश्वसाहस्य राज्ञ महाक्षत्रिमस्य रुद्रसाह पुत्रस्य

'Of the elected king Viṣwa Sáh, son of the great elected king Rudra Sáh.'

Another regular succession. It is curious that the visarga is not inserted at random, but where it has been once given the engraver seems to have considered it necessary to repeat it, as he does also to conform to the modification of the letter *j* in *rája*.

Legend No. 6. Three Steuart coins, one Prinsep (from Burnes' collection), and one in Swiney's cabinet:—

राज्ञ महाक्षत्रिमस्य अत्रिदम्न राज्ञ महाक्षत्रिमस्य रुद्रसाह पुत्रस्य

'Of the great elected king Atridamna, son of the great elected king Rudra Sáh.'

Here we have, in all probability, a second son of Rudra Sáh, through failure of heirs male to Viṣwa Sáh. I write Atri for euphony, as the most likely disposition of the vowels, none being expressed but the initial *a*, which, as in the modern Sindhí, serves for all vowels equally well.

Legend No. 7. Including Nos. 9 to 12 of the Steuart plate: two in my cabinet, one in Capt. Cunningham's, and one in Dr. Swiney's:—

राज्ञ क्षत्रिमस्य विश्वसाहस्य राज्ञ महाक्षत्रिमस्य अत्रिदम पुत्रस्य

'Of the elected king Viṣwa Sáh, son of the great elected king Atridama.'

This second Viṣwa is shorn of his father's distinction, *mahá*. He does not appear to have left a son to take his place, being in the same predicament (as far as our information goes) as his namesake, the son of Rudra.

Legend No. 8. Three coins, 25, 26, and 27 of Steuart, and two in my series—one lately received from Wathen, and perfect in its circle of letters:—

राज्ञ महाक्षत्रिमस्य विजय साहस्य राज्ञ महाक्षत्रिमस्य दमसाह पुत्रस्य

'Of the great elected king Vijaya Sáh, son of the great elected king Dama Sáh.'

This rája is evidently out of place; being a son of Dama Sáh, he should have come before Víradama, who had a son. I did not perceive the mistake until after the plate was lithographed.

Legend No. 9. Of this there is only one specimen in the Steuart collection, to which I am able to add two. Tod's plate in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, contains one. The inscription exceeds all the rest in length:—

राज्ञ महाक्षत्रिमस्य स्वामिरुद्रसाहस्य राज्ञ महाक्षत्रिमस्य स्वामिरुद्रदम पुत्रस्य

'Of the great elected king Swámi Rudra Sáh, son of the great elected king Swámi Rudra Dama.'

These two names stand insulated from all the rest, and the only test by which we can attempt to supply them with a fit position in the list, is the form of the letter ज्ञ

which is decidedly of the earlier model. These two kings may, therefore, come conveniently into the break after Agadama, the second on our list.

We may now proceed to sum them up in the order thus conjecturally determined.

ELECTED SOVEREIGNS OF KATCH (SAURÁSHTRA?)

1. Rudra Sáh, son of a private individual, Swámi Janadama.
2. Agadama, his son.
   (Here the connection is broken).
3. Swámi Rudra Dama.
4. Swámi Rudra Sáh, his son.
   (Here the connection is again broken).
5. Dama Sáh, of whom no coins are extant.
6. Vijaya Sáh, his son.
7. Víra Dama, another son of Dama Sáh.
8. Rudra Sáh, son of Víra.
9. Viṣwa Sáh, son of Rudra.
10. Atridama, also son of Rudra.
11. Viṣwa Sáh, son of Atridama.

Thus we have eleven kings, with only two breaks in the succession, developed by this very interesting series of minute silver coins. Eleven kings, at the usual average of eighteen years per reign, will run through a space of just two centuries. Yet where need we seek for a single trace of such a dynasty in any of the works of the Hindús, when of the Guptas reigning in the Central provinces the memory is but faintly shadowed in some of the spurious Puránas? It would be more unnatural to hope for any allusion to a remote kingdom of the West, like Katch, in the books of the Bráhmans; and unless we can find something to the purpose in the numerous inscriptions from Girnár and Junagarh, we may, as far as the Hindús are concerned, but have added a barren list of names to the numerous pedigrees already collected by Tod and others, with the advantage, however, always considerable, of their being entitled to perfect confidence.

From the Persian historians, here and there, may be picked up an incidental notice of great value, regarding the internal affairs of India; but the names are so changed and confounded with titles, that it is sometimes hard to recognize them. One of these notices, quoted by Col. Pottinger in his history of Sinde,[1] seems to throw an important light upon the point before us. After noticing the utter absence of any information on the dark age between the Macedonian expedition and the incursions of the Musalmáns, this author says—"The native princes are not mentioned by name in all the manuscripts I have perused, until the time of the celebrated Khoosroo (Noursherwan) king of Persia,[2] who has sent a large army and ravaged the western frontier of Sasee Rája's dominons; which are described, *including* his tributaries, to have extended on the north to the present provinces of Kashmeer and Kabool; southward to Súrat and the island now called Diu; westward along the sea coast to Mukran, and eastward to the provinces of Márwár, Bikanir, etc."

Col. Pottinger states that the rája's name was Subeer Singh; but this may be the learned mode of expanding the original 'Sa-See' into a genuine Sanskrit name. He was killed and his country plundered, but after the enemy had retired with their spoil, two princes of the same dynasty succeeded and reigned with great vigour and equity,

[1] Pottinger's 'Travels in Beloochistan,' p. 386.

[2] Núshirván flourished about the middle of the sixth century. He was contemporary with the Roman emperors, Justinian and Justin.

repairing the forts of Schwán, Moo, Ucha, Náráyan-kot, etc., which had fallen to decay under their peaceful progenitors. The second prince, resigning himself to sensual pleasures, left the conduct of affairs to his minister, during whose illness a young bráhman of his office, named Chuch, having occasion to visit the king in the seraglio, was seen and loved by the queen, and on the death of the king they married and brought about a revolution which placed him on the throne. 'Such,' says the historian, 'was the close of the race of Rája Sasee, which had governed the kingdoms of Sinde for upwards of two thousand years; whose princes at one period received tribute from eleven dependent kingdoms, and who had set the threats of the greatest monarchs of the world at defiance.'

Now the word Sasee, the general name of the royal line, has a much greater affinity with Sáha (genitive Sáhasa) than with Subeer Singh—and this name we find borne by seven out of the eleven princes whose names have been thus fortunately preserved. Many other considerations might be adduced in favor of their identity. A commercial maritime kingdom situated in Saurâshtra and at the mouth of the Indus, would naturally extend its sway up the valley of that river and its branches. From its wealth and liberal form of government, it would be stable and powerful, especially under a tributary treaty (in general punctually performed) with the great monarch of Persia, the chief enemy capable of doing it injury. The antiquity assigned to this Sindian, or early Indian kingdom, further agrees with the tradition of Ikswáku's residence, and the migration of his sons eastward, and with all we have remarked (in a previous paper) regarding the origin of the commercial classes throughout modern India.

But, if the dynasty of the Sáha or Sasí rájas, of which we may now fix the termination towards the close of the sixth century, extended backwards for two thousand years or even a quarter of that period, we should find some mention of it by Alexander's historian, or by his namesake the commercial Arrian, who visited this very kingdom in the second century of our era. The elder Arrian affords but little to aid us. In the descent of the Indus, some petty chiefs, as Musicanus, Oxykanus and Sambus are encountered and overthrown; but we hear of no paramount sovereign in Patalene. Indeed, from the pains taken in rendering Pattala more habitable, by digging wells and inviting back the fleeing population, it might be argued that it could not have been a place of much importance prior to Alexander's visit.

The capital of the province had changed in the second Arrian's time, to Minágara, 'the residence of a sovereign, whose power extended as far as Barugaza in Gujarát. The government was in the hands of a tribe of Parthians divided into two parties; each party as it prevailed chose a king out of its own body, and drove out the king of the opposite faction: *συνεχῶς αλλήλους ἐκδικόντων.*'[1]

Dr. Vincent, the learned commentator on the Periplus, seems to hesitate in believing this assertion of Arrian that the government of the Sindh, Katch, and Gujarát province, was in the hands of a tribe of the Parthians, '*βασιλεύεται δέ ὑπὸ Παρθων.*' 'If,' says this author, 'the governing power were Parthians, the distance is very great for them to arrive at the Indus; may we not, by the assistance of imagination, suppose them to have been Affghans, whose inroads into India have been frequent in all ages. That the government was not Hindú is manifest, and any tribe from the west might be confounded with Parthians. If we suppose them to be Affghans, this is a primary conquest of that nation, extending from the Indus to Gujarát, very similar to the invasions of Mahmúd the Ghaznivite.'[2] If for 'Affghans' in this pas-

[1] Vincent, 'Periplus of the Erythrean Sea,' ii. 385.

[2] Ibid., ii. 585.

sage, we substitute the Mithraic races of Seistán and Ghazní, by whatever name they were known at the time, we find confirmation of such a line of invasion both in Masson's remarks; in our Indo-Sassanian coins; and in Arrian: for the fire-worship would be quite ground enough for his classing the ruling race under the general term of Parthian.[1]

At any rate, as our author says, the ruling power was not then Hindú; and therefore the dynasty of the Sáhas, in which we find the genuine Hindú names of Rudra, Viśwa, Víra, and Vijaya could not yet have sprung up. Thus we have a limit on either side, between the third and the seventh century, to assign to them, and we have names enough to occupy one-half of that space. The family name of Sáh, or Sáhu, is not Sanskrit,[2] but it is very extensively used in the vernacular dialects. Half of the mahájans of Benáres are named Sáh,[3] and the epithet evidently implies 'merchants,' for we find the same root in the *sáhukár* (*saukár*) 'agent;' *saudá, saudágar*, 'trade,' 'trader;' and perhaps in the Persian word *súd*, 'interest.' One branch of this western tribe, Sáh,[4] has been elevated to royalty in the present occupants of the throne of Nipál, the Garkhális, who overturned the Malla line in 1768, having confessedly migrated from Udayapur close upon the borders of our supposed Sindian kingdom, and settled in the hilly district of Kemáon about two centuries anterior to their conquest of Nipál proper.

The learned memoir of Prof. Lassen on the Pentapotamia furnishes us with a proof that the Sáhs of Sinde and Gujarát were well known at the time the seventh chapter of the 'Mahábhárata' was written; for, when describing with all the acrimony of those who had suffered from their aggressions, the origin and habits of the Bahlics, or Bactrians of the Panjáb, or Panchanada, in the 44th verse; we find the following words put into the mouth of Karna:

प्रस्थला मद्रगान्धारा आरट्टा नाम तस्कराः।
बशाति सिन्धुसौवीरा इति प्रायो विकुत्सिताः॥

which Lassen translates:

"Prasthali, Madri, Gándhári, Aratti profecto latrones;
Necnon Basates et Sauviri Sindhuidæ: ita in universum vituperantur."

And, in a note, he alludes to a variation in the manuscript whence Wilson thus

[1] By Parthians, according to Moses of Chorene, should be understood the Palhavis, or Balhavís, or people of Pahla, Balha or Balcha, the Balika or Bahíka of the Sanskrit, and the Bactria of the Greeks: whence were derived the Pehlví dynasty and Pehlví writing of Persia; and the Palhawans of their more ancient poetry:—an explanation so comprehensive and simple, that it seems curious it should ever have been disputed by the learned. Is it not also highly probable that the Balabhí kings, and their capital, the Balabhípura of Gujarát, should originally have referred to a Pahlaví dynasty holding or re-establishing their sway in this province? The Sanskrit name of the town, according to Tod, is Balika-pura, and of the kings, Balika-rai. We must find their coins and decipher their inscriptions ere we shall be competent to enter more fully on the subject.

[2] सह *Saha* or सहदेव *Saha-deva* is, however, the youngest of the five Pándava princes, and might be accepted by some etymologists as the original of a patronymic, Sáhu. सह also signifies 'increase, addition;' but साधु is generally looked upon as the root of Sáhu, the mercantile name.

[3] Gopal Das Sáh, Goal Das Sáh, etc.

[4] I perceive also, in a manuscript just received from Capt. Sleeman, that the Sáhs frequently reigned at Garha Mandela.

translated the same passage: "The Prasthalas (perhaps borderers) Madras, Gándháras, Arattas, Khosas, Básas, Atisindhus (or those beyond the Sindhu), Sauvíras, are all equally infamous."—"Legit igitur नामतःखशा; Sed præstantiorem præbet lectionem Codex Parisiensis; et Chasi huc non pertinent; a Pentapotamia enim sunt alieni. Basorum et Atisindhuidarum nomina ignota mihi sunt, et in errorem *h.l.* induci sese passus est doctissimus Anglus. Compositum non ex tribus, sed ex duobus tantum nominibus constat, Basâti et Sindhusauvíra. Posteriores laudantur Râm., I. xii. 25: ed. Schl., et alio nomine appellati sunt *Cumálaca* (Hem., ch. iv. 26.) Prius nomen sæpius in Bháratea reperi, ex. c. in hoc versu, ex libro sexto descripto:

गान्धाराः शद्धलि प्रच्य पार्वतीया चशातयः।

'Gándhári, Ṣaddhales, orientales montium incolæ atque Baṣátes.'

The Professor's reading so entirely accords with the conditions of our Sáh or Sau fraternity, that no doubt can be entertained of its being correct; and we gain a very important step by learning the Sanskrit mode of spelling the term, सौ, since we may thence hazard a new interpretation of the word Sauráshtra, as Sau-ráshtra, 'the country of the Sau tribe, a more close and plausible one than that hitherto accepted of Saurya-ráshtra, 'the country of the sun-worshippers.'

The 72nd couplet confirms such an interpretation, by ascribing precisely the same iniquities (theft, or perhaps commercial usury) to the Sauráshtrians, the vowel being only shortened for the sake of the verse.

प्राच्या दासा वृषला दक्षिणात्याःस्तेना बाहौकास्तस्कराःसुराष्ट्राः

'Orientales servi sunt, meridionales turpes, Bâhici latrones, Surashtri prædatores.'

Commentators have uniformly supposed Suráshtra to denote the modern Súrat, but this is an error: the name applies only to the Surastréne of Ptolemy; and Súrat, as I am assured by Mr. Borrodaile of the Bombay Civil Service, is comparatively a modern town; and its name, now Persianized into سورت *Súrat*, was originally Súryapur, 'the town of the Sun.'

I waive all discussion here on the important bearing the above theory has on the age of the 'Mahábhárata,' and of the 'Rámáyana:' either the Sáhs or Sinde must be very old, or the passages of abuse and praise in these poems must yield their claim to high antiquity. At any rate, a departure from strict orthodoxy is established against the tribe.

There are some other points in the reverse legend of the coins before us that call for further explanation—first, of the word *kritrima.* The expression quoted above from Arrian indicates something of an elective government, even while the Parthians ruled at Minagara; each party, as it acquired the ascendancy in the politics of the state, 'choosing a king out of its own body.'

Dr. Vincent supposes that the contending parties (the Whigs and Tories of their day) were not both Parthians, but more probably Parthian and Indian. This view is not a little supported by the coin evidence, and it is only necessary to imagine that the native influence of a rich mercantile aristocracy at length prevailed, and excluded the Parthians altogether. Of these Parthians we see the remnant in the Pársís, so numerously located in Gujarát and Súrat, and can easily imagine, from their numbers and commercial enterprize, that they must have been formidable rivals to the indigenous merchant kings.

Something of this feudal system of government is visible to this day, in the fraternity of the *jarájahs* or chiefs of Kattiwár and Katch. The name *jarájah* might, without any unwarrantable license, be deduced from *sah-rája*, Persianized to *ja-rája*, or local chieftain. In 1809 there were twenty or more of these chiefs in Katch

alone, able to furnish a contingent of from two hundred to one thousand men.[1] In the Gujarát peninsula the number must be much greater, since, in 1807 there were estimated to be five thousand two hundred families in which the inhuman custom of female infanticide was regarded as a dignified distinction of their caste!

In the names of these modern chieftains we can trace a few of our list *atra*, *viṣa*, and *vira*: and a town called Damanagar may have owed its foundation to our prince of that name. The Jah-rájahs and Kattís call themselves Hindús, but are very superficially acquainted with the doctrines of their faith: the real objects of their worship are the Sun and the 'Matha Assapuri'[2] 'the goddess of nature,'—doubtless the Nanaia of more classical Bactria. They are said to impress the solar image on every written document. We are accordingly prepared to find it on their ancient coinage, where it is seen on the right hand side, the moon (*matha* for *más* or *mah*) being always in company on the left.

The central symbol I have had to explain so often and with so many modifications, that I really feel it becomes more of an enigma the more that is said of it! It occurs on the Pantaleon Greek coins; on the Indo-Scythic group; on the Behat Buddhist group; on similar coins dug up in Ceylon; and here at the opposite extremity of India. It is the Buddhist Chaitya, the Mithraic flame—Mount Meru, Mount Abú! In fact, it is as yet unintelligible; and the less said of it the sooner unsaid when the enigma shall be happily solved!

Legend of the Obverse.

Having satisfactorily made out the contents of the inscription on the reverse of the Saurâshtra coins, I might have hoped to be equally successful with the obverse; but here I must confess myself quite foiled. From the obverse die being somewhat larger than the other, it seldom happens that a perfect legend can be met with; and by placing together all the scraps from different samples, enough only can be restored to shew—first, its general character; second, to prove that it is not Sanskrit; and third, that it contains two distinct styles of letter on the opposite sides of the head; that on the right having a strong resemblance to Greek, the other a fainter to Pehlví; but both written by an ignorant hand. The three or four Pehlví letters are variable and quite illegible; but the others, by combining the two first examples in the plate (No. 5, from my coin; 8, from Mr. Steuart), might be read *vonones vasileus*, allowing sufficient latitude for the corruption of a century or two. Should my conjecture be admitted, even to the extent that the letters are Greek, we may safely attribute their presence to the supremacy of the Arsacidan king of Persia; or, looking further back, to the offsets of the Bactrian kingdom in the valley of the Indus, where the Greek characters were still retained, as proved by the coins of Kodes and Nones (or Vonones), Azes, etc.; and we may conclude that his portrait, and not that of the tributary rája, was allowed to grace the coinage of Saurâshtra.

The sway of Demetrius, we know from Strabo, to have extended over the delta of the Indus, and the retrenchment of a single particle from his text would make it include Saurâshtra also. Speaking of Menander's Indian possessions, he says:—

Ἔστε καὶ τὸν Ὑπανιν (Ὕπασιν) διέβη πρὸς ἕω καὶ μέχρι του Ισαμου (Ἰωμάνου) προ ἦλθέ. ταμὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς, ταδε Δημήτριος Εὐθυδήμου νίος τοῦ Βακτρίων βασιλέως οὐ μόνον δε Πατταληνὴν κατεσχων, αλλά καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίας τηντε Τεσσαριόστου καλουμένην καὶ την Σιγέρτιδος βασιλειαν.

[1] Hamilton's 'Hindostan,' i. 587.

[2] Ibid. i. 637.

On this important passage many have been the opinions expressed by the learned. Bayer refers the third name (the first two being fixed as the Hyphasis and Jamná) to the mouths of the Ganges: 'quam Strabo, alteram oram maritimam nomine Τεσσαριόστου dicit? nempe nullam potuit, nisi quæ ad Gangis fluminis ostia ubi et Σιγέρτιδος regnum.' Lassen, from whose 'Pentapotamia' I have cited the above extract, thinks that the word merely alludes to the coasts in the neighbourhood of Pattalene; and he identifies Sigertis with the Sanskrit त्रिगर्ता *trigartá*, in the province of Láhor. Manners places the former in Gujarát: 'ad oram maritimam, quæ hodie Gujarát, olim nomine Sanskrit गुर्जार *Gurjára*, appellata est τεσσαριόστου regionem refert Mannertus, quod at veritatem haud dubie proxime accedit, sed nil certius de hoc nomine invenio.'[1]

Now, by abstracting, as I said before, the twice repeated particle τε, or by changing τες to the article του or της, the whole obscurity of the text disappears, and the Βασιλεια της Σαριοστου καλουμένη stands forth as the maritime kingdom of Saurâshtra. This interpretation is surely more natural than the extension of Menander's rule to the extreme east of India, merely to find another maritime delta and port for the Græco-Latinized corruption of a name *quasi* Tessariostia!

But we dare not venture on any speculations in regard to Greek names or affairs, lest we undergo castigation from the Hellenic critics of Paris, who are surprised at our ignorance of authors, ancient and modern, Greek and German, whose works we regret to say have never yet visited the banks of the Ganges! We 'Indianistes' must then leave this investigation to M. Raoul Rochette as being altogether, to use his own words, 'hors du département de nos études!'

There are still two series of Saurâshtra coins to be examined, but I have not yet wholly succeeded in decyphering them, and my readers will doubtless rejoice at such an excuse for postponing their discussion. I cannot, however, let pass the present opportunity of mentioning, as a highly curious circumstance, the very great similarity between the old Sanskrit and the Greek character. Their striking uniformity becomes more palpable the farther we retire into antiquity, the older the monuments we have to decypher; so that even now, while we are quite green in the study, we might almost dare to advance (with the fear of M. Raoul Rochette before us), that the oldest Greek (that written like the Phœnician from right to left) was nothing more than Sanskrit turned topsy-turvey! A startling proposition this for those who have so long implicitly believed in Cadmus, and the introduction from Egypt of what, perchance, never existed there. Yet there is nothing very new nor very unnatural in the hypothesis; since the connection of the Greek with the Phœnician and Samaritan alphabets, has been admitted as a strong evidence that 'the use of letters travelled progressively from Chaldea to Phœnicia, and thence along the coasts of the Mediterranean';[2] and the Greek language is now so indisputably proved to be but a branch of the Sanskrit stem, that it is not likely it should have separated from its parent without carrying away some germs of the art of writing, already perhaps brought to perfection by the followers of Brahmá. But my arguments are not those of books, or learning, or even tradition, but solely of graphic similitude and ocular evidence.

The Greek letters are dressed by a line at the foot, in most cases, as Α Δ Λ Μ Ω Υ, etc.;—the Devanágarí are made even along the upper surface of the letters, and in later ages a straight line has been introduced at the top, from which the grammatic

[1] 'De Pentapotamia Indica Commentatio' C. Lassenii, 51.
[2] 'Pantographia,' p. 107.

elements are suspended. The Greek alphabet is devoid of all system, and has had additions made to it at various times. Some of these, as Φ Χ Ψ Ω, are precisely those which present the least resemblance to the Sanskrit forms.

I have placed my evidence at the bottom of pl. xxiv., taking my Greek type from the well-formed letters on coins, and from the Boustrophedon tablet of Sigeum.

Of the vowels, A I O and Υ, present a striking conformity with the vowels अ इ, and the semivowels व and र of the oldest Sanskrit alphabets inverted. The vowel E is unconformable, and resembles more the short ĕ of the Zend. The long H is a later introduction, and appears to be merely the iteration of the short vowel I, as ω is of ΟΟ.

In the consonants, we find Β Γ Δ Ζ Θ Κ Λ Μ Ν Π Ρ Σ Τ, in fact every one of the letters, excepting those of after invention, are represented with considerable exactness, by the ब (or double ब्ब), ग ध स च क ल म न प र ज त of the oldest Sanskrit alphabet, although there is hardly a shadow of resemblance between any pair in their modern forms. The same precision cannot be expected in every case; the Β Δ Θ Λ Μ Ν Π Ρ Τ require, like the vowels, to be viewed in an inverted position: the Γ and Σ remain unturned: the Ζ and Κ require to be partially turned. The Λ and Ν may be deemed a little far-fetched; the Β taken from the double ν, and the Δ from the aspirated द्ध, may also be objected to; but taking a comprehensive view of the whole, it seems to me impossible that so constant and so close a conformity of the alphabetical symbols of two distant nations should exist without affording demonstration of a common origin. Whether the priority is to be conceded to the Greeks, the Pelasgians, or the Hindûs, is a question requiring great research, and not less impartiality, to determine. The palæography of India is now becoming daily a more interesting and important study, and it cannot fail to elicit disclosures hitherto unexpected on the connection between the European and Asiatic alphabets.[1]

[1] [A paper by Dr. Weber, 'Ueber den Semitischen Ursprung des indischen Alphabetes,' is to be found in the 'Zeitschrift der Deutsche,' etc. for 1856, p. 389. I may have occasion to notice this more in detail hereafter.]

END OF VOL. I.

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